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WILLIAM III.

THE

HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM THE EARLIEST DAWN OF

Authentic Record,

TO THE

ULTIMATE RATIFICATION

OF THE

General Peace at Amiens in 1802;

AND THE

SUBSEQUENT WAR

IN

1803.

By GEORGE COURTNEY LYTTLETON, Esq.

EMBELLISHED WITH A

REGULAR SERIES OF

BEAUTIFUL ENGRAVINGS.

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THE

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

THE INTERREGNUM.

HAD James continued in England till the meeting of the parliament, perhaps that aſſembly might have permitted him to enjoy the title of king, though they transferred the power and authority to another. Perhaps they might have enquired into the legitimacy of the young prince; and, if that had been ſatisfactorily proved, have trained him up in the Proteſtant religion, and advanced him to the throne on the death of his father. But theſe, and all the other advantages, of which the king might have availed himſelf, he effectually loſt by his folly and imprudence. By his own raſh and precipitate flight, he had done his utmoſt to involve the kingdom in anarchy and confuſion; and diſcovered his unconquerable averſion to the meeting of a free parliament. By ſending his ſon to France, he had manifeſted a determined reſolution to rear him in the ſame religion, to which he was himſelf ſo much attached.

It therefore appeared expedient to leave that infatuated monarch to the guidance of his own councils, and to ſettle the government in the moſt rational manner. This, however, was a work of greater difficulty than could well be imagined. No parliament was at that time aſſembled; and, without a king, no parliament could be legally aſſembled. Some lawyers, entangled in the ſubtleties of their own profeſſion, propoſed that the prince of Orange ſhould claim the crown by right of conqueſt; ſhould aſſume the title of ſovereign, and ſummon a parliament, which, being thus legally convoked by a king in poſſeſſion, might ratify any meaſure that had been adopted before they aſſembled. But this ſuggeſtion being inconſiſtent with the principles of liberty, on which alone a future throne could be erected, was prudently declined by the prince, who, finding the general opinion of the kingdom in his favour, reſolved to leave them to their own guidance and direction.

The peers and biſhops, to the number of ninety, preſented an addreſs, entreating him to ſummon a convention by circular letters: to undertake, in the mean time, the adminiſtration of government; and to concert meaſures for the ſecurity of Ireland. The prince thanked them for this proof of their confidence: but was ſtill deſirous of obtaining a more expreſs declaration in his favour; and a very judicious expedient was propoſed and carried into execution.

All thoſe who had been members of the houſe of commons during any parliament of Charles the Second (the only parliaments whoſe election was ſuppoſed to have been free) were deſired to aſſemble, and to theſe were added the mayor, aldermen, and fifty of the common council of the city. This was the moſt equal repreſentation of the people, which could be convened in the preſent conjuncture. They immediately preſented an addreſs, ſimilar to that of the lords: and the prince, being thus countenanced by all the legal authority which could then be obtained, ſent circular letters to the ſeveral counties and corporations of England, requiring them to elect members for compoſing a convention. Theſe orders were punctually obeyed; and in the convention met on the twenty-ſecond of January*.

After

*A. D.

After thanks were unanimously returned by both houſes to the prince of Orange, for the ſervices which he had rendered them, a remarkable vote was in a few days paſſed by a great majority of the commons, and tranſmitted to the houſe of peers for their approbation. It imported, "That "king James the Second, having endeavoured "to ſubvert the conſtitution of the kingdom, by "breaking the *original contract* between *king* "and *people*, and having, by the advice of Je- "ſuits and other evil perſons, violated the fun- "damental laws, and *withdrawn* himſelf from "the kingdom, had *abdicated* the government, "and that the throne was thereby become *va- "cant*." This vote, when preſented to the upper houſe, met with a violent oppoſition; but, in conſequence of the deſertion of ſome Tories to the Whig party, it was at laſt agreed to paſs the vote of the commons, without any alteration or amendment. A long controverſy reſpecting the *original contract* between *king* and *people*; and the terms *abdicated* or *deſerted*, being adjuſted by acquieſcing in the original vote of the commons, the queſtion then remaining was, "Who ſhould fill the vacant throne?"

During theſe tranſactions, the prince of Orange behaved with wonderful moderation. He did not attempt to influence the elections, which were carried on with the moſt perfect freedom: he ordered the troops to depart from all the towns where the voters aſſembled. he ſuppreſſed a tumultuous petition, which had been preſented to the two houſes, though it was calculated to promote his own intereſt: he entered into no intrigues with the electors or the members: he obſerved a profound ſilence, as if he had been totally unconcerned in theſe proceedings: and ſo far from courting favour from the leaders of parties, he did not even treat them with his uſual affability.

At laſt, apprehenſive that his ſilence might receive an improper conſtruction, he thought proper to expreſs his ſentiments on the preſent occaſion. He ſent for Halifax, Shrewſbury, Danby, and a few others; and informed them, that having been invited over to reſtore their laws and liberties, he had undertaken the enterprize, and had happily accompliſhed his purpoſe: that it was the buſineſs of the parliament, now aſſembled with freedom, to concert the neceſſary meaſures for preſerving theſe bleſſings, and he preſumed not to interfere in their deliberations. That he had heard of ſeveral meaſures propoſed for ſettling the government of the kingdom; ſome recommended a *regent*; others, he added, ſeemed diſpoſed to place the princeſs ſingly upon the throne, and that he ſhould reign by her courteſy: it was their duty to adopt that plan of adminiſtration, which was moſt advantageous to the nation. That if they choſe to adopt a *regent*, they ſhould readily have his conſent: he only thought it neceſſary to acquaint them, that he was reſolved not to be *that regent*, nor even to engage in a ſcheme, which, he was ſenſible, muſt be attended with numberleſs inconveniencies. That no man could have a more exalted opinion of the princeſs's merit than he was impreſſed with; but that he was of ſuch a diſpoſition, that he could not think of holding a crown dependent upon any woman. They muſt therefore, if they embraced either of theſe plans, ſettle the adminiſtration in the beſt manner they could: for his own part it would be entirely out of his power to give them any farther aſſiſtance: his affairs abroad were too important to be abandoned for ſo precarious a dignity, or even to allow him ſo much leiſure as would be neceſſary to introduce order into their diſjointed government.

Theſe views of the prince were promoted by the princeſs herſelf, who, among many other perfections, poſſeſſed that moſt amiable of all female virtues, an inviolable fidelity and attachment to her huſband. When Danby and others of her partizans tranſmitted an account of their propoſitions in her favour, ſhe expreſſed the higheſt diſpleaſure, and even diſpatched their letters to her huſband, as a ſacrifice to conjugal duty. The princeſs Anne alſo approved of the ſame plan for the public arrangement; and being flattered with the hopes of a larger revenue, was willing to be poſtponed, in the order of ſucceſſion. To this ſettlement of the crown, the convention annexed a declaration of rights, where all the points, which had, of late years, been conteſted between king and people, were finally adjuſted and determined; and the prerogative of the prince, and the privileges of the people, were more exactly aſcertained, and more effectually ſecured from the future encroach-

MARY II.

ments of the ſovereign, than in any former period of the Engliſh government.

On the twelfth of February, the princeſs of Orange arrived in London; and on the following day the members of the two houſes met in the banqueting houſe, where the prince and princeſs ſat in ſtate; and the declaration of rights being read, the marquis of Hallifax, ſpeaker of the upper houſe, made a ſolemn tender of the crown to their highneſſes, in the name of the peers and commons of England. The prince accepted the offer with many expreſſions of gratitude; and on the ſame day he and the princeſs were proclaimed by the names of William and Mary, king and queen of England, France, and Ireland.

WILLIAM III. AND MARY II. A. D. 1689.

THAT the reader may be the better enabled to underſtand the tranſactions of this reign, it will be neceſſary to acquaint him with the ſtate of parties at the time of the Revolution. During the latter part of the reign of James, the whole nation appeared to be of the ſame opinion: Tories and Whigs unanimouſly agreed in oppoſing his meaſures: but no ſooner had that infatuated monarch abandoned the government and withdrawn into France, than each party reſumed its former prejudices.

Though the Tories, when threatened with the utter deſtruction of their religion and liberties, had renounced the practice of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance; they ſtill invariably adhered to the principle on which that doctrine was founded; the divine, indiſputable, hereditary right of kings. And, though they had heartily concurred with the Whigs in inviting the prince of Orange to their aſſiſtance, their only intention was to induce king James to alter his meaſures, and regulate his conduct by the laws of their country. Of theſe ſentiments were about half the lords, one third of the commons, and almoſt the whole of the clergy. The Tories, however, were not perfectly unanimous in every particular. Some of them, underſtanding the principle of paſſive-obedience in its full extent and literal meaning, propoſed the expedient of a regency, hoping, that, could they accompliſh that point, they ſhould at length be able to ſurmount the averſion which the nation had conceived againſt the government of king James, and facilitate his reſtoration. When the prince of Orange was declared king, they could not therefore comply with the public ſettlement, nor ſwear allegiance to the new ſovereign; but compoſed what was very properly termed the nonjuring party; whoſe number indeed was not very conſiderable, though joined and ſupported by Dr. Sancroft, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and ſeveral other lords, as well ſpiritual as temporal.

Others imagined, that, though they could not, conſiſtently with their principles, promote the elevation of the prince of Orange to the throne; yet, when he was declared king, they might lawfully ſwear allegiance to him, by means of the diſtinction of a king *de jure*, and a king *de facto*; a diſtinction, authorized by the well known ſtatute of Henry the Seventh, importing, that no perſon ſhould be impeached or attainted for having aſſiſted the king for the time being. Theſe, however, were ſubdivided into two different branches, on account of the two very different concluſions, which they drew from this diſtinction. The firſt ſincerely believed that a king *de facto* was entitled to their obedience, and that they were bound to defend and ſupport him, even in oppoſition to the prince in whom they allowed the right to be ſtill veſted.

The other branch of the Tories, who were uſually denominated the High-fliers, entertained very different, and more abſurd ſentiments. Availing themſelves of the diſtinction between a king *de jure*, and a king *de facto*, they ſwore allegiance to one ſovereign, and at the ſame time held that allegiance due to another. They

bound themſelves by the moſt ſolemn oaths to preſerve a government, which they affirmed they were obliged in conſcience to ſubvert. "This," as lord Bolingbroke juſtly obſerves, "was to "juſtify perfidy, to ſanctify perjury, to deſtroy "the diſtinction between right and wrong, and, "as far as they were able, to teach mankind to "call good evil, and evil good*."

The Whigs were alſo divided into two parties. One of theſe, being ſtrongly inclined to republican principles, reſolved to take advantage of the preſent opportunity to retrench the power of the crown, extend the privileges of the people, and even perhaps to erect a democratic government on the ruins of the monarchy. Some of them, indeed, went ſo far as to affirm, that the whole government was diſſolved; from whence a diſſolution of all men's properties, rights and honours, might have been juſtly apprehended. But the majority of the Whigs, though they had heartily concurred in producing the revolution, were firmly attached to the old conſtitution; and were even determined to adhere to the lineal ſucceſſion, ſo far as was conſiſtent with the good of the public; which they rationally believed to be the end of all government.

With regard to the clergy, they had involved themſelves in ſuch difficulties, by inculcating the doctrine of paſſive-obedience and non-reſiſtance, that they were long heſitating what courſe to purſue. They could not, without renouncing their former principles, acknowledge the legality of William's title: they had therefore recourſe to the common diſtinction of a king *de jure*, and a king *de facto;* and too many of them drew the ſame conſequence from that diſtinction, as the rigid Tories; and ſwore allegiance to one king, while they held that allegiance due to another. But ſuch of them as embraced the new government with more cordiality, were influenced by a notion, which ſeemed to accord with their principles: and admitted, "that the prince of Orange had juſt cauſe to "declare war againſt the king; that ſucceſs in "a juſt war, ought to be conſidered as the de-"ciſion of heaven; and conſequently, that the "prince's ſucceſs gave him a right of conqueſt "over king James, and entitled him to every "thing which was formerly poſſeſſed by that "monarch." This idea is ſaid to have had a powerful influence on the whole body of the clergy, moſt of whom ſubmitted to the new eſtabliſhment. A few of them, however, more ſcrupulous than the reſt, ſtill refuſed to take the oath of allegiance, and reſolved to continue among the Nonjurers. Such was the ſtate of parties at the time of the Revolution; and this being remembered, will ſerve to explain many incidents, which might otherwiſe appear to require elucidation.

The firſt act of William's reign was to iſſue a proclamation, confirming all Proteſtants in the enjoyment of the offices which they poſſeſſed under the former king. He then appointed the members of his council†, who were generally devoted to his intereſt, except the archbiſhop of Canterbury and the earl of Nottingham; and theſe were admitted to oblige the Tories, whom it was thought imprudent to offend. Nottingham and Shrewſbury were declared ſecretaries of ſtate; the marquis of Hallifax, keeper of the privy ſeal; and the earl of Danby preſident of the council. The two laſt-mentioned noblemen poſſeſſed a conſiderable ſhare of his majeſty's confidence; but the chief favourite was Bentinck, the firſt commoner on the liſt of privy counſellors, as well as groom of the ſtole and privy-purſe. D'Auverquerque was appointed maſter of the horſe, Zuyleſtein of the robes, and Schomberg of the ordnance: the treaſury, ad-

* The meaning of the oath, in their opinion, was, that they were only bound to obey the new king as an uſurper, while his uſurpation continued; but that they were ſtill at liberty to aſſiſt king James, if he ſhould attempt to recover his throne, and might even exert their utmoſt endeavours to effect his reſtoration. That theſe were the ſentiments of this branch of the Tories, is but too evident from their conduct during the whole of William's reign, which they laboured, with great aſſiduity, and with too much ſucceſs, to diſturb and moleſt.

† The council conſiſted of the following perſons: the prince of Denmark, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the biſhop of London, the duke of Norfolk, the marquiſſes of Hallifax and Winchеſter; the earls of Danby, Lindſey, Oxford, Shrewſbury, Dorſet, and Middleſex, Bedford, Bath, Macclesfield, Nottingham; the viſcounts Falconbridge, Mordaunt, Newport, Lumley; the lords Wharton, Montague, Delamere, Churchill, ſir Robert Howard, ſir Henry Capel, ſir John Lowther, Mr. Bentinck, Mr. Sidney, Mr. Powle, Mr. Ruſſel, Mr. Boſcawen, and Mr. Hambden.

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miralty and chancery, were put in commiſſion; twelve able judges were appointed*; the earl of Devonſhire was conſtituted lord ſteward of the houſhold, the earl of Dorſet, lord chamberlain, viſcount Newport, treaſurer, and Mr. Wharton comptroller†.

The dioceſe of Saliſbury becoming vacant by the death of Dr. Ward, the king beſtowed it upon Burnet, as a reward for the ſervices which he had performed during the Revolution. The archbiſhop of Canterbury, who probably conſidered the ſhare which he had in that tranſaction as his greateſt crime, ſtrenuouſly refuſed to conſecrate Burnet; but being afraid of incurring the penalties of a premunire, he granted a commiſſion to the biſhop of London, and three other ſuffragans, to perform that office.

The firſt reſolution taken in the new council was to convert the convention into a parliament, in order to remove the objections which might probably be raiſed againſt the validity of their proceedings, as they had not been convoked by the king's writ of ſummons. The election of a new parliament might be attended with too many delays; the members might not be ſo favourably diſpoſed towards the new ſettlement, as thoſe of the preſent aſſembly; and it was therefore propoſed that the king ſhould, by his authority, change the convention into a parliament, by going to the houſe of lords with the uſual ſtate of a ſovereign, and delivering a ſpeech from the throne to both houſes. This expedient was accordingly adopted. He informed them that he entertained the moſt grateful ſenſe of the confidence they had repoſed in him, and would endeavour to conduct himſelf in ſuch a manner as never to forfeit their good opinion: that the ſituation of Holland was ſuch as required their immediate aſſiſtance: that the ſtate of affairs at home likewiſe demanded their attention: that a large ſettlement was neceſſary not only for the preſervation of domeſtic tranquillity, but alſo for the ſupport of the Proteſtant intereſt abroad; that he hoped they would concert the moſt prudent and effectual meaſures for promoting the welfare of the public: and aſſured them that nothing on his part ſhould be wanting to accompliſh ſo deſirable a purpoſe. This ſpeech was not only applauded by the army, but by the whole nation. On the ſame day, the lords brought in a bill "to remove and pre-"vent all queſtions and diſputes concerning the "aſſembling and ſitting of the preſent parlia-"ment." This bill, being twice read, was immediately paſſed, and tranſmitted to the commons for their concurrence.

The lower houſe went into a committee upon the ſubject; and Mr. Hambden, their preſident, moved the queſtion, whether a king elected by the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and the commons aſſembled at Weſtminſter, coming to, and conſulting with ſuch lords and commons, did not make as complete a parliament, and legiſlative power and authority, to all intents and purpoſes, as if he had cauſed new writs to be iſſued, and new elections to be made? The Whigs, ſupported the affirmative; the Tories, the negative. The latter, with ſir Edward Seymour as their leader, alledged, that the king's writs were as neceſſary as his preſence to the being of a parliament; and as the convention was deſtitute of this advantage, it could not, by any expedient, be veſted with a parliamentary authority. The Whigs replied, that the eſſence of a parliament conſiſted in the meeting and joint conſultation of the king, lords and commons, nor was it of any conſequence, whether they were convened by writ or by letter. This aſſertion they evinced by a variety of ſimilar examples, drawn from the hiſtory of Eng-

* The judges were ſir John Holt, lord chief juſtice; ſir William Dolben, ſir William Gregory, and Giles Eyre, juſtices of the king's bench; ſir Henry Pollexfen, lord chief juſtice, ſir John Powel, ſir Thomas Rokeby, Peyton Ventris, juſtices of the common pleas, ſir Robert Atkins, lord chief baron, ſir Edward Nevil, Nicholas Lechmere, John Turton, baron of the exchequer; John Trenchard, chief juſtice of Cheſter ſir George Treby attorney general, John Summers, ſolicitor general, and Henry Powle, maſter of the rolls.

† The other officers of the houſhold were, ſir John Lowther, vice chamberlain; lord Montague, maſter of the great wardrobe; the biſhop of London, dean of the chapel; lord Lovelace, captain of the band of penſioners: the duke of Ormond, the earl of Oxford, the lords Mordaunt, Lumley, and Churchill, gentlemen of the king's bed-chamber; the earl of Wiltſhire, ſon of the marquis of Winchеſter, lord chamberlain to the queen, John Howe vice chamberlain; Mr Villiers, great maſter of the horſe; the counteſs of Derby ſiſter to the duke of Ormond, firſt lady of the bed-chamber; and groom of the ſtole to her majeſty.

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land. For theſe reaſons, the commons agreed to the bill, which immediately received the royal aſſent; and from that time the convention was denominated the parliament. The bill alſo ordained, that this act ſhould commence from the thirteenth of February, the day on which the king and queen were advanced to the throne; and that, inſtead of the old oaths of ſupremacy and allegiance, the new oath ſhould be adminiſtered to the members.

Moſt of the commons complied with this latter injunction; but the oath was refuſed by ſeveral lords, as well ſpiritual as temporal. The Non-juring prelates were Sancroft, archbiſhop of Canterbury; Turner, biſhop of Ely; Lake of Chicheſter; Ken, of Bath and Wells; White, of Peterborough; Lloyd, of Norwich; Thomas, of Worceſter; and Frampton, of Glouceſter*. The temporal peers, who refuſed the oath, were the duke of Newcaſtle, the earls of Clarendon, Litchfield, Exeter, Yarmouth and Stafford; the lords Griffin and Stawel. Sancroft was a timid and puſillanimous man, and acted a very inconſiſtent, and even ridiculous part, during the whole affair of the Revolution. Thomas and Lake who died ſoon after, as well as the primate, never made their appearance in the houſe of lords.

When the other five withdrew from the parliament, they thought proper to recommend themſelves by a ſhow of moderation, in conſequence of which, they propoſed a bill of toleration, and another of comprehenſion; by which all moderate Preſbyterians might be reconciled to the church, and admitted to eccleſiaſtical benefices. Such bills were actually prepared and preſented by the earl of Nottingham, who received the thanks of the houſe for the taſk he had undertaken. From this time may be dated the riſe of the Non-jurors, who rejecting the diſtinction of a king *de jure*, and a king *de facto*, as well as all other limitations, ſtrictly adhered to the principle of the divine right of kings, and were the authors of all the plots and conſpiracies, which were formed againſt the new government.

Nor was it long before the effects of their malice began to appear: for, about this period, the king was informed by ſome intercepted letters, that the earl of Arran, ſir Robert Hamilton, and others, had concerted a plan for reſtoring the abdicated monarch. Stimulated by this intimation, he ordered all the conſpirators to be inſtantly arreſted, and committed to the Tower. The lords thanked him for the care he had taken of their liberties, and begged he would ſecure all ſuch as attempted to diſturb the public tranquillity, but the commons, apprehending that this addreſs gave his majeſty a power of diſpenſing with the *Habeas Corpus* act, thought proper to grant him that authority by a bill, which was accordingly introduced, and immediately paſſed the two houſes without oppoſition.

This ſtep was the more neceſſary, as a ſpirit of diſſatisfaction began already to prevail in the army. The royal regiment of Scotch horſe, which was quartered at Abingdon, almoſt totally deſerted; and their example was followed by five hundred of Dumbarton's regiment, headed by five captains. Theſe deſerters immediately proceeded towards Scotland, and were ſuppoſed to have acted in concert with the earl of Arran, and the other conſpirators confined in the Tower. They were inſtantly purſued by general Ginckle with three regiments of Dutch dragoons, who ſoon compelled them to ſurrender. The only puniſhment inflicted on them was, that they were tranſported to ſerve in Holland. The coronation oath, which had hitherto been conceived in very obſcure and ambiguous terms, being now rendered more explicit, that ceremony was performed with great parade and magnificence on the eleventh of April, the biſhop of London officiating at the king's requeſt, in the character of the primate, who had refuſed

* The above mentioned prelates being ſuſpended for refuſing to take the oaths preſcribed by the new government, which, from their implicit devotion to hereditary right, they could not prevail upon themſelves to acknowledge, perſevered in their reſolution: in conſequence of which, ſix months after their ſuſpenſion, they were all deprived of their ſees by the operation of the law, except Lake, who died in the interval, having ſubſcribed, on his death-bed, a ſolemn teſtimonial of his firm adherence to the doctrine of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance (which, he ſaid the church of England inculcated) and of his unalterable reſolution of rejecting the oaths, even if they had been tendered to him at the peril of his life: a ſtrong example of the force of prejudice, and of the tyranny of ſuperſtition over a weak mind!

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to ſubmit to the new government*. On the following day, the commons in a body waited on their majeſties, with an addreſs of congratulation†.

William was very moderate in his principles of church government, and extremely averſe to all manner of perſecution. Conſcious of the loyalty and attachment of his Proteſtant ſubjects, he was willing to grant them ſuch indulgences, as might be conſiſtent with the ſafety of the ſtate. He propoſed, by an act of comprehenſion, to unite the moderate Preſbyterians to the body of the church; by a toleration to give eaſe and liberty to thoſe of more ſcrupulous conſciences; and, by removing the obſtacles ariſing from the act of uniformity, to admit, without exception, all his Proteſtant ſubjects into civil employments.

The king, after an ineffectual attempt to repeal the ſacramental teſt, reſolved to indulge the diſſenters with a toleration; and a bill for this purpoſe being preſented by the earl of Nottingham, after ſome debate, a ſtatute was enacted, under the title of, "An act for exempting their majeſties' Proteſtant ſubjects, diſſenting from the church of England, from the penalties of certain laws, which are therein enumerated."

The ſame indulgence was granted to Anabaptiſts, and even to Quakers, on their promiſing, before God, to be faithful to the king and queen; and their ſolemnly giving their aſſent to thoſe articles which others ratified upon oath: they were alſo required to profeſs their belief in the Trinity and the holy ſcriptures. William was ſo ſteady in his principles of toleration, that he extended his indulgence even to the Catholics; and rejected the propoſals of ſome zealots, who adviſed him to enact ſevere penalties againſt Popiſh recuſants. Such a meaſure, he obſerved, would expoſe England to the reſentment of all the Papiſts of Europe, and might poſſibly produce a new Catholic league, which would convert the war into a religious quarrel; nor could he expect protection would be granted to the Proteſtants in Germany and Hungary, if he granted no lenity to the Catholics in England.

The next object which engaged the attention of the parliament, was the ſettlement of a revenue for the ſupport of the government. Before the Revolution, the whole ſtanding revenue of the ſtate was in the power and diſpoſal of the prince, and was uſually denominated the revenue of the crown. There was no diſtinction of what was allotted for the king's uſe, and what was aſſigned for the ſervice of the public. The king might therefore reſerve as much as he thought proper for his own uſe, and employ no more than he pleaſed for the purpoſes of the nation. It appeared, that, after the Reſtoration, the public money had been conſtantly miſapplied; and large ſums had frequently been conſumed, without being appropriated to the uſes for which they were originally granted.

During the latter end of Charles's reign, eleven hundred thouſand pounds had been granted for

* The new form of the coronation oath was as follows: "Will you ſolemnly promiſe and ſwear to govern the people of this kingdom of England, and the dominions thereto belonging, according to the ſtatutes in parliament agreed on, and the laws and cuſtoms of the ſame?

"I ſolemnly promiſe ſo to do.

"Will you, to the utmoſt of your power, cauſe law and juſtice in mercy to be executed in all your judgments?

"I will.

"Will you, to the utmoſt of your power, maintain the laws of God, the true profeſſion of the goſpel, and the Proteſtant reformed religion, as by law eſtabliſhed? And will you preſerve unto the biſhops and clergy of this realm, and the churches committed to their charge, all ſuch rights and privileges, as by law do or ſhall appertain unto them, or any of them?

"All this I promiſe to do."

Then the king or queen, laying his or her hand upon the goſpels, ſhall ſay, "The thing, which I have here before promiſed, I will perform and keep. So help me God."

The coronation oath, it ſeems, had been altered for the uſe of king James; the promiſe, contained in the original oath, for preſerving the liberties of the people, having been left out, and its place ſupplied by a new engagement for maintaining the prerogatives of the crown. *State Tracts*, vol. ii p. 19.

† The titles and honours, conferred on this occaſion, were theſe: prince George of Denmark, now naturalized, was created baron of Oakingham, earl of Kendal, and duke of Cumberland; the marquis of Winchester was promoted to the rank of a duke, by the title of duke of Bolton; William Bentinck, eſq: groom of the ſtole to his majeſty, was created baron of Cirenceſter, viſcount Woodſtock, and earl of Portland; viſcount Falconberg, earl of Falconberg; viſcount Mordaunt, earl of Monmouth; lord Montague, viſcount Mont-Hermer, and earl of Montague; John, lord Churchill, earl of Marlborough; Henry Sidney, baron of Milton, and viſcount of Sheepey in Kent: the viſcounts of Waterford and Kenis, two Iriſh peers, were honoured with Engliſh titles of the ſame dignity: lord Coote was appointed treaſurer and receiver-general to her majeſty; the duke of Ormond, the earl of Devonſhire, and marſhal Schomberg, were elected knights of the garter; and on Thomas Pilkington, lord mayor of London, was conferred the honour of knighthood.

the building of ſhips, though not a ſingle veſſel was conſtructed: upwards of two millions were advanced for ſupporting the triple league, which ſum was ſpeedily employed in breaking it; and the ſum of twelve hundred thouſand pounds was allotted for an actual war with France, when, at the ſame time the Engliſh were under every obligation to preſerve peace with that nation, which they accordingly continued to maintain. To prevent the miſapplication of the public money, it was wiſely reſolved at the Revolution, that a ſeparate income ſhould be allotted for the maintenance of the king's houſhold, and the ſupport of his dignity; and that the reſt of the revenue ſhould be entirely ſubjected to the control of the parliament. It was alſo determined, that theſe ſums ſhould be granted only from year to year, or at moſt, for a very ſhort period.

This appropriation of the revenue, is one of the greateſt advantages produced by the Revolution, and indeed the chief bulwark of the national liberties; as it deprives the crown of the power of diſpoſing of the public money at pleaſure, and obliges it to ſubmit every article of expence to the examination of parliament. Without the frequent meeting of that aſſembly, the navy, the army, the ordnance, and all the operations of government, muſt conſequently be ſtopped or impeded. The better to introduce this important change into the government, the Commons, in the firſt place, voted, that the revenue was expired by the vacancy of the throne; and though it was uſually granted to the king for life, it was now reſolved to grant no revenue but from year to year, or at moſt for a ſhort and limited term of years. This expedient the Whigs imagined would be the moſt effectual way of ſecuring their liberties, and engaging the king to merit a renewal of the grant, by a juſt and popular adminiſtration.

When the revenue fell under conſideration, they pretended, that, as it was burthened with many expences and anticipations, they had not time to examine the particulars with due attention; and therefore they granted it by a proviſional act for one year only. The civil liſt was ſettled at ſix hundred thouſand pounds, out of which were to be paid the appointments of the queen dowager, the prince and princeſs of Denmark, the judges and mareſchal Schomberg, to whom the parliament had already granted the ſum of one hundred thouſand pounds, as a reward for his important ſervices. It was likewiſe voted that a conſtant revenue of twelve hundred thouſand pounds ſhould be eſtabliſhed for the ſupport of the crown in time of peace.

William was ſomewhat diſpleaſed at the ſevere reſtraints which were impoſed upon the application of the public money. He conſidered them as marks of diffidence by which he was diſtinguiſhed from his predeceſſors; and thought it an ungenerous return for the ſervices he had rendered the nation. The Tories did not fail to improve this opportunity to their own advantage. They endeavoured to perſuade the king, that they themſelves were the only real friends of monarchy; and that all the Whigs, notwithſtanding their preſent profeſſions of loyalty and attachment, were ſtrongly infected with republican principles. Theſe ſuggeſtions operated on the mind of William, who, from thenceforth, began to alienate his affections from thoſe who were moſt zealouſly attached to his intereſt. This jealouſy, however, did not hinder him from propoſing a very popular and ſalutary meaſure. He ſent a meſſage to the houſe of commons, importing, that he ſhould be extremely willing to concur in any expedient they might deem neceſſary, for a mitigation or total abolition of the tax on hearths*; which he underſtood was a grievous impoſition on the ſubject; and this obnoxious impoſt was accordingly aboliſhed†. The commons were ſo well pleaſed with this inſtance of his majeſty's generoſity, that they preſented an addreſs of thanks conceived in the warmeſt terms of duty and affection.

As a farther mark of their gratitude, they proceeded to conſider of means for repaying the money which the Dutch had expended upon William's armament. The ſum total of their expences amounted to ſeven millions of guilders; and the commons granted ſix hundred

* By the hearth-tax it appeared, that the number of houſes in England and Wales, ſoon after the Reſtoration, was about one million two hundred and thirty thouſand; and allowing ſix perſons, at a medium to every houſe, the number of people at that time muſt have amounted to ſeven millions three hundred and eighty thouſand.

† Notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the Tories to an indulgence which was calculated to render the new government popular, a bill for that purpoſe was carried into effect, to the great ſatisfaction of the public. *Burnet. Chandler.*

thouſand pounds for the diſcharge of this debt. The jealouſy which the king had conceived againſt the Whigs, was greatly encreaſed by a new project concerted by that party. They introduced a bill into the houſe for regulating the militia in ſuch a manner, as would have rendered it, in a great meaſure, independent both of the king and lords lieutenants of counties. As theſe were generally peers, the bill was rejected by the upper houſe: but this attempt confirmed the ſuſpicion of the king, who began gradually to eſtrange himſelf from the Whigs *.

The Tories had commiſſioned Nottingham, in their collective body, to make a tender of their ſervices to his majeſty; but they alledged, at the ſame time, that as they were in danger of being proſecuted for their conduct during the late reign, they could not, without an act of indemnity, exert their endeavours in favour of the crown, without ſubjecting themſelves to the vengeance of their enemies. The king, influenced by theſe ſuggeſtions, diſpatched a meſſage to the houſe, recommending a bill of indemnity, as the beſt means of terminating all controverſies, diſtinctions, and diſputes. He deſired it might be expeditiouſly prepared; and with ſuch exceptions only, as ſhould be indiſpenſably neceſſary for the vindication of public juſtice, the ſecurity of himſelf and his conſort, and the ſafety and welfare of the public. The commons thanked his majeſty for this inſtance of lenity and indulgence. But the deſign was fruſtrated by the Whigs, who proceeded ſo ſlowly in the bill, that it could not be brought to a concluſion before the end of the ſeſſion. They were determined to keep the laſh over the head of their enemies, till they ſhould find a proper opportunity for ample vengeance: they intended to make them ſmart ſeverely for thoſe ſcenes of cruelty, injuſtice, and oppreſſion, which had been perpetrated under the former reign; and they alſo hoped, by the fear of puniſhment, to reſtrain them from oppoſition.

The next object, which engroſſed the attention of the parliament, was an act for ſettling the ſucceſſion of the crown, according to the former reſolution of the convention. A bill for this purpoſe was introduced into the lower houſe, with a clauſe diſabling Papiſts from ſucceeding to the crown: to which the lords ſubjoined, "or ſuch as ſhould marry Papiſts;" abſolving the ſubject, in that caſe, from allegiance. The biſhop of Saliſbury, by the king's direction, moved, that the princeſs Sophia, ducheſs of Hanover, and her poſterity, ſhould be named in the act of ſucceſſion, as the next Proteſtant heirs, after the iſſue of the king, and thoſe of the princeſs of Denmark. This clauſe was readily admitted by the lords; but ſtrongly oppoſed in the lower houſe, not only by ſuch as were ſecretly attached to the late king, but alſo by all the republican party. The latter conſidered, that, on the death of the three perſons named in the ſucceſſion, the monarchy of England might eaſily be extinguiſhed, and a commonwealth eſtabliſhed.

The lords inſiſted upon their amendment; and ſeveral conferences were held between the two houſes. At length the bill, after depending two months, was laid aſide for the preſent, in conſequence of an event, which ſeemed, in ſome degree, to diſpel the fears of a Popiſh ſucceſſor. This was no other than the happy termination of the pregnancy of the princeſs Anne, who, on the twenty-ſeventh of July, was delivered of a ſon, afterwards baptized by the name of William; and ſoon after the young prince was created duke of Glouceſter.

If we conſider that the Scots had experienced every ſpecies of tyranny and oppreſſion during the two laſt reigns, it will not appear ſurprizing, that the Revolution ſhould be accompliſhed with as much eaſe in that kingdom as in England. The eſtates having aſſembled, in conſequence of a letter from king William, immediately agreed to the following vote: "The eſtates "of the kingdom of Scotland find and declare, "that king James the Seventh, being a pro- "feſſed Papiſt, did aſſume the royal power, and "act as a king, without ever taking the oath "required by law; and had, by the advice of

* The pecuniary concerns of the queen's ſiſter, the princeſs of Denmark, occaſioned warm debates at this period: her friends had endeavoured, in the preceding ſeſſion, to procure a parliamentary augmentation of her annual allowance, as ſhe was far from being ſatisfied with a revenue of thirty thouſand pounds, which her father had appropriated to her uſe. William, on the contrary, conſidered the income as more than ſufficient for every expence which the maintenance of her family, or the ſupport of her dignity required. But the majority of the houſe of commons agreed to the allowance of fifty thouſand pounds, payable out of the civil liſt. From this time both the king and queen treated the princeſs (the queen's ſiſter) with contemptuous neglect, and even teſtified an ungenerous animoſity towards her, as if ſhe had been an alien and an enemy.

"evil

" evil and wicked counſellors, invaded the fun-
" damental conſtitution of this kingdom, and
" altered it from a legal and limited monarchy
" to an arbitrary and deſpotic power; and had
" governed the ſame to the ſubverſion of the
" Proteſtant religion, and violation of the laws
" and liberties of the nation, inverting all the
" ends of government, whereby he had for-
" feited the crown, and the throne was become
" vacant." This vote was inſtantly paſſed into a law, and a commiſſion granted to three of the members to repair to London, and make a tender of the crown to William and Mary, king and queen of England. At the ſame time the epiſcopal form of worſhip was aboliſhed and the Preſbyterian eſtabliſhed in its place.

Some efforts, indeed, were made in favour of the abdicated monarch; but theſe were equally weak and ineffectual. The duke of Gordon continued, for ſome time, to hold out the caſtle of Edinburgh for James; but was at laſt obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. The viſcount of Dundee, a gallant officer, and the ſoul of the Jacobin party in Scotland, aſſembled a body of Highlanders, and declared for his old maſter*.

He attacked the regular troops of Scotland, though reinforced with ſome Engliſh regiments; and obtained a complete victory: but he loſt his life in the action; and his death put a period to the enterprize. A letter, diſpatched by James to the eſtates, met with ſo unfavourable a reception, that his meſſenger was impriſoned, and afterwards, by way of contempt, diſmiſſed with a paſs inſtead of an anſwer. In a word, the whole nation, a very few excepted, ſeemed to concur in renouncing allegiance to their old ſovereign, and acknowledging ſubmiſſion to the new government. James, however, did not abandon all hopes of being one day able to re-aſcend the throne of his anceſtors. He had been received with great cordiality by the French monarch, who aſſigned him the caſtle of St. Germain for his reſidence; ſupplied his houſehold with every thing neceſſary, and promiſed to aſſiſt him, to the utmoſt of his power, in recovering the abdicated crown.

Notwithſtanding theſe encouragements, the conduct of James manifeſted no favourable idea of his ſpirit or underſtanding. He ſeemed to be little affected with the misfortunes he had ſuffered. He paſſed the greater part of his time in hunting, or conferring with the Jeſuits, of whoſe ſociety he profeſſed himſelf a member. All his faculties appeared to be abſorbed in bigotry and ſuperſtition. The Pope ſupplied him with indulgences, while the Romans ridiculed him in paſquinades. The archbiſhop of Rheims, ſeeing him return from his devotions, exclaimed with a contemptuous ſneer: " there goes a very " honeſt gentleman, who has ſacrificed three " kingdoms for a maſs."

Conſidering the ſituation of England and Scotland, his only hope of ſucceſs could depend upon Ireland. Tyrconnel, who commanded in that kingdom, was ſtrongly attached to his intereſt, but he thought proper to temporize with William, till he ſhould receive reinforcements from France, which he earneſtly ſolicited by letter. At length, after ſome delays, the French ſuccours were prepared, and the fleet was ready to put to ſea by the beginning of March.

Lewis is ſaid to have offered an army of fifteen thouſand French ſoldiers to ſerve in this expedition; but James replied, that he was determined to ſucceed principally by the aſſiſtance of his own ſubjects, or periſh in the attempt. He therefore contented himſelf with about five thouſand French forces, and a great number of experienced officers, who were embarked in the fleet at Breſt, conſiſting of fourteen ſhips of the line, ſix frigates, three fire-ſhips, and a ſufficient number of tranſports. Lewis alſo ſupplied him with arms for forty thouſand men, upon his arrival in Ireland; accommodated him with a large ſum of money, ſuperb equipages, abundance of plate, and every thing neceſſary for the camp and houſehold. At parting, he affectionately embraced him, ſaying; " the beſt thing I " can wiſh you is, that I may never ſee you again."

On the ſeventh of March James embarked at Breſt, in company with the count D'Avaux, who attended him in the character of ambaſſador. He was detained in the harbour, by contrary winds, till the fourteenth of the month, when he ſet ſail, and on the twenty-ſecond arrived at Kinſale in Ireland.

* A party, ſince properly diſtinguiſhed by the reproachful appellation of *Jacobites*, ſecretly lurked among the Tories; who, from their attachment to the perſon or the family of the dethroned monarch, and an adherence to the monſtrous doctrines of paſſive obedience, and of divine indefeaſible hereditary right, wiſhed to bring back the king, and invariably held, that none but a *Stuart* could juſtly be inveſted with the regal character.

Informed

informed of this circumſtance, the Engliſh parliament preſented an addreſs to the king, expreſſing their deteſtation of the preſent invaſion, and promiſing to defend his majeſty's perſon and government at the hazard of their lives and fortunes. William had already diſcovered that he had been deceived by Tyrconnel, and had iſſued a declaration requiring the Iriſh to abandon their arms, and ſubmit to the new government. He now aſſembled a fleet of thirty ſhips of war, and conferred the chief command upon admiral Herbert; but the armament was ſo retarded by unavoidable accidents, that it was not ready for ſailing till the beginning of April. In a few days James repaired to Cork, where he was received by the earl of Tyrconnel, who had collected an army of thirty thouſand foot, and eight thouſand cavalry. Towards the latter end of March James made his public entry into Dublin in a triumphant manner. He was met at the caſtle gate, by a proceſſion of Popiſh biſhops and prieſts in their pontificals, bearing the hoſt, which he publicly adored. On the following morning, having aſſembled a council, he diſmiſſed the earl of Granard, chairman, chief juſtice Keating and other Proteſtants, who had adviſed the lord lieutenant to acknowledge the new government. To ſupply their place, he admitted the French ambaſſador, the biſhop of Cheſter, colonel Dorrington, and all the principal perſons who attended him in the expedition*.

The Proteſtants had ſo little faith in king James's promiſes, that they univerſally reſolved to act on their defence. The inhabitants of Londonderry, alarmed at the report of a general maſſacre, ſhut their gates againſt the regiment of the earl of Antrim, and determined to reſiſt to the laſt extremity. They acquainted the government of England with this reſolution, as well as with the imminent danger, to which they were expoſed; and they therefore implored immediate aſſiſtance. They were ſpeedily ſupplied with ſome arms and ammunition; but they did not receive any conſiderable reinforcement till the middle of April, when two regiments arrived in Loughfoyl, under the command of Cunningham and Richards.

By this time, James had reduced Coleraine, laid ſiege to Kilmore, and was advancing to Londonderry by long and haſty marches.

In order to complete the deſtruction of the Proteſtants, and totally extirpate their religion, an act of attainder was paſſed by James againſt all perſons of that perſuaſion who were abſent from the kingdom, as well as againſt thoſe who retired into any part of the three kingdoms, who did not acknowledge king James's authority, or who correſponded with rebels, or were aiding or aſſiſting them from the firſt of Auguſt in the preceding year†.

Nor was James leſs arbitrary in the executive, than in the legiſlative part of his government. All vacancies in public ſchools were ſupplied with Popiſh teachers. The penſion granted from the exchequer to the univerſity of Dublin was diſcontinued; the vice-provoſt, fellows, and ſcholars were ejected; the furniture, plate, and library were ſeized, without the leaſt colour or pretence,

* The ſame day he publiſhed five proclamations: the firſt ſeemingly in favour of his Proteſtant ſubjects, who had abandoned the kingdom, requiring them to return immediately on promiſe of his protection, to join him againſt the prince of Orange. In the ſecond he returned his grateful acknowledgements to his Catholic ſubjects for their fidelity and attachment; and enjoined ſuch as were not actually in his ſervice, to ſecure their arms, till it ſhould be found neceſſary to employ them for his advantage. The third contained an invitation to the ſubjects to ſupply his army with proviſions. In the fourth he enhanced the value of the coin. And by the fifth he ſummoned a parliament to meet on the ſeventh of May at Dublin. At the ſame time he created the earl of Tyrconnel a duke, and beſtowed the command of the royal regiment on Dorrington, in the room of the duke of Ormond.

† When this bill of attainder was preſented to the king for his aſſent, which, like a mercileſs tyrant, he readily gave, the ſpeaker of the commons informed him, "that ſome "were condemned upon ſuch evidence as appeared ſatisfactory to the houſe, and all the reſt upon common fame." The number of Proteſtants attainted this by act, amounted to about three thouſand, including two archbiſhops, one duke, ſeventeen earls, ſeven counteſſes, twenty-eight viſcounts, two viſcounteſſes, ſeven biſhops, eighteen barons, thirty-three baronets, fifty-one knights, and eighty-three clergymen; all of whom "were declared traitors, and adjudged to ſuffer death and forfeiture."

The ſeverity of this act exceeded even that of the famous proſcription of Rome during the laſt triumvirate; for more perſons were condemned in the little kingdom of Ireland, than were proſcribed at that time through the vaſt extent of the Roman empire. And, to render the blow ſtill more deſtructive, the people ſubjected to this cruel puniſhment, were deprived of all hope of forgiveneſs, and all benefit of appeal; a clauſe in the act having rendered the king's pardon invalid, unleſs inrolled before the firſt of December; and by a ſubſequent law, the parliament of Ireland was declared independent of that of England.

and in direct violation of the king's promise to support them in the poſſeſſion of their rights and privileges. He converted the college into a garriſon, the chapel into a magazine, and the apartments into priſons: Moore, a Catholic prieſt, was nominated provoſt; one Maccarty, of the ſame perſuaſion, was appointed library keeper; and the whole foundation was changed into a Catholic ſeminary.

Some ſhips arriving in the bay of Dublin, a proclamation was iſſued, forbidding the Proteſtants to aſſemble in any place of worſhip or elſewhere, on pain of death. By a ſecond they were ordered to deliver up their arms, both offenſive and defenſive, on pain of being treated as traitors. Lutterel, governor of Dublin, publiſhed an ordinance by beat of drum, commanding the farmers to bring their corn for his majeſty's ſervice, within a limited time, or he would cauſe them to be *hanged* before their reſpective doors; and, by another all the proteſtants of a certain diſtrict were enjoined to depart to the diſtance of ten miles from their habitations, on pain of immediate execution. Such were the gentle expedients employed by James to regain the affections of his old ſubjects!

William, however, was ſo little afraid of the ſucceſs of this enterprize, that his principal attention was engroſſed by the general intereſts of Europe. The great ſcheme, which he had formed of a confederacy againſt France, began about this time to take effect. The princes of the empire, convened at the diet of Ratiſbon, earneſtly importuned the emperor to declare war againſt the French king. The ſtates-general iſſued a declaration againſt the common enemy, charging him with repeated violations of the treaty of commerce; and with having denounced war againſt the ſtate, without the leaſt pretext of juſtice. The elector of Brandenburgh declared war againſt France, as a power whoſe inſatiable ambition it was the duty of every prince to oppoſe. The marquis de Caſtanaga, governor of the Spaniſh Netherlands, publiſhed a counter declaration to that of Lewis, who had proclaimed war againſt his maſter. The emperor concluded a league offenſive and defenſive with the ſtates-general, by which the contracting parties were obliged to exert their whole united force againſt France and her allies.

William, who had been the original author, and was ſtill the chief conductor of this confederacy, found no difficulty in perſuading the Engliſh to undertake a war againſt their old enemies and rivals. In conſequence of a motion made by Mr. Hambden, the commons reſolved, that if his majeſty ſhould think proper to engage in a war with France, they would, in a parliamentary way, enable him to carry it on with the utmoſt vigour.

An addreſs was immediately framed and preſented to the king, from the houſe of commons, aſſuring his majeſty, that he might depend upon the ready aſſiſtance of his parliament, according to the vote which they had paſſed.

Soon after a declaration of war was iſſued againſt Lewis, in which that monarch was accuſed of having unjuſtly invaded the territories of the emperor, and denounced war againſt the allies of England, in violation of the treaties concluded under the guaranty of the Engliſh crown. Six days before this proclamation, the war was more effectually declared by a naval engagement between the French and the Engliſh. After the return of the fleet which tranſported James to Ireland, Lewis diſpatched another ſquadron, commanded by Chateau Renaud, as a convoy to ſome ſhips laden with arms, ammunition and money, for the uſe of the rebels.

Before they ſailed from Breſt, king William, informed of their departure, detached admiral Herbert from Spithead, with twelve ſhips of the line, one fire ſhip, and four tenders to intercept the enemy. He was forced by tempeſtuous weather into Milford-haven, whence he directed his courſe to Kinſale, ſuppoſing the French had departed from Breſt, and that it was probable he ſhould be able to come up with them on the coaſt of Ireland.

On the firſt of May he diſcovered them at anchor in Bantry Bay, and immediately reſolved to engage them. The French fleet conſiſted of twenty-eight ſhips of the line, together with five fire ſhips. They no ſooner diſcerned the Engliſh, than they weighed anchor, ſtood out to windward, formed the line, bore down and began the action, which was maintained, for ſome time, with equal bravery on both ſides, notwithſtanding the great diſparity of numbers. Herbert tacked ſeveral times hoping to gain the wind of the enemy, or at leaſt of bringing them to a

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cloſer engagement; but the French were ſo extremely cautious in bearing down, that he found it impoſſible to effect his purpoſe. At length, judging it imprudent to continue the combat with a fleet ſo much ſuperior, he ſtood off to ſea, and maintained a running fight till five in the afternoon, when Chateau Renaud tacked about and returned into the bay; and, as the Engliſh ſhips had ſuffered ſo much in their maſts and rigging as to be rendered unfit for further action, Herbert did not think proper to purſue them. Conſidering the diſparity between the two fleets, the Engliſh might think themſelves happy in coming off with ſo inconſiderable a loſs; having only ninety men killed, and about two hundred and ſeventy wounded. The naval operations of the year, after the engagement in the bay of Bantry, were unimportant*.

Herbert retired to the iſles of Scilly, where he expected to meet with a reinforcement; but, being diſappointed, he returned to Portſmouth. Soon after the king repaired to the ſame place, as well to haſten the refitting of the fleet, as to diſtribute rewards among the officers and ſailors who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the action. He dined with the admiral on board the Elizabeth, declared his intention of creating him an earl, in conſideration of his gallant conduct, beſtowed the honour of knighthood on the captains Aſhly and Shovel, and gave a gratuity of ten ſhillings to every private ſailor†.

The attention of the parliament was chiefly engroſſed in raiſing ſupplies for the ſupport of the war, in reverſing attainders and judgments paſſed in the late reigns, and in calling to account the authors of the late illegal proceedings, as well as of the preſent mal-adminiſtration.—The attainders reverſed, were thoſe of lord Ruſſel (whoſe death in the act is declared murder), of Algernon Sidney, alderman Cornith, and lady Liſle.

The houſe appointed a committee of privileges, to inquire into the caſe of the earl of Devonſhire, who, in the late reign, had been fined thirty thouſand pounds, for aſſaulting colonel Culpepper in the preſence-chamber. The committee having made their report, the lords declared, that the court of king's bench, in overruling the earl's plea of privilege of parliament, committed a manifeſt breach of privilege; that the fine was exceſſive and exorbitant; and that no peer of the realm ought at any time to be impriſoned for non-payment of a fine to the king.

Mr. Samuel Johnſon, chaplain to lord Ruſſel, had written a pamphlet which had been adjudged a libel; for which he was ſentenced to be degraded, fined, ſcourged, and ſet in the pillory. This ſentence was now reverſed, and the author recommended to his majeſty for ſome eccleſiaſtical preferment. He received a preſent of one thouſand pounds, and a grant of a penſion of three hundred pounds a year for his own life and that of his ſon, who was likewiſe gratified with a place of one hundred pounds a year.

Titus Oates applied to the lords for a reverſal of the judgment given againſt him on his being convicted of perjury. He was diſcharged from priſon; and the lords, at the requeſt of the commons, recommended him to his majeſty for a pardon, which he obtained, together with a competent annuity.

The committee appointed to enquire into the caſes of the ſtate priſoners, found that ſir Robert Wright, late lord chief juſtice, had been concerned in the cruelties exerciſed in the weſt, after the invaſion of Monmouth; that he had been guilty of great enormities in the affair of Magdalen college; had been one of the eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners, and one of the judges who had declared his opinion in the caſe of Hales, that the king might legally diſpenſe with the ſtatutes of the kingdom.

They alſo found that Graham and Burton, who had acted as ſolicitors in the illegal proſecutions during the reign of Charles II. had been guilty of many crimes; particularly, of having been inſtrumental in taking away the lives and eſtates of thoſe who had ſuffered the loſs of either, under colour of law, for the laſt eight years; of having, by malicious indictments, informations, and proſecutions of *Quo warranto*, endeavoured the ſubverſion of the Proteſtant religion, and the government of the realm; and of having diſſipated

* The French, however, aſſumed the honour of the day, and even repreſented it as a ſignal victory.

† About this time, the king purchaſed the earl of Nottingham's houſe at Kenſington, for twenty thouſand pounds, which he converted into a royal palace.

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many thouſand pounds of the public money in the courſe of theſe illegal proceedings*.

Notwithſtanding the critical ſituation of affairs in Ireland, and the repeated applications made by the Proteſtants, the ſuccours were ſo retarded, either by the diſputes among the miniſters, or the negligence of thoſe who had the management of the expedition, that James had remained ſix months in that kingdom before the embarkation of the Engliſh army. At length eighteen regiments of foot, and five of dragoons, being raiſed for the ſervice, a train of artillery provided, and tranſports engaged, the duke of Schomberg, to whom king William had given the command of the forces, ſet out for Cheſter.

On the thirteenth of Auguſt, he landed in the neighbourhood of Carrickfergus, with about ten thouſand infantry and dragoons; the reſt of the troops being detained ſome time for want of tranſports. He immediately took poſſeſſion of Belfaſt, whence the enemy retired at his approach to Carrickfergus, which they reſolved to defend. The duke, having refreſhed his men, advanced to the attack of that place; and the ſiege was proſecuted with ſuch vigour, that, in a few days the beſieged found it neceſſary to ſurrender, on condition of marching out with their arms, and as much baggage as they could carry on their backs; and of being conducted to Newry, the next Iriſh garriſon. The reſt of the troops being now arrived from England, the duke began his march though Lilſburne to Hilſborough, and encamped at Drummore, where the Proteſtants of the north had lately been driven by Hamilton; and thence proceeded to Loughbrillane, where he was joined by the horſe and dragoons of Inniſkillin, who generouſly offered to act as his advanced guard. Upon their approach the enemy abandoned Newry, a very ſtrong paſs, after having ſet fire to the town; but the general being informed of this circumſtance, aſſured the duke of Berwick, the commanding officer, "that if he continued to proſecute the war in "that barbarous manner, no quarter ſhould be "given to the Iriſh."

Terrified by this menace, they abandoned Dundalk without doing any injury to the place; and Schomberg advancing thither, encamped on a low ſwampy ground, having the town on the ſouth, and being defended on every other ſide by hills, bogs, and mountains. His army, compoſed chiefly of recruits, little inured to hardſhips, ſoon began to flag under the fatigue of marching, the inclemency of the weather, and the ſcarcity of proviſion. Here he was joined by the regiments of Kirk, Hanmer, and Stuart; and would have continued his march to Drogheda, where he heard that Roſen was ſtationed with about twenty thouſand men, had he not been obliged to wait for the artillery, which had not yet arrived at Callingford, the place of its original deſtination.

James, having aſſembled all his forces, advanced towards Schomberg, and approached in order of battle, within two miles of his intrenchments; but the duke, knowing they were greatly ſuperior in number of horſe, and that his own army was undiſciplined, and greatly reduced by death and ſickneſs, prudently declined a battle, and ſoon after the enemy thought proper to retire.

Soon after their departure, a conſpiracy was diſcovered in the Engliſh camp, conducted by ſome French Papiſts, who had privately enliſted in the Proteſtant regiments. One of theſe, named Du Pleſſis, who had formerly been a captain in the French ſervice, and obliged to fly the kingdom for murder, had tranſmitted a letter to the ambaſſador D'Avaux, promiſing to deſert with all the Papiſts in the three French regiments in Schomberg's army, provided he might obtain a pardon in his own country. This letter being intercepted, Du Pleſſis and five accomplices were ſeized, tried by a court martial, and executed. About two hundred and fifty Papiſts being diſcovered in the French regiments, they

* Had the deteſtable Jefferies been ſtill alive, he would doubtleſs have experienced that infamous death which his numerous crimes deſerved. But he died in the tower, September 18, 1689, ſoon after his commitment. He expreſſed a thorough repentance for the many crimes of which he had been guilty; but, with regard to that part of his conduct which had expoſed him to the moſt cenſure, his behaviour in the weſt, after the defeat of the duke of Monmouth, he ſolemnly declared, in his dying moments, that all the cruelties which he had exerciſed, were infinitely ſhort of the king's directions; and that he had even incurred his majeſty's diſpleaſure for having indulged the rebels with too much lenity. A wretched plea in extenuation of his guilt!

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were instantly secured, disarmed, sent over to England, and from thence to Holland, where they were set at liberty.

While Schomberg remained in his camp, he permitted the Inniskilliners to make excursions in the neighbourhood; nor had he any reason to repent this indulgence: for on the twenty-seventh of September, he received an account, that upwards of a thousand of them, under colonel Lloyd, had routed a body of five thousand Irish; having, with very little loss on their own side, killed seven hundred of the enemy, and taken O'Kelly, their commander, with forty officers, and a considerable number of cattle. The duke was so well satisfied with their gallant conduct, that he ordered all the Inniskillin troops to draw out, rode along the line with his hat off, and caused the Dutch guards and the Inniskillin foot to make three running fires; which were answered by Inniskillin horse, by the cannon of Dundalk, and by the ships which lay off the mouth of the river*.

James's most important enterprize was the siege of Londonderry†. Before this town he appeared in person, with a large army, commanded by the mareschal de Rosen, de Maumont, general Hamilton, the duke of Berwick, and other officers of distinction. But so bold was the spirit of the inhabitants, heightened by the report of a general massacre, that instead of tamely surrendering, they gallantly repelled all attempts to reduce the place, and even annoyed the besiegers with their sallies. At length, however, weakened and distressed by famine, and diminished in number by pestilence, they were reduced almost to despair. The bishop of Meath being informed that Rosen had declared he would execute his vengeance on all the Protestants of that country, and drive them under the walls of Londonderry, where they should be suffered to perish by famine, he complained to king James of the barbarous intention; entreating his majesty to prevent its being carried into execution. That prince assured him that he had already ordered Rosen to abandon so cruel a project; but the Frenchman executed his threats, with the most malicious rigour. In order finally to complete their depression, in this terrible extremity, the mareschal de Rosen, in the absence of James, collected all the protestants in the neighbouring country, to the number of four or five thousand, without distinction of age, sex, or condition, and cruelly placed them between his lines and the walls of the town; where many of them were suffered to perish with hun[illegible] from a persuasion that the besieged would either believe their friends or surrender the place. [illegible] this barbarous expedient failed of its effect [illegible] served only to confirm the inhabitants in their resolution of persevering to the last. Happily, relief presented itself; a reinforcement arrived from England with ammunition and provisions, and the besiegers thought proper to renounce the undertaking.

General Kirk, apprized of their extreme necessity, had ordered three ships to sail up the river. These were the Montjoy of Londonderry, and the Phœnix of Coleraine, both laden with provision, and under the convoy of the Dartmouth frigate. The Montjoy advancing with full sail, broke the enemy's boom; and all the three, after having sustained a very hot fire from both sides of the river, arrived in safety at the town, to the inexpressible joy of the inhabitants. The army of James was so discouraged by the success of this enterprize, that they raised the siege the very next night; and retired with the utmost precipitation, after having lost about nine thousand men in the attempt.

The people of Inniskillin were no less remarkable than those of Londonderry for their noble resolution in defence of the Protestant cause. They raised a regiment consisting of twelve companies, and bestowed the command upon Gustavus Hamilton, whom they also appointed their governor. They proclaimed William and

* A raging sickness continued to prevail in Schomberg's camp, and swept away great numbers of officers and soldiers; so that in the beginning of next spring, he had lost half his army. He was blamed for his inactivity; and the king, in two several letters, desired him to come to an engagement provided an opportunity should offer; but considering that his own army was so reduced by death and sickness, and that the enemy were thrice his number, well-disciplined, healthy, and conducted by able officers, he did not think it prudent to hazard a battle, the loss of which might be attended with the most fatal consequences.

† The duration of this siege extended to one hundred and two days. The besiegers are said to have lost by hostility and disease, above eight thousand of their number; and the loss of the garrison exceeded three thousand. *Walker's Siege of Londonderry.*

Mary, whoſe title they determined to maintain againſt all oppoſition.

Lord Gilmoy having beſieged the caſtle of Crom, in the neighbourhood of Inniſkillin, the inhabitants of that place threw ſuccours into the fort, and obliged the enemy to abandon the enterprize. A detachment of the garriſon, under lieutenant-colonel Lloyd, made an excurſion into the enemy's country, ſeized and demoliſhed the caſtle of Anghor, and returned home with a conſiderable booty. Several other ſkirmiſhes paſſed between them and the Iriſh; in all of which they ſtill obtained the advantage. On the day preceding the relief of Londonderry, they attacked and defeated ſix thouſand Papiſts at Newton Butler; and took their commander Marcarty, commonly called, lord Moncaſhel.

The Iriſh parliament having met at Dublin, in obedience to James's declaration, he addreſſed them in a formal ſpeech, in which he thanked them for their zeal and loyalty; expatiated on the generoſity of the French king, who had afforded an aſylum to him, his queen, and his ſon, and had now enabled him to viſit his dominions in perſon, inſiſted upon executing his deſign of eſtabliſhing liberty of conſcience, as the moſt effectual means of promoting the happineſs and welfare of his people; and promiſed to concur with them in making ſuch laws, as might tend to enſure the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom. Sir Richard Neagle, attorney-general, being choſen ſpeaker of the commons, moved for an addreſs of thanks to his majeſty; and that the count D'Avaux ſhould be deſired to offer their grateful acknowledgments to the moſt Chriſtian king, for the friendly aſſiſtance he had rendered to their ſovereign. This addreſs being framed with the concurrence of both houſes, a bill was introduced to recognize the king's title, and to expreſs their abhorrence of the prince of Orange's uſurpation, as well as of the defection of the Engliſh.

On the following day, James iſſued a declaration, addreſſed to all his loving ſubjects in the kingdom of England. He there complained of the many falſe and inviduous reports, which had been raiſed and circulated againſt his perſon and government; inſiſted on his own impartiality in preferring his Proteſtant ſubjects to places of truſt and profit; his care in protecting them from their enemies, in redreſſing their grievances, and indulging them with liberty of conſcience, promiſing that he would take no ſtep without the conſent and concurrence of parliament; offering a free and ample pardon to all perſons who ſhould abandon his enemies, and join him in twenty-four days after his landing in Ireland; and attributing all the blood which might be ſpilt, to thoſe who ſhould continue in rebellion.

With what ſincerity he made theſe profeſſions, ſoon appeared from his ſubſequent conduct; and as both houſes were chiefly filled with Catholics, they were extremely ready to concur with him in all his arbitrary and illegal meaſures: the rather, as theſe very meaſures evidently tended to their own advantage, and to effect the ruin and deſtruction of the Proteſtants.

The difficulties of James now rapidly accumulated. Soon after the failure of the ſiege of Londonderry; the duke of Schomberg, landed in Ireland with ten thouſand men. But the impracticable nature of the country, to which he was a ſtranger, and the declining ſeaſon, prevented that experienced general from making any progreſs before the cloſe of the campaign. During the winter, however, though his troops ſuffered greatly by diſeaſe, he gained ſome advantages over the Iriſh; and William, in order to haſten his operations*, and put at once an end to the war, came over in perſon, with a freſh army, the beginning of the next ſummer.

On the fourth of June, the king embarked for Ireland, accompanied by prince George of Denmark, the duke of Ormond, the earls of Oxford, Scarborough, Mancheſter, and many other perſons of diſtinction; and on the fourteenth of the ſame month, he landed at Carrickfergus, from whence he immediately proceeded to Belfaſt, where he was met by the duke of Schomberg, the prince of Wirtemberg, major-general Kirk, and other principal officers. By this time, the Engliſh had gained ſeveral advantages over the Iriſh. Colonel Woolſey, at the head of a thouſand men, had defeated a ſtrong body of the enemy, amounting to nine thouſand men, in the neighbourhood of Belturbat: Sir John Lanier had taken Bedloe Caſtle; and that of Charlemont, a ſtrong fort of great importance, toge-

* A. D. 1690.

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ther with Balingarge, near Caven, had been reduced*.

King William having reposed himself for two or three days at Belfast, repaired to Lisburne, the duke's head quarters, and from thence to Hillsborough; where he published an order against pressing horses, and committing violence on the country people. When some of his general officers recommended cautious measures, he declared, "that he did not come to Ireland "to let the grass grow under his feet," but would prosecute the war with the utmost vigour. He ordered the whole army to encamp at Loughbrittane, where, upon a review, he found it amounted to thirty-six thousand effective men well appointed. In a few days he advanced to Dunkalk, and afterwards to Ardee, which the enemy had just abandoned.

James was so confident, that the disputes in the English parliament would prevent king William from leaving that kingdom, that the latter had been no less than six days in Ireland, before the other was informed of his arrival. Of this, however, he no sooner gained intelligence, than he committed the guard of Dublin to a body of militia, commanded by Lutterel; and setting out with a reinforcement of six thousand infantry, which he had lately received from France, joined the rest of his forces, which were now nearly equal to the English in number, exclusive of about fifteen thousand men, who remained in different garrisons.

Though the army of James was inferior in numbers as well as in discipline, to that of his rival, he determined to put all to the hazard of a battle. He accordingly took post on the southern bank of the Boyne†, and extended his troops in two lines, opposed to the deep and dangerous fords of that river. A morass defended him on the left, and in his rear lay the village of Dunore, where he had entrenched a body of troops. But these circumstances did not discourage William from seeking an engagement. After having reconnoitered the situation of the enemy, he resolved, contrary to the advice of Schomberg, to attack them the next morning‡. His army passed the river in the three divisions, one of which he led in person. Schomberg, who headed another, was killed soon after his ascending the opposite bank, but not till he had broken the Irish infantry§. The Irish cavalry, commanded by general Hamilton and the duke of

* It is remarkable, that upon the taking of Charlemont, which was starved into a surrender, a great number of women and children were found in the garrison. Schomberg, struck with the unusual appearance, asked the reason of keeping in a fortress so many unnecessary mouths, which must greatly contribute to the consumption of the provisions. The answer was, that the Irish were naturally hospitable, and that they all fared alike; but that it was principally owing to this circumstance, that the soldiers would not continue in the garrison, unless they had their wives and mistresses: "a very excellent reason, no doubt," replied the duke; "but there is certainly more love than "policy in it."

† When William had reached the neighbourhood of Drogheda, and was making preparations for passing the Boyne, his life was exposed to great danger. While he was reconnoitering the number and posture of his adversaries, they planted two field-pieces on the bank, and fired across the river. One ball killed a person who was near him; and another, rebounding from the northern bank, grazed his right shoulder, but wounded him only in a slight degree. A report of his death was immediately propagated among the enemy; and, being transmitted to Paris, it met with so much credit, that bonfires and illuminations proclaimed the joy of the inhabitants.

On the day after the battle of the Boyne, William sent a detachment, consisting of five batallions of foot, and four squadrons of dragoons, under the command of Mr. Mellomere, to invest Drogheda, the governor of which, despairing of all hopes of relief, surrendered the place without opposition. The king, at the head of his army, began his march for Dublin, and on the fourth of July, encamped at Finglas, in the neighbourhood of the capital. On the Sunday following, he entered Dublin in a triumphant manner, and immediately repaired to the cathedral, where he heard an excellent sermon preached by Dr. King, afterwards archbishop of Dublin. In the afternoon he returned to his camp, and next day published a declaration of pardon to all the common people, who either remained at home, or who having fled from their dwellings, should return to their places of abode by the first of August, on condition they delivered up their arms to such justices of peace, as his majesty should appoint: but with regard to those desperate leaders of the rebellion, who had violated the laws of the kingdom, invited the French, authorized the depredations which had been committed upon the Protestants, and rejected the gracious pardon offered to them in the king's proclamation published on the twenty-second of February, 1689; as his majesty was now in a condition to make them sensible of their error, he left them to the event of war.

‡ July 1.

§ Duke Schomberg, alarmed at a repulse he had received, crossed the river in person, and putting himself at the head of the French Protestant regiments, pointed to the enemy, saying, "*Allons, messieurs, voila vos ex-*"*ecuteurs,*" "Come on, gentlemen, those are your "persecutors." Hardly had he pronounced these words, when

of Berwick, behaved with great ſpirit, charging and re-charging ten times. But even they were at laſt compelled to yield to a ſuperior force. General Hamilton was taken priſoner; and James, who had diſplayed ſome courage, but no conduct, retreated towards Dublin, under cover of the French auxiliaries, who had never been put into diſorder. His loſs did not exceed fifteen hundred men*; the victory however, was complete, as many of the Iriſh troops deſerted their officers during the following night, and returned to their reſpective homes.

When James received intelligence of the diſperſion of his army, he deſpondingly gave up Ireland as loſt; and, leaving the inhabitants of Dublin to make their own conditions with the victor, immediately embarked for France, though he had ſtill many reſources left. This puſillanimous flight, by diſguſting his friends, and encouraging his enemies, afforded but a melancholy proſpect to his generals. But theſe new reſources, and the conſequences of neglecting them, did not occur to a mind broken by misfortunes. Beſides, the fugitive monarch informs us, that he had hopes of being able to recover the Engliſh crown, by means of an armament from France during the abſence of William and his veteran troops. Theſe hopes, however, ſuddenly diſappeared; though, on his arrival at Breſt, the proſpect ſeemed to brighten. He there received information, that the French navy had gained a ſignal victory over the combined fleet of England and Holland, commanded by the earl of Torrington, and admiral Everzen, and that Tourville was riding triumphant in the Channel. All this was nearly true: and a deſcent in England in favour of James, might certainly have been advantageouſly made, while it was in the power of the French fleet to have prevented the return of William. But the flight of that unfortunate prince from Ireland, had ſo diſcouraging an aſpect, that Lewis XIV. was reſolved not to riſk an army in ſuch an enterprize. He, therefore, paid no attention to all James's propoſals for an invaſion; and even refuſed him a ſmall ſupply of ammunition for the remains of the army in Ireland. And James, labouring under the deepeſt mortification and ſelf-condemnation, was now become ſenſible, when too late, that a prince, who deſerts his own cauſe, muſt expect to ſee it deſerted by all the world.

The Iriſh, however, though abandoned by the king and his grand ally, were not reduced to a ſtate of deſpondency, nor did they attempt by ſubmiſſions to conciliate the clemency of their invaders. Aſhamed of their miſbehaviour at the paſſage of the Boyne (for it hardly deſerves the name of a battle) and anxious to vindicate their reputation, they every where made a gallant reſiſtance; a circumſtance which tended to aggravate the reflections of James, by convincing him, that his adverſe fortune was more to be aſcribed to his own imprudence than

when he ſuſtained a violent onſet from a party of king James's guards, which had broke through one of the regiments and were now on their return. They were miſtaken for friends by the French refugees, and permitted to ride up to the duke, who received two ſevere wounds in the head; but the French, perceiving their error, endeavoured to repair it by committing a greater: they raſhly poured in their fire upon the enemy, while engaged with the duke, and inſtead of ſaving, ſhot him dead upon the ſpot. The Engliſh were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation by this accident; while the enemy recovered freſh ſpirits, and returned to the charge with additional ardour. They were juſt ready to fall upon the centre, when king William having paſſed with the left wing, conſiſting of the Daniſh, Dutch, and Inniſkillin horſe advanced to attack them on the right; they were ſo confounded at this ſudden appearance, that they inſtantly ſtopped ſhort, and then wheeling about retreated to the village of Dunore.

* James's loſs in this action, is generally computed at fifteen hundred men ſlain, and ſeveral taken priſoners. Among the former were lord Dungan, lord Carlingford, ſir Neile O'Neil, and the marquis D'Hocquincourt. Among the priſoners there were few of any diſtinction except General Hamilton, who, it muſt be acknowledged, behaved, during the whole action, with great intrepidity and conduct, and even kept the victory in ſuſpence, till he was wounded and taken.

Of the Engliſh there fell about five hundred; a very inconſiderable loſs for ſo great a victory, had it not been for the death of the gallant duke of Schomberg, who was killed in the eighty ſecond year of his age, after having equalled, in military fame, the greateſt generals of the age in which he lived, and even the moſt renowned heroes of antiquity. He was deſcended of a noble family in the Palatinate, being the ſon of count Schomberg by his firſt wife an Engliſh lady, the daughter of lord Dudley. Forced to quit his country on account of the troubles in which it was involved, he commenced a ſoldier of fortune, and ſerved ſucceſſively in the armies of Holland, England, France, Portugal, and Brandenburgh. He was raiſed to the dignities of mareſchal in France, grandee in Portugal, generaliſſimo in Brandenburgh, and duke in England.

to the diſloyalty or want of valour of his ſubjects. After viſiting Dublin, William advanced with his whole army to inveſt Limerick; into which the remains of James's infantry had thrown themſelves, whilſt the cavalry, under the command of Berwick and Tyrconnel, kept the field, to convey ſupplies to the garriſon. Limerick is ſituated on the Shannon, where that river is broad, deep, and rapid. Part of the town ſtands on the Munſter ſide, another part on an iſland in the Shannon, and the caſtle is ſeated on the ſide of Clare. Theſe three diviſions were united by two bridges. William, not thinking it prudent to croſs the Shannon in the face of the enemy's cavalry, inveſted Limerick only on the ſouth ſide, that he might not be diſtreſſed for want of proviſions. Aware of this diſadvantage, he attempted to carry the place by ſtorm, after having made a practicable breach in the walls. But, though ten thouſand men made their way into the town, by a kind of ſurprize, the Iriſh attacked them with ſuch valour in the ſtreets, that they were driven out with great ſlaughter. Enraged at his failure in that aſſault, which coſt him near two thouſand men, William raiſed the ſiege in diſguſt, and returned ſoon after to England.

But though this repulſe was inglorious to the Britiſh prince, it afforded temporary relief to the adherents of the dethroned monarch. Lord Churchill, created earl of Marlborough, arrived ſoon after in Ireland, with five thouſand freſh troops. More active and enterprizing than William, and perhaps more deeply ſkilled in the machinery of war, he reduced Cork and Kinſale in a few weeks, though a vigorous defence had been made; and having diſpoſed of his army into winter quarters, he returned with glory to England, at the cloſe of the campaign.

Ireland, however, was not yet ſubdued. Athlone, Galway, Limerick, and other places, ſtill held out. Athlone was beſieged in the beginning of the next campaign by baron Ginckle*, who commanded the forces of William. And by an effort of bravery and vigour, hardly to be paralleled in hiſtory, the place, though ſtrongly garriſoned, was carried by ſtorm and ſurprize between two and three in the afternoon; and though the Iriſh army lay encamped behind it, and the aſſailants, who had the Shannon to ford, were breaſt-high in water when they advanced to the breach†!—St. Ruth, who commanded the Iriſh army, and whom Lewis XIV. had ſent over for that purpoſe, at the requeſt of James, aſhamed of his own fatal negligence, determined to hazard a battle with the enemy; and to recover his reputation, or loſe the kingdom and his life in the attempt. He accordingly took poſt at Aghrim, where he waited the approach of Ginckle. An obſtinate engagement enſued, the event of which appeared long doubtful, but was at length decided againſt St. Ruth. He was killed by a cannon-ball, in bringing forward his body of reſerve, and his army was totally routed‡.

During theſe tranſactions, the queen conducted the regency of England with great prudence and circumſpection. Her council was almoſt

* A. D. 1691

† When baron Ginckle returned to England, the commons, in token of their gratitude for the important ſervices, which he had performed to the nation, ordered ſeven of their members to offer him their ſolemn thanks, in the name of the whole houſe.

To this compliment the baron thus replied; "I acknowledge this diſtinguiſhing honour done me by the houſe of commons, and value it above a triumph. The ſucceſs of their majeſties' arms in Ireland, was owing chiefly to the valour of the Engliſh; and I will take care to communicate the vote of the houſe to the officers who ſerved in Ireland, and always endeavour to promote the proſperity of their majeſties and the government."

He was afterwards created earl of Athlone; and to enable him the better to ſupport his dignity, was gratified with a grant of lands in Ireland, amounting to twenty-ſix thouſand four hundred and eighty acres, which was confirmed to him by the Iriſh parliament. He was alſo invited to a ſplendid entertainment in the city, together with the duke of Wirtemberg, the generals Scravenmore, Lanier, Talmaſh, Ruvigny, and moſt of the field-officers in town.

‡ The remains of the Iriſh forces, and the garriſon of Galway, fought a refuge in Limerick, which was a ſecond time beſiegod by a great army of Engliſh and foreign troops: Tyrconnel being dead, the duke of Berwick recalled, and the impoſſibility of ſupporting the war appearing evident, the place capitulated, after a ſiege of ſix weeks, and all Ireland ſubmitted to the arms of William. The terms granted to the garriſon were, that they ſhould receive a general pardon; that their eſtates ſhould be reſtored, their attainders annulled, and their outlawries reverſed; that Roman Catholics ſhould enjoy the ſame toleretion, with reſpect to religion, as in the reign of Charles the Second; that they ſhould be reſtored to all the privileges of ſubjects, on taking the oaths of allegiance: and

almoſt equally compoſed of Whigs and Tories, who, by their perpetual diſputes, frequently diſturbed the public buſineſs. She ſuffered great anxiety of mind, on account of her father's as well as her huſband's life: ſhe was menaced with an invaſion by the French, as well as with an inſurrection by the Jacobites in England.

Notwithſtanding theſe alarming circumſtances, ſhe concealed her fears, and exerted herſelf with uncommon ſpirit. Advice being received that a fleet was ready to depart from Breſt, the earl of Torrington was ordered to repair to the Downs, and ſail round to St. Helen's, in order to collect ſuch a number of ſhips as might enable him to defeat their deſigns. The enemy being diſcovered off Plymouth, on the twentieth of June, the earl, reinforced with the Dutch ſquadron, put to ſea, with a view to oppoſe them, ſhould they preſume to ſail up the Channel. He did not, however, conſider himſelf ſufficiently ſtrong to hazard a battle with any proſpect of ſucceſs; the enemy's fleet amounting to no leſs than ſeventy-eight ſhips of war, and twenty-two fire ſhips, while the combined ſquadrons of England and Holland conſiſted only of fifty-ſix: but he had received poſitive orders from her majeſty to riſk an engagement at all adventures.

After the hoſtile fleets had been ſeveral days in ſight of each other, the earl of Torrington made a ſignal for battle, on the thirteenth of June, about eight in the morning. The Dutch ſquadron, which led the van, began the attack about nine; in about half an hour the blue diviſion of the Engliſh encountered the rear of the French; but the red, which compoſed the center, under the command of Torrington in perſon, did not fill the line till ten o'clock: the Dutch were conſequently almoſt ſurrounded by the enemy; and though they behaved with great bravery, received conſiderable damage. No ſooner did the admiral perceive their condition, than, with his own ſhip and ſeveral others, he drove between them and the French; and in that poſition the fleet came to an anchor about five in the afternoon, when the action was interrupted by a calm. The Dutch ſhips were ſo much injured, that Torrington thought it would be imprudent to renew the battle: he therefore weighed anchor about nine o'clock, and with the tide of flood, retired to the eaſtward. On the next day it was reſolved, in a council of war, to deſtroy the diſabled ſhips, and endeavour to preſerve the reſt by a regular retreat. They were purſued as far as Rye: and an Engliſh ſhip of ſeventy guns, called the Anne, being ſtranded near Winchelſea, the enemy attempted to burn her; but the captain ſaved them that trouble, by ſetting fire to her himſelf. A Dutch ſhip of ſixty-four guns met with the ſame accident; and the French endeavoured to deſtroy her; the captain, however, defended her ſo vigorouſly, that they were obliged to deſiſt from the attempt; and he afterwards found means to get her off, and conducted her ſafe to Holland.

In this action the Engliſh loſt two ſhips, two captains, and about four hundred men; but the loſs of the Dutch was more conſiderable. Six of their line of battle were deſtroyed; and Dick and Brackel, rear-admirals, were ſlain, together with a great number of their officers and ſeamen. Intelligence of this defeat had no ſooner reached London, than the fears of a deſcent created general conſternation, which immediately ſpread throughout the whole kingdom. The friends of the government were not deficient in their duty on this occaſion. Addreſſes were preſented to the queen from all quarters, filled with the warmeſt profeſſions of loyalty, and promiſes of ſupporting their majeſties, as their lawful ſovereigns, againſt all oppoſition.

The queen at this criſis behaved with equal prudence and reſolution. She iſſued proper orders for putting the kingdom in a poſture of defence, as well as for refitting and augmenting the navy. She gave directions for raiſing the militia of the weſtern counties, to oppoſe any attempts that might be made in that quarter. And to ſtrike the greater terror into the conſpirators with France, ſhe iſſued a proclamation, for apprehending the earls of Litchfield, Ayleſ-

that thoſe who choſe to follow the fortunes of James, ſhould be conveyed to the continent at the expence of government. About fifteen thouſand men took advantage of this laſt article, and were regimented by the dethroned monarch though paid by the king of France. Among the moſt diſtinguiſhed of theſe refugees was major-general arsfield, whom James had created earl of Lucan. He had rendered himſelf very popular in Ireland, by oppoſing the moderate counſels of Tyrconnel.

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bury and Caſtlemain, the viſcount Preſton, the lords Montgomery and Bellaſis, ſir Edward Hales, ſir Robert Thorold, ſir Robert Hamilton, ſir Theophilus Oglethorpe, colonel Edward Sackville, colonel William Richardſon, and many others who had been accuſed of having conſpired with other diſaffected perſons, to diſturb and deſtroy the government.

The troops being now aſſembled, a camp was formed in the neighbourhood of Torbay, near which the enemy's fleet continued to hover. The Jacobites aſſerted, that the only intention of the French was to reſtore king James, and that they never intended any injury to the country. This report might have had ſome effect, if the French had not taken care to refute it. They made a deſcent upon a little village, called Tinmouth, and burned it, together with a few fiſhing-boats; but the militia pouring down upon them, they fled precipitately to their ſhips. They publiſhed, however, in all their gazettes, a pompous narrative of this trivial enterprize.

The attention of the queen was not ſolely confined to the internal ſecurity of the kingdom: ſhe alſo adopted the neceſſary meaſures for appeaſing the reſentment of the Dutch, who complained vehemently of the earl of Torrington's conduct in the late action. He was deprived of his command, and committed to the Tower, where he remained a priſoner till the following ſeſſion. He was then brought into the houſe of commons, and permitted to defend his conduct *.

His caſe produced conſiderable debates in the upper houſe, where the form of his commitment was judged illegal: at length he was tried by a court martial appointed by the commiſſioners of the admiralty; an act having paſſed, declaring the power of a lord high admiral veſted in thoſe commiſſioners. The preſident of the court was ſir Ralph Delaval, who had acted as vice admiral of the blue in the engagement. The trial is ſaid to have been conducted with much partiality; but we are not informed of the particulars. The earl was acquitted; but the king diſmiſſed him from his ſervice; and the Dutch reprobated the deciſion of the judges †.

William unable to proceed with vigour in his operations in Ireland, on account of the ſeverity of the weather, appointed lord Sydney and Mr. Coningſby lords juſtices of that country, and entruſted the command of the army to count Solmes: he then ſet ſail from Duncannon, with prince George of Denmark, and arrived the next day in King's Road, near Briſtol, from whence he repaired to Windſor.

* He alledged, that the preparations for the fleet were too late; that the fleet was ill-manned, and much inferior to the French; and that he was not properly furniſhed with intelligence. He farther ſaid, that though an engagement was contrary both to his own judgment and that of the whole council of war, he could not decline it, on account of the poſitive orders, which he had received from her majeſty. He gave the houſe a draught of the line of battle, the better to explain the arguments he uſed in his own vindication; and begged leave to deliver his defence in writing: a favour which was readily granted. He reflected upon the counſellors in general, and ſtrongly inſinuated, that the earl of Nottingham was the perſon who had ſuppreſſed ſome material intelligence, or had not tranſmitted it to him with ſufficient expedition.

† William had taken all the papers of his father-in-law and Tyrconnel, from which he was informed not only of the deſign projected by the French, of burning the Engliſh tranſports, but likewiſe of the undertaking of one Jones, who had engaged to aſſaſſinate his majeſty.

Tyrconnel, in one of his letters, addreſſed to James's queen, at St. Germains, ſays, "I now look upon all as loſt, and "have no hope in any thing, but in Jones's buſineſs." In another, he acquaints her, that Jones was come; that his propoſition was more rational, and more likely to ſucceed than ever: but that his demands were high, "if any thing "could be high for ſuch a ſervice." In a third, he informs her that Jones had been introduced to the king, who, at firſt ſeemed to diſapprove of the propoſal: but, added he, "we "have now ſo ſatisfied him, both in honour and conſcience "that every thing is granted that Jones requires."

The attempt, it ſeems, was to have been made before William undertook the Iriſh expedition. Deagle, the attorney general of Ireland, it is ſaid had furniſhed the aſſaſſin with money, and a poinard of a particular conſtruction; together with a bible bound without a common prayer, which he was to carry in his pocket; that if he ſhould be ſeized, he might paſs for a Diſſenter. The attempt, however, was never made: and Jones was ſuppoſed to have eloped with the money, which he had already procured, without incurring the guilt and danger, by which he was to be entitled to the whole reward.

What rendered theſe ſuſpicious circumſtances ſtill more probable, was an advertiſement ſent, a few days before the king's departure for Ireland, to the marquis of Carmarthen, acquainting him, that one Jones, an Iriſhman, who had ſerved ſo long in the French and Dutch armies, as to be able to ſpeak both thoſe languages, was to be ſent over to aſſaſſinate the king. A paper, containing all the particulars of the diſcovery, was drawn up, and intended for publication; but the king and the queen, unwilling to fix ſuch an indelible ſtain on the memory of James, cauſed it to be ſuppreſſed.

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The allies, in their general congreſs* held at the Hague, had reſolved, that the army of the ſtates, under prince Waldec, ſhould be employed againſt the forces of France, commanded by the duke of Luxemburgh, in Flanders; while the elector of Brandenburg ſhould watch the motions of the marquis de Boufflers in the Moſelle; but, before the troops of Brandeburgh could be aſſembled, Boufflers took poſt between the Sambre and the Meuſe, and maintained a free communication between his own army and that of Luxemburgh. Prince Waldec, receiving information that the latter general intended to paſs the Sambre, between Namur and Charleroy, in order to ravage the Spaniſh teritories, decamped from the river Pieton, and detached the count of Berlo, with a body of fifteen hundred horſe, to obſerve the motions of the enemy. The count was attacked by the French army near Flerus, and ſlain; and his troops, though reinforced by two other detachments, under the counts de Flodrop and Webbenum, were, with difficulty, able to rejoin the main army, which continued the whole night in order of battle.

At break of day they were aſſailed by the French, who were nearly double their number; and after a very obſtinate engagement, were obliged to yield, leaving about four thouſand ſix hundred men dead upon the ſpot. The enemy took about four thouſand priſoners, and the greateſt part of their artillery, but they purchaſed the victory at a dear rate; for their loſs was equal, if not greater than that of the Dutch.

The Dutch infantry performed ſuch extraordinary feats of gallantry as have ſeldom been equalled and never exceeded. After they were abandoned by their horſe, they continued to ſuſtain the charge of the whole French army; and though attacked at once in front, flank, and rear, they yet continued firm, unbroken, and impenetrable. They ſuffered the enemy's horſe to approach within piſtol ſhot of them, and diſcharged their pieces with ſuch a determined aim, that the whole ſquadron ſeemed to ſink to the ground at once, not above thirty being left alive; and this courſe they purſued ſo conſtantly, that at length they challenged their enemies to advance. The French were ſo intimidated by the havock made upon their companions, that they fled as ſoon as the Dutch began to preſent their muſkets; nor did they attempt to make the leaſt purſuit, but ſuffered them to retreat with the utmoſt compoſure. The duke of Luxemburgh himſelf, was, at once, delighted and confounded with their bravery. He frankly acknowledged, that they had ſurpaſſed the Spaniſh foot at the battle of Rocroy; "Prince Waldec," ſaid he, "ought ever to remember the French "horſe; and I ſhall never forget the Dutch in"fantry."

The ſtates-general repaired their loſs with ſuch expedition, that the French reaped no advantage from the victory they had obtained. The prince being reinforced with five Engliſh regiments, nine thouſand Hanoverians, and ten thouſand from the biſhopric of Liege and Holland, joined the elector of Brandenburgh; in conſequence of which the confederate army conſiſted of fifty-five thouſand men; and directed their march by the way of Genap to Bois-Seigneur-Iſaac. They were now ſuperior in number to Luxemburgh, who thought proper to ſecure himſelf in a fortified camp, that he might not be obliged to fight without a manifeſt advantage. Prince Waldec would willingly have attacked him in his entrenchments, had he not been reſtrained by poſitive orders of the ſtates-general, forbidding him to riſk another engagement; and after this reſtriction was removed, the elector thought it imprudent to hazard a battle.

By this time the emperor's ſon, Joſeph, was, by the Electoral college, advanced to the dignity of king of the Romans; but his affairs ſuffered an irreparable loſs in the death of the gallant duke of Lorraine, who was ſuddenly attacked with a quinſey at a ſmall village called Wells, in the neighbourhood of Lintz, and expired in a few hours.

His death was ſtrongly ſuſpected to have been

* The moſt diſtinguiſhed perſons who attended this great meeting were, the electors of Brandenburgh and Bavaria; the landgraves of Heſſe Caſſel and Heſſe Darmſtadt; the dukes of Courland, Zell, and Wolfenbuttel; and ſeveral princes of the reſpective houſes of Holſtein, Naſſau, Wirtemburg, and Anſpach. Beſides theſe, a conſiderable number of nobles and general officers were preſent. The principal ambaſſadors and envoys who aſſiſted at the conferences, were thoſe of the emperor; of the kings of Spain, Poland, Sweden, and Denmark; of the duke of Savoy; and of the German electors.

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the conſequence of poiſon, adminiſtered by order of the French king, againſt whom he had formally declared war, as a ſovereign prince unjuſtly expelled his dominions. He had even threatened to enter his duchy, at the head of forty thouſand men, in the courſe of the enſuing ſummer; to prevent which, the French court was ſuppoſed to have had recourſe to that infamous expedient*.

The command of the Imperial army was now conferred on the elector of Saxony, who advanced againſt the dauphin, then croſſing the Rhine, at the head of forty thouſand men, intending to force his way into Wirtemberg; but the duke of Bavaria, by his conduct and courage, defeated his deſign, and obliged him to remain on the defenſive during the remaining part of the campaign.

The parliament meeting on the ſecond of October, William, in his ſpeech to both houſes, acquainted them, that he had exerted his beſt endeavours for the reduction of Ireland, and hoped he had brought it to ſuch a condition as would prevent it from being any longer a burden to England: that he was highly pleaſed with the behaviour of the troops in that kingdom, who endured their hardſhips with uncommon patience, and diſplayed the moſt heroic valour: that the ſupplies granted for the proſecution of the war were far inadequate to the purpoſes for which they were aſſigned: that he hoped they would exonerate his revenue, which was mortgaged for the payment of former debts, and enable him to diſcharge the arrears of the army: that the ſucceſs of the confederacy abroad would, in a great meaſure, depend upon the vigour and diſpatch of their proceedings: and that he hoped they would proceed in their deliberations with unanimity and ſpirit.

Both houſes immediately preſented ſeparate addreſſes to the king and queen, expreſſing their grateful ſenſe of his majeſty's courage and conduct in the field, and of his prudence and reſolution in the government, during the late imminent dangers. And the commons, the better to demonſtrate their attachment, voted a ſupply of four millions for the ſupport of the army and navy, and eſtabliſhed the funds for that purpoſe. Conſiderable debates enſued, in both houſes, reſpecting the methods of raiſing the ſupplies, which were at length adjuſted: and a farther ſupply was granted for building ſeventeen ſhips of war, in order to reinforce the navy.

Having completed this buſineſs, they proceeded to the conſideration of other important concerns. The marquis of Carmarthen was deeply engaged in the intereſt of the Tories, and conſequently extremely obnoxious to the oppoſite party; who now reſolved, if poſſible, to revive his old impeachment. The ſcheme was formed and conducted by fourteen men of influence, of whom the earl of Shrewſbury was the chief. This affair, however, was dropped; and with the greater willingneſs, as the marquis, about this time, happened to perform ſome important ſervice, which proved equally agreeable to both parties.

On the fifth of January†, the king cloſed the ſeſſion, with a ſpeech, in which he aſſured them, that he entertained the moſt grateful ſenſe of the liberality and diſpatch with which they had granted the public ſupplies, which ſhould be faithfully applied in the ſervices for which they were allotted. The lord chief juſtice Atkins then declared it was his majeſty's pleaſure, that the houſe ſhould adjourn themſelves to the twenty-firſt of March.

The king, having ſettled the affairs of the nation, ſet out for Margate on the ſixth of January; but finding, on his arrival at Canterbury, that the wind was eaſterly, and the river intenſely frozen, he returned to Kenſington. On the ſix-

* This ſuſpicion was corroborated by a variety of ſtriking circumſtances. The duke himſelf, a ſhort time before he expired, is ſaid to have written the following note to the emperor: "I am dying. I know not whether I am "paying, by my death, the ordinary debt of nature, or "whether I am ſacrificed to the unjuſt and ambitious de"ſigns of a crown which has declared itſelf an implacable "enemy to my family." In another note to the emperor, he ſays, "I departed from Inſpruck, in order to come and "receive your orders; our God calls me hence; I am "going to render him an account of a life which I had de"voted to you. I humbly beſeech your majeſty to remem"ber my wife, who is related to you, my children, whom I "leave without any fortune, and my ſubjects, who are op"preſſed." He was a prince of the moſt amiable virtues, and the moſt eminent abilities, inferior to none, either of that or any other age, in any of the qualities which conſtitute the character of a great and accompliſhed man.

† A. D. 1691.

teenth, however, he embarked at Gravesend with a numerous retinue, and set sail for Holland, under convoy of twelve ships of war, commanded by rear admiral Rooke. In the morning of the second day he was informed, by a fisherman, that he was within a league and a half of Goree; he therefore quitted the yatch, and entered a shallop, attended by the duke of Ormond, the earls of Devonshire, Dorset, Portland, and Monmouth, with Overkirke and Zuylestein.

The ice near the shore was so thick, that it was impossible to sail directly to land; they were therefore obliged to tack about, but instead of gaining their point, they speedily lost sight of the fleet, and night approaching, were exposed, for eighteen hours, to the inclemency of the weather, and the danger of the sea, which ran so high that the king and all his attendants were severely drenched with the salt water.

The sailors expressing their apprehensions of danger, the king exclaimed, "What! are you "afraid to die in my company?" At break of day he landed on the isle of Goree, where he took some refreshment. Returning to the boat, he arrived in the afternoon at Orananien Haak, in the neighbourhood of Maesland-sluys.

A deputation of the states met him at Hounslardyke; and, about six in the evening, he reached the Hague, where he received the compliments of the states-general, the states of Holland, the council of state, the other colleges, and of all the foreign ministers. As his sudden arrival had prevented the solemnity of a formal reception, he was afterwards persuaded to make his public entry, which was accordingly performed on the twenty-sixth of the same month, with great magnificence. In a few days was held a general congress of the confederate princes, to whom William represented, that the imminent dangers to which they were at present exposed, plainly demonstrated the impropriety of their former conduct, and the absolute necessity of an immediate change of measures: that it was not now the time to deliberate, but to act: that the enemy was already master of the principal fortresses which formed the barrier of the common liberty; and would soon be able to possess himself of all the inferior ones, if a spirit of division, avarice, and irresolution continued to influence them: and that, for his own part, he would spare neither his credit, forces, nor person to effect so noble a design; but would appear in the spring at the head of his troops, faithfully to perform the promise he had already given.

This speech, delivered by a prince who was justly considered as the very soul of the confederacy, had a powerful effect upon all the members; and it was presently resolved to employ against France an army of two hundred and twenty-two thousand men. The proportions of the different princes and states were readily settled; and the king of England agreed to furnish twenty thousand. He procured such effectual relief to the duke of Savoy, that the affairs of that prince began to assume a more favourable appearance. The plan of operations was fully adjusted, and every thing transacted with the most perfect unanimity and concord.

Having thus finished the business for which he had undertaken the journey, William, soon after repaired to Brussels, and from thence to the Hague, whence he set sail for England, and arrived at Whitehall, on the thirteenth of April*.

Notwithstanding the attachment which the nation in general expressed to the present government, the friends of the abdicated prince could not abandon the hopes of effecting his restoration. A conspiracy for this purpose had been lately discovered. Lord Preston, Mr. Ashton, and one Elliot who were concerned in the plot, had hired a vessel of a Mrs. Prat, of Barking, in Essex, to go over to France, and concert measures at the court of St. Germains. This secret was communicated to the marquis of Carmarthen, by the husband of Mrs. Prat, who also informed him, that they proposed to embark on the thirtieth of December. The marquis reported this intelligence to the king and council, and orders were given to captain Billop to attend the motion of the vessel, and arrest the passengers.

He accordingly boarded her at Gravesend, for the pretended purpose of impressing seamen, and drew the three conspirators from the hold, who

* In this year a trivial descent was made in Northumberland. A body of French landed from several privateers, plundered the castle of lord Widdrington, destroyed a small village, and made their escape before the militia could revenge the insult. *Boyer. Ralph.*

were there concealed. Lord Preſton had left his letters behind him; and Aſhton ſeized them, intending to throw them overboard; but, before he could execute his purpoſe, he was ſearched, and the papers forced from him. Among them were a number of letters, written in a myſterious emblematical ſtyle, which, at firſt ſight, ſeemed unintelligible, but, by means of certain preconcerted ſigns, were eaſily underſtood by the perſons to whom they were addreſſed. The whole amounted to an invitation to the French king to aſſiſt king James in re-aſcending the throne, while William ſhould be in Holland; but the ſcheme was ridiculouſly planned, and countenanced by few perſons of conſequence, among whom the chief were the earl of Clarendon, the biſhop of Ely, lord Preſton, his brother Mr. Graham, and Penn, the famous Quaker.

Preſton and Aſhton were immediately brought to their trial, convicted, and condemned. The latter was executed; the former was indulged with a pardon. Elliot was not tried, as it did not appear that he had any concern in writing the letters: the earl of Clarendon was committed to the Tower, where he remained ſome months, and he was afterwards confined to his own houſe in the country; a favour which was extended to him on account of his affinity to the queen, to whom he was firſt couſin. The biſhop of Ely, Graham, and Penn abſconded; and a proclamation was iſſued for apprehending them as traitors.

This prelate, in his letters to king James and his queen, had engaged, not only for himſelf, but alſo for all his deprived brethren. They had now been ſuffered to enjoy their ſees, and receive all the emoluments of them, for upwards of a year, without performing any part of their duty. They had even been informed, that an act of parliament might be obtained to excuſe them from taking the oaths, provided they would diſcharge their epiſcopal functions. This generous propoſal was heard with a ſullen ſilence; and, when preſſed to make a reply, they only ſaid, that they would live quietly; meaning, perhaps, that they would conceal their intentions till they ſhould find an opportuity of carrying them into execution. They were now deprived of their principal ſupport, by the deſertion of Dr. Sherlock, who, on king James's departure from Ireland, imagined that the government was now firmly eſtabliſhed, and that he might, therefore, take the oaths with a clear conſcience; which he accordingly did, and publiſhed a learned vindication of his conduct.

The king, finding it abſolutely impoſſible to reconcile the deprived biſhops to his perſon and government, thought himſelf bound, from a regard to his own ſafety, as well as a concern for the public welfare, to beſtow their ſees upon men of fewer prejudices and more enlarged ſentiments. On this principle the archbiſhopric of Canterbury was conferred upon Dr. Tillotſon, one of the moſt learned, moderate, and virtuous eccleſiaſtics of the age, who long refuſed to accept of that exalted dignity; prudently judging, that it would expoſe him to the rancour and reſentment of the nonjuring party, who, being deprived of every other means of doing injury, would manifeſt their malice in ſatire and invective. At laſt, however, he was perſuaded to comply; and was ſolemnly conſecrated in the archiepiſcopal ſee*.

William

* Dr. Fowler was promoted to the biſhopric of Glouceſter, Cumberland to that of Peterborough, Moore to Norwich, Grove to Chicheſter, Patrick to Ely, and Beveridge to Bath and Wells; but this laſt refuſed to accept of the offer, and it was therefore beſtowed upon Dr. Kidder. At the ſame time, Dr. Sherlock was preferred to the deanery of St. Paul's, Comber, an eccleſiaſtic of great merit and moderation, to the deanery of Durham, Talbot to that of Worceſter, and Woodward to that of Sarum. Soon after, the archbiſhopric of York was conferred on Dr. Sharp; and the ſee of Briſtol upon Dr. Hall, in the room of Dr Ironſide, tranſlated to that of Hereford. As theſe men were all remarkable for moderation and prudence, their promotion was univerſally approved by the nation; eſpecially by the Whigs, who, from this moment, began to conceive a much better opinion of his majeſty's principles, than, from ſome of his late meaſures, they had been induced to entertain.

Another affair which came before the parliament, was the pretended diſcovery of a plot, by one Fuller, a priſoner in the King's Bench. It is ſaid, indeed, that a conſpiracy had actually been formed by the Papiſts in Lancaſhire, to raiſe a rebellion, and reſtore king James; that the truth of it was ſufficiently atteſted by ſeveral witneſſes, whom the Jacobites found means to take off either by fair or indirect means; and that the fact was ſtill farther confirmed by the papers found upon lord Preſton. Fuller, having heard of this conſpiracy, of which he was entirely ignorant, and deſirous to get free from his preſent confinement, reſolved to commence informer. At his own requeſt, he was brought to the bar of the commons, where he produced ſome papers. He obtained a blank paſs from the king

William, who had been particularly careful to get the convention converted into a parliament, was soon disgusted with that assembly, to which he was indebted for his crown. The obligations on one side, and the claims of gratitude on the other, were indeed too great to afford any rational prospect of a permanent harmony: and other causes conspired to excite dissatisfaction*. The convention parliament, consisting principally of Whigs, the ever watchful guardians of liberty, refused to settle on William the revenue of the crown for life. Though they entertained a good opinion of his principles, they were not inclined to render him independent: they consequently, granted the revenue only for a year. The Tories took advantage of this patriotic jealousy, to render their rivals odious to the king; who, though, educated in a republic, was naturally imperious and fond of power. They represented the Whigs as declared enemies to kingly government, and whom the circumstances of the times only had thrown into the scale of

king for two persons, who, he said, would come from the Continent to give evidence. He was afterwards examined at his own apartments, where he affirmed that colonel Thomas Delaval and James Hayes were the persons whom he had named as witnesses, and for whom he had obtained the pass and protection. Search was made for them, according to his direction; but no such persons were discovered.

He was desired to produce them himself; but he could not perform this task. He was then ordered to produce one Jones, whom he had likewise named. Even this person was not to be found. The commons, provoked at his insolence and presumption, declared him a notorious impostor, cheat, and false accuser, who had scandalized his majesty's person and government, abused the house of commons, and falsly accused several persons of honour and quality. He was prosecuted by the attorney-general, and condemned to stand in the pillory; a disgrace which he suffered without a blush, and which he, perhaps, supposed to be but a very reasonable price for the liberty he had enjoyed for a few days; for he was, probably, re-committed to prison.

* About this time, one Simpson, a Scottish presbyterian, who acted as a spy for the earl of Portland, had contracted an intimacy with Nevil Payne, an active agent to king James; by which means he furnished the earl with such intelligence as procured him some degree of credit with that minister. This he exerted in prejudicing the earl against the king's best friends; while, at the same time, he insinuated to the other party, that the court was become suspicious of their loyalty, and was even seeking evidence by which they might be prosecuted. Sir James Montgomery, who had been a strenuous advocate for the Revolution, was too easily induced to believe these reports; and enraged at the ingratitude of the court, he and his friends were persuaded by Payne to engage in a correspondence with the abdicated monarch.

They demanded, as a preliminary, the establishment of presbytery in Scotland, and actually concerted a scheme for his restoration. They entered into a confederacy with Queensberry, and the other mal-contents of Scotland; and they even wrote to James for a supply of money, arms, and ammunition, together with a body of three thousand men from Dunkirk. They found means to engage a great number of friends in England; and they almost persuaded the duke of Bolton and the earl of Monmouth to embark in the conspiracy. Montgomery and Payne were the chief conductors of this scheme; and they admitted into their councils, one Ferguson, who had been deeply concerned with all the enemies of the court in the last two reigns. To ruin William's credit in the city, they spread a report, that James would grant a full indemnity, separate himself entirely from the French interest, and be satisfied with a secret connivance in favour of his own religion.

The plot was communicated to the bishop of Salisbury, by Montgomery's brother. That gentleman wrote an anonymous letter to the prelate, acquainting him that he had an important discovery to unfold, provided he might be assured of not being produced as a witness, and that his friends should obtain a pardon. His first demand was granted; his second, as being too general, was refused: but he was assured that his friends might safely rely on his majesty's mercy.

Encouraged by this declaration, he visited the bishop, and informed him that a treaty with king James was absolutely concluded, and an invitation subscribed by the whole cabal. This paper, he said, was to be conveyed to Ireland by the way of Flanders, as the direct communication was narrowly watched; and he proposed a method of seizing it before it was taken out of the kingdom. Williamson, who was employed to carry it, had obtained a pass for Flanders; and a messenger being sent in pursuit of him, seized him in bed at Dover, and secured his cloaths and portmanteau; but, on a very strict examination, nothing was found to justify the intelligence.

This disappointment was occasioned by the following circumstance: Williamson had previously delivered the paper to Simpson, who was to accompany him to Flanders, and who had happened to go a few miles out of the road, while the other was proceeding directly to Dover. He reached that place while Williamson was in the messenger's hands; and, seeing the danger to which he was exposed, hastened to Deal, where, hiring a boat, he passed over to France. He returned with large assurances of succour; and twelve thousand pounds were remitted to the conspirators, who promised to prosecute the scheme with the utmost vigour. All these circumstances were afterwards discovered: sir James Montgomery withdrew to the Continent; Payne was apprehended in Scotland, and put to the torture; but no confession could be extorted from him.

In the mean time, Montgomery, the informer, finding his reputation was destroyed at court, and dreading the resentment of the other party, withdrew into France, and embraced the Catholic religion. The miscarriage of this discovery, destroyed the belief of all confederacies; every report of this kind was regarded as a fiction of the ministry; and the king himself, on this occasion, lost much of his former popularity.

monarchy.

monarchy. And William, who had publicly declared, that a king without a permanent revenue was but a mere pageant, and who conſidered ſo degrading a dependence on his ſubjects as wholly inconſiſtent with the regal authority, readily liſtened to ſuch inſinuations; and, in order to emancipate himſelf, thought proper to diſſolve the parliament.

The new parliament, conſiſting principally of Tories, not only ſettled the revenue of the crown on William for life, but granted liberal ſupplies for carrying on the war in Ireland, and on the Continent. The Whigs indeed concurred in theſe votes, that they might not ſeem to deſtroy the work of their own hands. But the leaders of the party were much offended at ſeeing that favour, and thoſe offices, to which they ſuppoſed themſelves entitled by their paſt ſervices, conferred principally upon the Tories. They entered into cabals with the Jacobites, and even carried on a ſecret correſpondence with the dethroned monarch. The Preſbyterians in Scotland, offended at the reſervation of the power of preſenting miniſters to the vacant kirks, made by the king, in the propoſed eſtabliſhment of their religion, alſo joined in the ſame intrigues. But William, by permitting his commiſſioner to agree to any law reſpecting their eccleſiaſtical government, that to the general aſſembly ſhould ſeem moſt eligible, entirely ſuppreſſed their murmurs; and, in ſome meaſure, diſconcerted the plan of the diſguſted Whigs in England, with whom they had entered into the cloſeſt connexions, and who hoped to take advantage of the fanatical fury of the Scots, to diſturb that ſettlement which they had ſo lately eſtabliſhed. The adherents of James, however, were ſtill numerous in the north of Scotland; and William, by a horrible example of ſeverity, ſeemed determined to awe them into allegiance, or to rouſe them to ſome deſperate act of hoſtility, which might juſtify a general vengeance.

William, having ſettled the adminiſtration of the government, embarked for Holland on the fifth of March, and, arriving next morning in the Maeſe, landed at Orange Haak, and ſoon after proceeded to Loo. No ſooner had he quitted the kingdom, than the Jacobites began to contrive a plot for effecting the reſtoration of James. One Lunt, who had formerly been impriſoned for bringing over and diſtributing his commiſſions, had been too incautiouſly releaſed; and the Papiſts of Lancaſhire diſpatched him to the court of St. Germains, with an aſſurance that they were now in a condition to receive their old ſovereign. He returned with advice that king James would certainly come over in the ſpring; and that colonel Parker, and other officers, ſhould be ſent, in the mean time, to aſſiſt them in making preparations for his reception. Parker accordingly repaired to England; and informed the Jacobites that Lewis had actually concerted the ſcheme of a deſcent with the late king. He aſſured them, that their old maſter would once more viſit them with an army of thirty thouſand effective men; and, if that number ſhould not be ſufficient to reduce his rebellious ſubjects, he ſhould receive from his brother of France thirty thouſand more.

He therefore deſired them to be ſpeedy and ſecret in their preparations, that they might be ready to aſſiſt his majeſty upon his firſt arrival. This officer, and one Johnſon, had formed a plot for aſſaſſinating king William; but before they could execute their deſign, he had happily ſet ſail for Holland.

During this interval, James diſpatched a letter directed to ſeveral lords, who had formerly been miniſters of his council, as well as to ſeveral ladies of quality and diſtinction, acquainting them with his queen's pregnancy, and requiring them to attend as witneſſes at the labour. He complained of the malicious aſperſions which his enemies had propagated reſpecting the birth of his ſon; and as Providence had now bleſſed him with an opportunity of refuting the calumny of thoſe, who aſſerted, that his queen was incapable of procreation, he declared, in his own name, as well as in that of his dear brother, the French king, that they ſhould have free liberty to viſit his court, and return in ſafety, after the labour. This invitation, however, was not accepted. Thoſe who believed the Divine indefeaſible nature of hereditary right, were probably reſtrained by the fear of incurring the reſentment of the public; and thoſe, who adhered to the more liberal principles, upon which the preſent government was founded, imagined that it was a matter of little conſequence to the nation, whether

whether his queen was capable of child-bearing or not*.

This diſappointment, however, did not prevent James from proſecuting his intended invaſion. He ſent over a printed declaration, in which, after recapitulating all the ſteps he had taken for the recovery of his throne, he acquainted his loving ſubjects with the means which he now reſolved to employ for the ſame purpoſe. In this, however, he talked more in the ſtile of a conqueror, than a ſuppliant. He boaſted of the powerful aſſiſtance which his dear brother, the French king, had promiſed to render him. He even declared he would except, by name, from the indemnity which he now intended to grant, no leſs than thirteen noblemen, two biſhops, ſeven baronets, and a great number of clergy and gentlemen.

In conſequence of a pacification with the Highlanders, a proclamation of indemnity was iſſued to ſuch inſurgents as ſhould take the oaths to the king and queen before the laſt day of December in 1691. The heads of all the clans, who had taken arms in ſupport of James, ſtrictly complied with the terms of the proclamation, except Macdonald of Glenco:—and his neglect, in ſuffering the time limited to elapſe, was rather occaſioned by accident than deſign. The tardy ſubmiſſion of the Jacobite laird was reluctantly received by the ſheriff. This difficulty, however, being ſurmounted, he conſidered himſelf as under the protection of the laws, and thought himſelf in the moſt perfect ſecurity. But ruin was ready to overtake him for his unpardonable delay in tendering his allegiance. William, at the inſtigation of ſir John Dalrymple, his ſecretary for Scotland (who promoted the ſame purpoſe with barbarous zeal, inveighing againſt the tribe of Glenco, as a ſet of incorrigible depredators and ruffians) ſigned a warrant of military execution againſt Macdonald and his whole clan †. And it was put in force by his countryman Campbell, of Glenlyon, with the moſt ſavage barbarity, accompanied with a breach of hoſpitality. Macdonald himſelf was ſhot dead with two bullets in the back part of the head, by one Lindſay, an officer whom he had entertained as his gueſt: about thirty-five of his dependents were murdered by the ſoldiers to whom they had given free quarters: women were killed in defending their tender offſpring; and children, in imploring mercy, were butchered by the officers to whoſe knees they clung for mercy!—Upwards of forty perſons were maſſacred, and many of thoſe who eſcaped to the mountains, periſhed of hunger or cold. All the habitations of the obnoxious Scots were reduced to aſhes; the cattle were driven away, and, with the other moveables, divided as ſpoil among the aſſaſſins. Never was military execution more complete.

This cruel maſſacre, which ſhocked all Europe, and reflects diſgrace on the reign of William, could not fail to rouſe the reſentment of the Jacobites in general, but more eſpecially of the Highlanders; and the diſſatisfied Whigs diligently proclaimed it, in order to blacken the character of the ſovereign. An inſurrection in favour of the dethroned monarch, was projected both in England and Scotland. From this narrative of the maſſacre, it appears, that the chief projector of it was ſir John Dalrymple; that the king was prepoſſeſſed againſt the laird and clan of Glenco, by the ſuggeſtions of that vindictive miniſter. It has been aſſerted by an epiſcopal advocate of William, that his orders, in this affair, "carried nothing in them that was "in any ſort blameable;" but, even if we exclude the extirpatory clauſe from our conſideration, his orders for deſtroying by fire and ſword ſuch as refuſed to recogniſe his authority in form, merit our cenſure for their inhuman rigour; a ſeverity which might rather have been expected from the leader of a licentious army, than from a prince who had been panegerized for his mildneſs and moderation ‡.

James

* The letter was directed not only to privy counſellors, but alſo to the ducheſſes of Somerſet and Beaufort, the marchioneſs of Halifax, the counteſſes of Derby, Mulgrave, Rutland, Nottingham, Lumley, and Danby; the ladies Fitzharding and Fretchville, thoſe of ſir John Trevor, ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, ſir Edward Seymour, ſir Chriſtopher Muſgrave, ſir Thomas Stamford, lord mayor of London, ſir William Aſhurſt and ſir Richard Levett, the ſheriffs; and laſtly, to Dr. Chamberlain, the famous practitioner in midwifery.

† A. D. 1692. Dalrymple expreſſed his joy at Macdonald's neglect of regular ſubmiſſion, and ſignified his deſire that the tribe of Glenco, might be ſpeedily and completely routed.

‡ The odium of this meaſure diminiſhed the king's popularity, and ſwelled the tide of clamour which the diſaf-

James himſelf had taken all the ſteps, which his own reaſon, or the advice of his friends could ſuggeſt, to render his return agreeable to his former ſubjects; and Lewis XIV. encouraged by favourable accounts from Britain, now determined on an invaſion. An army of twenty thouſand Iriſh and French troops, under the mareſchal de Bellaſons, was ready on the coaſt of Normandy; James, attended by the duke of Berwick, arrived in the camp, between Cherburg and la Hogue. Three hundred tranſports were aſſembled at Breſt; and every thing was in readineſs for the intended embarkation, when an unfortunate concurrence of circumſtances defeated the whole enterprize.

Lewis had appointed a powerful naval force to ſupport this invaſion. But the Toulon ſquadron, of thirty ſail, commanded by d'Eſtrees, was prevented by contrary winds, from joining the Breſt fleet, under Tourville. In the mean time, the alarm of an invaſion had ſpread to England, and the earl of Marlborough, and ſeveral other perſons of inferior note, were ſent to the Tower, on ſuſpicion of holding a treaſonable correſpondence with their dethroned ſovereign*. Admiral Ruſſell was ordered out with the Engliſh fleet; and having formed a junction with the Dutch ſquadron, he directed his courſe to the Port of La Hogue. Off that place, about four o'clock in the morning, he diſcovered Tourville †; who, though ſenſible of the ſuperiority of the enemy, reſolved to riſk an engagement, in order to vindicate himſelf from an aſperſion that had been thrown on his courage by M. de Seignelay, miniſter for the marine. He accordingly bore down in the Royal Sun, of one hundred and four guns, upon Ruſſell, in the Britannia, of one hundred guns. The reſt of the French fleet fell in with the Engliſh line, and a fierce engagement enſued, in which the Dutch had little ſhare. The two admirals plied their guns very warmly from eleven till one; when Tourville, being diſabled, was towed off by his boats, and five freſh ſhips, with a furious fire, covered his retreat ‡.

When the battle had continued about four hours, the weather became ſo foggy that both parties deſiſted from firing. On the diſperſion of the fog, the French ſhips were diſcovered in making a haſty retreat: a fog would otherwiſe have effected their inevitable ruin: but they were not ſuffered to eſcape without loſs. Four of Tourville's ſhips, which had been ſet on fire during the engagement, blew up in the courſe of the night. Next morning the chace was renewed; and the Royal Sun, the Admirable, an-

fected poured out againſt him. William's concern in this affair was certainly reprehenſible; but the conduct of the maſter of Stair (as Dalrymple was then ſtyled) was more culpable in giving inſtructions for the treacherous murder of an unarmed tribe.

* The earl of Marlborough held a ſecret correſpondence with James; but that unfortunate monarch never ſuppoſed him to be ſincere: he ſuſpected him of an intention to betray his ſovereign a ſecond time. Admiral Ruſſell ſeems alſo to have entered into theſe intrigues; and James had no better opinion of his ſincerity. He was apprehenſive that Ruſſel as a man of Republican principles, wiſhed only to unhinge the government, and to debaſe the crown in the perſon of fallen majeſty.

But whatever opinion Ruſſell might entertain, or whatever were his ſecret views, he certainly was an able and faithful ſervant to his country. Nor does any one feature in his character or circumſtance in his life, induce us to believe, whatever may be told by the aſſaſſins of public virtue, that he never could ſeriouſly intend to betray *that* country and his truſt as an Engliſh admiral, by carrying over the fleet under his command to the dethroned monarch, while a Papiſt and penſioner of Lewis XIV. The ambitious and intriguing genius of Malborough, his original treachery to James, and his long and intimate correſpondence with his former maſter and benefactor whom he had betrayed, leave us more in the dark with reſpect to his ultimate deſigns. He appears to have been deſtitute both of moral and political principles, when they interfered with his avarice or ambition; and it ſeems certain that, from zeal for the ſervice of James, or an averſion againſt William, he defeated, by his ſecret intelligence, an expedition againſt Breſt, under admiral Ruſſell, in 1694. *Stuart Papers*, May 1694. James II. 1694.

† May 19.

‡ At the cloſe of the ſeſſion in 1692, William exerted his prerogative in a manner which has given much diſguſt. A bill, calculated for rendering the judges independent, by depriving the ſovereign of the power of ſtopping their ſalaries, or revoking their commiſſions, unleſs they ſhould be guilty of official miſbehaviour, paſſed both houſes; and as it conduced to the pure and unbiaſſed adminiſtration of juſtice, and conſequently to the ſupport of liberty, it merited the aſſent of a prince who had been raiſed to the throne as the aſſertor of freedom, and the friend of equitable government. Yet he conſidered it as an encroachment on his lawful authority, and refuſed to confirm it by his ſanction. But though the *Third William* refuſed his aſſent to ſo meritorious an act, the *Third George* nobly gave his fiat to one of ſimilar import, ſoon after his acceſſion to the throne; with this laudable addition, that "the judges "ſhall continue in their offices, notwithſtanding the de- "miſe of the crown, which was formerly held immediately "to vacate their ſeats." See *Stat.* i. G. III. c. 23.

other

other firſt rate, and the Conqueror, an eighty-gun ſhip, were deſtroyed near Cherburg. The day following, thirteen French ſhips of the line, which had run aſhore for ſafety at La Hogue, were burned by admiral Rooke, together with twenty tranſports, laden with military ſtores*. This ſcene was witneſſed by James, to the utter confuſion of his hopes, and to the extreme aggravation of the loſs ſuſtained by his royal confederate†. The victorious admiral now returned to St. Helen's, with a great part of the united fleets, the reſt being detached, under Aſhby and other commanders, to ſcour the channel. As ſoon as the queen was informed of his ſucceſs, ſhe rewarded the exertions of his men with a preſent of thirty thouſand pounds, and diſtributed medals among the officers, as honourable teſtimonials of that courage and activity which had done ſuch injury to the French marine‡.

The adherents of James in England, however, were not diſcouraged. They conſidered the failure of the invaſion as an accident, which might

* Tourville, in obedience to his firſt inſtructions bore down upon Ruſſel's own ſhip, which he engaged at about muſket-ſhot's diſtance. He fought with great fury till one o'clock, when his rigging and ſails being conſiderably damaged, his ſhip, the Riſing Sun, was towed out of the line in great diſorder. The battle, however, ſtill continued till four, when the fleets were ſeparated by a thick fog. When thus diſperſed, the enemy were diſcovered plying to the northward; and Ruſſel made the ſignal for chacing. Part of the blue ſquadron came up with the enemy about eight in the evening, and engaged them half an hour, during which admiral Carter received a mortal wound. His laſt words proved the falſity of the aſperſion, which the Jacobites had thrown on his character, by ſaying they had debauched him from his allegiance. Finding himſelf on the point of expiring, he exhorted his captain to fight as long as the ſhip could ſwim; and then expired with great compoſure.

On the following morning, the enemy were deſcried plying to the weſtward; and the combined fleets purſued with all the ſails they could carry, until Ruſſel's foretop-maſt came by the board. Though he was retarded by this accident, he continued the chace, and in the evening caſt anchor near Cape La Hogue. On the twenty-ſecond of the month, about ſeven in the morning, part of the French fleet was diſcovered near the race of Alderney, ſome at anchor, and ſome driving to the eaſtward with the tide of flood.

He and the ſhips neareſt him immediately cut their cables, and chaced. The Riſing Sun, having loſt her maſts, ran aground near Cherbourg, where ſhe was burnt by ſir Ralph Delaval, together with the Admirable, a ſhip of one hundred and two guns, the Conquerant of eighty, and three others of leſſer force.

† "Ah!"—exclaimed the depoſed monarch, with a mixture of admiration and regret, at beholding the French fleet on fire,—"none but my brave Engliſh tars could have "performed ſo gallant an action!" *Dalrymple's Mem.*

‡ In this action the French loſt twenty-one of their largeſt ſhips, beſides two frigates, and ſome ſmaller veſſels; and had it not been for the foggy weather, few or none of them would have eſcaped: whereas the Engliſh loſt not a ſingle ſhip, nor one commiſſion-officer, except admiral Carter, and colonel Haſtings.

In the courſe of this year, the Proteſtant intereſt in Germany was conſiderably ſtrengthened by the creation of another electorate in favour of Erneſt Auguſtus, duke of Hanover. That prince had now renounced his connexions with France, and promiſed to aſſiſt the allies with all his forces, on condition of his obtaining the electoral dignity. King William ſeconded his application at the court of Vienna, and the emperor agreed to the propoſal, if the conſent of the other electors could be procured.

A majority of them was at laſt procured: but new objections were ſtill ſtarted. It was alledged, that the elevation of the duke would give the Proteſtants too great an influence in the electoral college: that, in order to remedy this inconvenience, another Popiſh electorate ſhould be created; and that Auſtria ſhould be advanced to that dignity: but as this expedient would have veſted the emperor with a double vote in the electoral college, it was ſtrongly oppoſed, and ſtrongly rejected. At length, after a tedious negociation, the duke of Hanover was honoured with the inveſtiture, under the title of elector of Brunſwick; and created great marſhal of the empire: nevertheleſs, he was not yet admitted into the college, becauſe he had not been able to procure the conſent of all the electors.

In the beginning of September, the ſhock of an earthquake was experienced in London, and many other parts of England, as well as in France, Germany, and the Netherlands. Violent agitations of the ſame kind had happened about two months before in Sicily and Malta. In the former, no leſs than a hundred thouſand perſons are ſaid to have periſhed on the occaſion. Soon after the town of Port Royal in Jamaica was almoſt totally deſtroyed by an earthquake, about fifteen hundred perſons being buried in the ruins. *Burnet. Kennet.*

On the fourteenth of March, the king came to the houſe of lords, where, after having given the royal aſſent to ſeveral bills, he finiſhed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he declared, that he was greatly obliged to them for the liberal ſupplies, which they had granted him; and which he would take care to apply to the purpoſes, for which they were allotted: that he hoped they would endeavour to propagate in their ſeveral counties, the ſame loyal and dutiful principles, which they had ſo eminently diſplayed in parliament; that the ſituation of affairs was ſuch, that his preſence on the continent was abſolutely neceſſary; but that he would leave ſuch a number of troops behind him, as would be ſufficient to ſecure the tranquillity of the public: and that he would continue, as he had hitherto done, to expoſe his perſon for the good of theſe kingdoms; and would conſtantly employ his utmoſt endeavours to make them a happy and flouriſhing nation.

In the courſe of this ſeſſion, lord Mohun was indicted for the murder of William Mountfort, the player, who, for his

might eaſily be repaired, and continued to diſturb the government with their intrigues. From theſe intrigues, the perpetual oppoſition between the Whigs and Tories, and the neceſſity of large ſupplies to ſupport the war on the continent *, originated two alarming evils, intimately connected with each other; the national debt, and the curruption of the houſe of commons. During the time that William, by a pernicious funding ſyſtem, was loading the ſtate with immenſe ſums, borrowed to ſupport his continental connexions, he was profuſely liberal of the public money to his ſervants at home; and applied it without ceremony, to make friend of his enemies, or to procure a majority in parliament.

To ſuppreſs this corruption, ſo far as it affected the repreſentatives of the people †, a bill was brought in for triennial parliaments; and William found himſelf under the neceſſity of paſſing it, or of loſing the vote of ſupply, with which it was artfully connected. He was alſo afraid to exert the influence of the crown, in defeating a bill of ſo much conſequence to the nation; more eſpecially as the queen, whoſe death he knew would weaken his authority, was then indiſpoſed. A ſimilar bill, as we have already ſeen, was extorted from Charles I. but repealed, ſoon after the Reſtoration, in compliment to Charles II. To this imprudent compliance may be aſcribed the principal diſorders which blemiſhed that and the ſubſequent reign. A houſe of commons, elected every three years, would have formed ſo ſtrong a bulwark to liberty, as muſt have diſcouraged all the attacks of arbitrary power. The more honeſt and independent part of the community, therefore, zealouſly promoted the preſent law; which, while it continued in force, certainly contributed to ſtem the tide of corruption, and produce a more impartial repreſentation of the people ‡.

The queen, as William had preſaged, died ſoon

his excellent performances on the ſtage, and his virtuous conduct in life, was univerſally beloved by the people. An officer of the army, it ſeems, had made indecent overtures to Mrs. Bracegirdle, the celebrated actreſs, who rejected his propoſals with diſdain. His lordſhip determined to extort by force what he could not obtain by ſolicitation; and with that view reſolved to intercept the lady in her return from the play-houſe. In order to protect herſelf from this outrage, ſhe was uſually eſcorted home by Mr. Mountfort, who one night, after having conducted her ſafe to her own houſe, was attacked by the officer in the ſtreets, and baſely murdered.

Mohun being preſent when the murder was committed, was ſecured and impriſoned in the Tower, and brought to his trial before his peers in Weſtminſter Hall, the marquis of Carmarthen acting as high ſteward on the occaſion. But as it did not appear that he was actually concerned in the perpetration of the crime, or was in any degree acceſſary to it, he was, after a trial of ſeveral days, acquitted by a great majority.

* A. D. 1693.

† In the courſe of 1694, the bank of England was eſtabliſhed. A certain number of merchants ſubſcribed to the amount of twelve hundred thouſand pounds, as a preſent fund for carrying on the purpoſes of this inſtitution. A bill was brought into parliament and eaſily paſſed through both houſes, empowering their majeſties to incorporate them by the name of governors and company of the bank of England, under a proviſo, that, at any time after the firſt of Auguſt, in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and five, upon a year's notice, and the re-payment of the capital, the ſaid corporation ſhould ceaſe and determine. This ſcheme was ſtrongly ſupported by one party, and as violently oppoſed by another. The former urged, that it would reſcue the nation out of the hands of extortioners and uſurers, reduce intereſt, raiſe the value of land, revive and eſtabliſh public credit, contribute to promote induſtry, increaſe trade, facilitate the annual ſupplies, and connect the people the more cloſely with the government. The latter alledged, that it would become a monopoly, and engroſs the whole money of the kingdom: that, as it muſt be ſubſervient to the views of the government, it might be employed to the moſt dangerous purpoſes: that inſtead of aſſiſting, it would weaken commerce, by tempting people to withdraw their money from trade, and employ it in ſtock-jobbing: that it would neceſſarily diminiſh the ſpecie of the kingdom, as it would deprive the nation of as much real money as there was imaginary money circulated: that it would produce a ſwarm of brokers and jobbers to prey upon their fellow creatures, encourage fraud and gaming, and further corrupt the morals of the people. The eſtabliſhment, indeed, has been productive of ſome ill conſequences; but the advantages, which reſult from it, are generally admitted to be more than ſufficient to counterbalance its inconveniences.

‡ About this period, Dr. John Tillotſon, archbiſhop of Canterbury, was ſeized with a fit of the palſy, while he was performing divine ſervice in the chapel at Whitehall. He perceived the fit coming on him; but not thinking it decent to interrupt the ſervice, he neglected it ſo long, that all remedies were found ineffectual; and he expired on the ſecond of November. His death was greatly lamented by the king and queen, and by the nation in general, who eſteemed him as a prelate poſſeſſed of every amiable and engaging virtue. A ſolid judgement, a fine taſte, a ſincere piety, and an univerſal philanthrophy: theſe qualities diſtinguiſhed his whole life, and ſtrongly characterized his ſermons, which were conſidered as perfect models of ſacred compoſition.

He died ſo poor, that, had not the king forgiven his firſt

ſoon after the paſſing of this important bill. The ſmall pox being then prevalent, the queen had contracted that diſorder. The malignity of it ſoon increaſed; and, though an interval of hope aroſe, it was ſhort and fallacious. When ſhe perceived that her diſſolution was approaching, ſhe betrayed no ſymptoms of alarm or diſcompoſure, but waited that awful event with the moſt tranquil intrepidity. She died, after a week's indiſpoſition, in the thirty-third year of her age*.

William ſeemed much afflicted at the death of the queen; and, however little regard he might have for her engaging perſon, from the frigidity of his own diſpoſition, his grief may probably have been ſincere. Her open and agreeable deportment, and her natural alliance to the throne, had chiefly contributed to reconcile the minds of men to his government. The Whigs were ready to forgive her every breach of filial duty, on account of her adherence to the Proteſtant religion, and the principles of liberty; and even the Tories were willing to attribute her ſeeming want of ſympathy with her father's misfortunes, to an obſequious ſubmiſſion to the will of her huſband. With her, all natural title to the Engliſh crown expired, on the part of William; and though his authority, ſupported by the act of Settlement, was too firmly eſtabliſhed to be eaſily ſhaken, the hopes of the Jacobites began daily to revive, and conſpiracies were formed againſt his life†; as the only bar to the reſtoration of James, and the ſucceſſion of his ſon, the titular prince of Wales, whoſe legitimacy ſeemed now unqueſtionable, by the queen's undiſputed delivery of a daughter‡.

About this time, an aſtoniſhing ſcene of

fruits, his creditors could not have been indemnified; ſo generous and charitable had he been in a ſituation from which Sancroft had raiſed a conſiderable eſtate, which he left to his family. The queen ſettled a penſion of three hundred pounds upon his widow, who likewiſe received two thouſand five hundred pounds for the manuſcript of his ſermons. He was ſucceeded in the archiepiſcopal ſee by Dr. Tenniſon, biſhop of Lincoln, who was alſo indulged with the privilege of recommending Dr. Gardner to the biſhopric from which he had been tranſlated.

* On the death of the queen, the following letter was ſent by the princeſs Anne to king William. "Sir, I beg your majeſty's favourable acceptance of my ſincere and hearty ſorrow for your great affliction in the loſs of the queen. And I do aſſure your majeſty, I am as ſenſibly touched with this ſad misfortune, as if I had never been ſo unhappy as to have fallen into her diſpleaſure. It is my earneſt deſire, your majeſty would give me leave to wait upon you, as ſoon as it can be done without inconvenience to you, and without danger of increaſing your affliction, that I may have an opportunity myſelf, not only of repeating this, but of aſſuring your majeſty of my real intentions to omit no occaſion of giving you conſtant proofs of my ſincere reſpect and concern for your perſon and intereſt, as becomes, ſir, your majeſty's moſt affectionate ſiſter, and ſervant, ANNE."

Mary was tall of ſtature; and her perſon was not deficient in juſtneſs of proportion. Her features were regular, her eyes brilliant and expreſſive, and the contour of her viſage pleaſing. Her talents were reſpectable, and her underſtanding ſound and judicious. She was a ſincere Proteſtant; and by her exemplary piety, the purity of her manners, and even by her commendable induſtry, greatly contributed to reform the court, which had been extremely licentious during the two preceding reigns. Nor was ſhe deſtitute of political addreſs; which, in the abſence of her huſband, ſhe employed in ſuch a manner as to conciliate the affections of all parties. But here muſt be a period to her praiſe. She poſſeſſed few ſhining virtues, or elegant accompliſhments, And the character of an obedient wife, ſo juſtly her due, is ſhaded by the reproach of being a cruel ſiſter, and an unfeeling daughter; who entered the palace of her father, ſoon after he had been compelled to leave it, and aſcended his throne with as much pleaſantry as if he had been an enemy to her exiſtence, inſtead of an indulgent parent, and the fountain of her blood.

This princeſs had no iſſue, though ſhe had lived upwards of ſeventeen years in the matrimonial ſtate: ſhe was interred in Weſtminſter abbey, with extraordinary magnificence, the funeral being attended by both houſes of parliament.

Conſcious that nothing but a virtuous conduct could ſecure her the eſteem of the preſent age, or the veneration of poſterity, ſhe was careful to conduct herſelf in ſuch a manner as to merit, and finally to be entitled to both. When one of the courtiers happened to exclaim againſt the ſeverity of hiſtorians, who had treated the memory of ſome princes with ſo much rigour; ſhe judiciouſly replied, that if theſe princes were ſuch as the hiſtorians repreſented them, they well deſerved the treatment they had received; and that thoſe who purſued their ſteps, might "naturally expect the ſame freedom of remark: for truth, "though it might be for a time ſuppreſſed, would moſt "certainly in the end of prevail."

All her virtues, however, could not procure her the eſteem, nor protect her from the ſeverities of the Jacobites; who traduced her conduct while alive, and inſulted her memory when dead, with the utmoſt rancour and virulence. One of the clergy of that perſuaſion had even the effrontery, on the Sunday ſucceeding her death, to deliver a ſermon on the following text: "Go now, ſee this curſed "woman, and bury her, for ſhe is a king's daughter."

† A. D. 1695.

‡ As the princeſs of Denmark had long held a ſecret correſpondence with her father, and obtained his pardon for her undutiful conduct, it was preſumed ſhe would not oppoſe his reſtoration, by pleading her parliamentary title to the ſucceſſion.

bribery and corruption was diſcovered, which had infected not only the agents of the army, and the members of parliament, but even the privy counſellors themſelves. This was occaſioned by a petition preſented by the inhabitants of Royſton, complaining that the officers and ſoldiers of the regiment belonging to colonel Haſtings, quartered upon them, had exacted ſubſiſtence money, and were guilty of many other abuſes.

The houſe having examined into the matter, reſolved that ſuch a practice was arbitrary and illegal, and a violation of the rights and liberties of the ſubject. On further enquiry, Paunceſort, agent for the regiment, was taken into the cuſtody of the ſerjeant at arms, for having neglected to pay the ſubſiſtence-money, which he had received for the officers and ſoldiers. In a few days he and his brother, who were equally guilty, were committed to the Tower; whither they were ſoon followed by Henry Guy, a member of the houſe, and ſecretary to the treaſury, who had received a bribe of two hundred guineas, for procuring the payment of the arrears, which were due to the regiment.

The houſe then proceeded to frame an addreſs to his majeſty, repreſenting the abuſes which exiſted in the army, and humbly entreating him to grant immediate redreſs. The king promiſed to comply with their requeſt. Accordingly he diſmiſſed colonel Haſtings, and beſtowed his regiment upon ſir John Jacob, his lieutenant-colonel. He alſo appointed a council of officers, to ſit weekly and examine all complaints againſt any officer or ſoldier.

The commons, however, continued to proſecute their enquiry. They committed Craggs and Harnage, two of the contractors for cloathing the army, for refuſing to produce their books, and anſwer upon oath to ſuch queſtions as ſhould be propoſed to them by the commiſſioners for auditing the public accounts. They brought in a bill for obliging them and the two Paunceforts, to diſcover how they had diſpoſed of the money, which they had received on account of the army; and for puniſhing them in caſe they ſhould perſiſt in their refuſal.

Almoſt at the ſame period, complaints were preferred againſt the commiſſioners, for licenſing hackney-coaches. Upon examination, two of them, Aſhurſt and Overbury, were honourably acquitted; but the other three, Killegrew, Villiers, and Gee, were found guilty, and removed with diſgrace. Theſe diſcoveries occaſioned a ſuſpicion, that an univerſal corruption had overſpread the nation; that court, camp, city, country, and even the parliament itſelf, were not immaculate. The commons were therefore determined to ſearch to the bottom of this reigning evil, and to vindicate, if poſſible, the honour of their own houſe. An enquiry now took place reſpecting the orphan's bill, which was ſuppoſed to have paſſed into an act by virtue of undue influence: a committee being appointed to inſpect the chamberlain's books, diſcovered that a bribe of a thouſand guineas had been given to ſir Joſeph Trevor, ſpeaker of the houſe, and another of twenty guineas to Mr. Hungerford, chairman of the grand committee. For theſe miſdemeanors and breaches of truſt, they were ſeverally expelled the houſe; and Paul Foley was choſen ſpeaker, as Trevor's ſucceſſor.

The commons then proceeded to enquire into the means, by which the Eaſt India company had acquired their new charter. Their books were examined by the ſame committee, which had conducted the former ſcrutiny, and the moſt flagrant inſtances of venality and corruption were diſcovered. It appeared, that the company had iſſued, for the ſingle article of ſecret ſervice, no leſs than one hundred and ſeventy thouſand pounds; and that ſir Thomas Cook, one of the directors, and a member of the houſe, had been the principal manager of this ſcandalous commerce.

Cook, at firſt, refuſed to anſwer interrogatories; but, being at laſt obliged to comply, he confeſſed that he had delivered tallies for ten thouſand pounds to Frances Tyſſen, deputy governor, for the ſpecial ſervice of the company; twelve thouſand pounds to Richard Acton, for exerciſing his influence in preventing a new ſettlement, and endeavouring to eſtabliſh the old company; three hundred and thirty-eight pounds to Mr. Molyneux; two hundred and thirty to ſir John Chardin; three hundred and fifty to Paul Docminique; three hundred and eighty-two to captain John Jermaine; five hundred and forty-five to Charles Bates; and forty thouſand to ſir Baſil Firebrace.

Firebrace,

Firebrace, being examined, declared, that he had received the whole forty thouſand pounds for his own uſe and emolument; but that he had ſupplied Bates with ſeveral ſums of money, which he believed were diſtributed among ſome perſons of the firſt diſtinction. Acton declared, that ten thouſand pounds of the ſum which he had received, was preſented to perſons who had intereſt with the members of parliament, and that a conſiderable part of the money had paſſed through the hands of Craggs, Wallis, Ridley, and Docminique. Bates affirmed, that he had received the five hundred and forty-five pounds, in conſideration of exerting his intereſt with the duke of Leeds, in favour of the company; that he had received from ſir Baſil Firebrace the ſum of five thouſand five hundred guineas on the ſame account; that the duke of Leeds knew of this gratuity; that the ſame was reckoned by his grace's domeſtic, one Robart, a foreigner, who kept it in his poſſeſſion till the inquiry was commenced, and then it was returned. On the whole it appeared, that the duke of Leeds had been actually culpable in theſe tranſactions; that he really intended to accept this ſum, but conceived it prudent to ſtop it in the hands of his ſervant, till he ſhould know whether he could receive it with impunity*.

The commons were enraged at this nefarious conduct of the lord preſident. They inſtantly reſolved, that there was ſufficient cauſe to impeach Thomas duke of Leeds, of high crimes and miſdemeanours; and that he ſhould be impeached accordingly. The duke was no ſooner informed of this reſolution, than he repaired to the lower houſe, where he was eaſily admitted, complimented with a chair, and permitted to be covered. After having ſat a few minutes, he roſe, took off his hat, and addreſſed himſelf to the members in very extraordinary terms. He expatiated on the important ſervices which he had rendered the nation; aſſumed to himſelf the chief honour of the Revolution; and even confidently affirmed, that had it not been for him, the houſe would not then have been ſitting. He proteſted his own innocence reſpecting the crime of which he was accuſed; and complained, that this was the effect of a contrivance which had been long forming againſt him. He declared upon his faith and honour that he had never touched a farthing of the money which he was accuſed of having received. He expreſſed the poignancy of his feelings in lying under the diſpleaſure of the parliament and nation, and concluded with requeſting a ſpeedy trial, and a favourable hearing.

Articles of impeachment were immediately preſented at the bar of the upper houſe, he pleaded not guilty; and the commons promiſed to ſubſtantiate the charge; but ſuch wonderful peculations were, at this time, diſcovered, as inſtantly to check the violence of the proſecution. Such numbers of eminent perſons appeared to be concerned in this ſcene of corruption, that a full detection was equally dreaded by both parties. The duke ordered his ſervant, Robart, out of the kingdom; and his abſence furniſhed a pretext for poſtponing the trial. In a word, the enquiry was finally dropped; but the infamy firmly adhered to the character of the duke.

The Jacobites embraced this opportunity of caſting an imputation even on the integrity of the king. They affirmed that his majeſty had received as a bribe, the ſum of ten thouſand pounds. It is certain indeed, that he had received

* Dr. Thomas Tenifon, who ſucceeded Dr. Tillotſon, in the metropolian dignity, was attached to the principles of the Whigs. He perſuaded the king to iſſue injunctions about this time, for the ſtrict obſervance of every branch of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline; and encouraged the literary champions of the Trinity. He even procured freſh directions from the crown, which were publiſhed in every dioceſe. The defenders of the church, in their treatiſes, did not entirely agree in their ſentiments concerning this abſtruſe point. Sherlock, a writer of reputation, maintained, that the divine perſons who formed the Trinity, were three diſtinct ſubſtances, and three intelligent agents. South combated the opinion of Sherlock, whom he repreſented as a tritheiſt; and explained the three perſons as different modes in which one eſſence ſubſiſted: an explanation which ſubjected him to the imputation of ſabellianiſm. When the former interpretation was enforced by a divine who preached before the univerſity of Oxford, the academical ſenate condemned it by a decree, as falſe, impious, and heretical. To check theſe diſputes among the churchmen, as well as to guard againſt the attacks of the enemies of the Trinity, William directed that no preacher or writer ſhould deliver any other doctrine on this head, than that which was agreeable to the ſcriptures, the creeds, and the articles; and the prelates were ordered to exert their authority againſt the miſchievous views of thoſe who controverted or denied the Trinitarian ſyſtem. *Ch. Hiſt.*

ceived

ceived ſuch a ſum; but it is equally certain, that he had *not* received it as a bribe, but as a compliment or preſent, which the company had been accuſtomed to pay *annually* to the late kings, and which they had given only once in the courſe of *three years* to his preſent majeſty. It is likewiſe certain that he refuſed the ſum of fifty thouſand pounds, which the company had offered him on condition that he would conſent to an act in their favour.

On the third of May the king repaired to the houſe of peers, and cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he thanked them for the ſupplies they had granted; informed them of his intention of going abroad; and aſſured them that he would entruſt the adminiſtration to perſons of known honour and fidelity; and deſired the members of both houſes would be particularly careful to preſerve the public peace and tranquillity. At the concluſion of this ſpeech, the lord keeper prorogued the parliament to the eighteenth of June*. The king immediately appointed a regency to govern the kingdom during his abſence. It was compoſed of the archbiſhop of Canterbury; Somers, lord keeper of the great ſeal; the earl of Pembroke, lord privy-ſeal; the duke of Devonſhire, lord ſteward of the houſhold; the duke of Shrewſbury, ſecretary of ſtate; the earl of Dorſet, lord chamberlain; and lord Godolphin, firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury. It is remarkable, that neither the princeſs of Denmark nor her huſband were admitted into any ſhare of the adminiſtration; a circumſtance which diſcovered the king's jealouſy, and was ſarcaſtically noticed by the Jacobites, who, under pretence of extraordinary zeal for the princeſs's intereſt, reſolved to improve it to their own pernicious purpoſes†.

In the month of May a parliament was aſſembled in Scotland, which, after a ſtrict and impartial enquiry into the affair of Glenco, entirely acquitted the king of any ſhare of guilt in that barbarous maſſacre. But, though the king was ſo ſolemnly acquitted, the Jacobites continued to caſt on him the odium of that meaſure. His principal error ſeems to have been his neglecting to expreſs his diſpleaſure againſt thoſe, who, under colour of his royal authority, had perpetrated ſo barbarous a deed; for except the diſmiſſion of the maſter of Stair from his ſervice, he inflicted no puniſhment on any of the delinquents; and this omiſſion, more than any other circumſtance, contributed to loſe him the affection of the Scots. Hamilton abſconded, and an order was publiſhed for apprehending his perſon. Campbell, Drummond, Lindſey, Lundy, and Barber were ſpeedily brought to trial: Breadalbane was impeached; but he found means to elude the danger: and his eſcaping with impunity was, perhaps, from this circumſtance, that ſo many conſiderable perſons were involved in the guilt, it was thought prudent to ſtop the proſecutions by mutual conſent.

The king diſſolved the preſent parliament, and ſummoned a new one to meet at Weſtminſter, on the twenty-ſecond of November. In the mean time ſenſible that his reſerved and diſtant behaviour was extremely prejudicial to his intereſts, he endeavoured to gain the affections of his people by attempting a more frank and familiar deportment, than was ſuitable to his diſpoſition. He honoured the diverſions of Newmarket with his preſence, where he received the compliments of the univerſity of Cambridge; ſucceſſively viſited, at their ſucceſſive ſeats, the earls of Sunderland, Northampton, and Montague, the duke of Newcaſtle, lord Brooke, and the duke of Shrewſbury; made a ſolemn entry into Oxford, having been met at ſome diſtance from the city, by the duke of Ormond, as chancellor

* At this period the ſilver coin of the kingdom was ſo much diminiſhed by the villainy of clippers, that a guinea was reckoned equivalent to thirty ſhillings, and this diſgrace contributed greatly to lower the credit of the public funds. Various expedients were propoſed for remedying this growing evil: but ſome of them were dangerous, and others were impracticable. An act, however, was paſſed, containing ſtricter penalties againſt clippers: but theſe public robbers ſtill continued their villainous practice: few of them were diſcovered, or brought to puniſhment.

† Sir John Trenchard dying about this time, his place of ſecretary of ſtate was conferred on ſir William Trumball, an eminent civilian, learned, diligent, and virtuous, who had been envoy at Paris and Conſtantinople. William de Naſſau, ſeigneur de Zuyleſtein, ſon of the king's natural uncle, was created baron of Enfield, viſcount Tunbridge, and earl of Rochford; Ford, lord Grey of Werk, elevated to the rank of viſcount Clendale, and earl of Tankerville. The ſame nobleman, together with the duke of Schomberg, and Peregrine Bertie, vice-chamberlain to his majeſty, were ſworn and admitted of the privy council.

of the univerſity, the vice chancellor, the doctors in their habits, and the magiſtrates in their formalities; repaired to the theatre, where he was welcomed in an elegant Latin ſpeech, pronounced by Mr. Charles Codrington; and received from the chancellor, on his knees, the uſual preſents of a large Engliſh bible, the book of common prayer, the engravings of the univerſity, and a pair of gold-fringed gloves.

That learned body had prepared a magnificent entertainment, hoping that his majeſty would honour them at dinner: but the duke of Ormond having communicated to him an anonymous letter, addreſſed to his grace, importing that a plan had been concerted to poiſon him, the king immediately ſet out for Windſor, aſſigning as a reaſon for his ſpeedy departure, and his refuſing to view the colleges, "that this was a "viſit of kindneſs, not of curioſity, as he had "ſeen the univerſity before*."

The parliament meeting at the time appointed, the king, in his ſpeech, informed them, that, as the laſt parliament had aſſiſted him ſo cheerfully in proſecuting the war, he doubted not but the preſent would ſupport him with equal liberality: that the Engliſh forces had behaved during the laſt campaign with ſuch ſignal bravery, as to reflect great honour on themſelves, and on the Engliſh nation: that he was ſorry to be obliged to demand ſuch conſiderable ſupplies, which, however, were abſolutely neceſſary for the effectual proſecution of the war: that the funds, which had been eſtabliſhed, had proved very deficient, and the civil liſt was in a precarious ſituation: that he begged permiſſion to recommend to their compaſſion the miſerable condition of the French Proteſtants, who ſuffered for their religion: that the ſtate of the coin demanded an immediate remedy: that the French were making vaſt preparations for taking the field early in the ſpring, and nothing but the moſt vigorous councils and reſolutions, could withſtand the power of that ambitious nation: that he was perfectly ſatisfied with the choice which his people had made of their repreſentatives in the houſe of commons; and hoped they would proceed with moderation and unanimity.

The commons having choſen Mr. Foley for their ſpeaker, both houſes preſented an addreſs to his majeſty, in which they congratulated him on the ſucceſs of his arms, and his ſafe return; thanked him for the confidence which he repoſed in their affections; and aſſured him that they would ſupport him againſt all his enemies, foreign and domeſtic, and effectually aſſiſt him in the proſecution of the war, in which he was engaged for the ſafety of England, and the liberty of Europe.

On the fourth day of the ſeſſion, the bill was introduced for regulating trials in caſes of high treaſon: it paſſed through both houſes with little oppoſition; and at laſt received the royal aſſent†.

When

* The king, during his laſt tour, happened to ſleep one night at the houſe of one Mr. Cary, a gentleman of about a hundred years of age, who had been ſervant to king James the Firſt, Charles the Firſt, Oliver Cromwell, Charles the Second, and was now ſervant to his preſent majeſty. The king hearing of a particular humour which the old gentleman diſplayed in deſcribing his pictures, requeſted to ſee them, and, pretending to be ignorant for whom they were depicted, aſked, of the firſt in order, who that was? "That," replied Cary, "is my good old "maſter king James the Firſt: I ſerved him ſeveral years." "Who is the next?" ſaid his majeſty. "That ſir," anſwered Cary, "is my good old maſter Charles the Firſt: "he was a good maſter to me, let them ſay what they will "of him." "Pray, who is the next?" reſumed the king. "Why truly, ſir," replied Cary, "that is my maſter Oliver "Cromwell; he was alſo my very good maſter; and ſo "was the next there, king Charles the Second, and the "next, king James the Second; and ſo now is your ma"jeſty, whoſe picture there is ſtill room for." Whether the king gave him his picture does not appear; but he was highly pleaſed with the old gentleman's ſimplicity in deſcribing his pictures, all of which it ſeems he had received as preſents.

† It enacted, that perſons indicted for high-treaſon, or miſpriſion of treaſon, ſhould be ſupplied with a copy of the indictment five days before the indictment; and indulged with two counſellors to plead in their defence: that no perſon ſhould be indicted but upon the oaths of two lawful witneſſes ſwearing to the ſame overt-act; or, at leaſt, to different acts of the ſame treaſon: that in two or more treaſons of divers kinds, alledged in the ſame bill of indictment, one witneſs to one, and another witneſs to another, ſhould not be deemed two witneſſes: that no perſon ſhould be proſecuted for any ſuch crime, unleſs the indictment was found within three years after the offence was committed: except in caſe of a deſign or attempt to aſſaſſinate or poiſon the king, which ſhould not be ſubject to this limitation: that perſons indicted for treaſon, or miſpriſion of treaſon, ſhould be furniſhed with copies of the pannel of the jurors, two days at leaſt before their trial; and ſhould have the ſame proceſs to compel their witneſſes to appear, which is uſually granted.

When this bill was ſent up to the peers, the clauſe, ſo often propoſed by their lordſhips, and ſo frequently rejected by the lower houſe, was again added, that a peer ſhould be tried by the whole peerage; and the commons were now ſo eager for the bill, that they readily agreed to this amendment.

It is remarkable, that, while this affair was depending, lord Aſhley, afterwards earl of Shaftſbury, and author of Characteriſtics; who was then a member of the lower houſe, and extremely zealous for the bill, particularly that part of it which allows counſel to a priſoner; had prepared a ſpeech on the ſubject, which was highly applauded by thoſe who had peruſed it. But when he roſe to utter it in the houſe, he was ſo intimidated by the auguſt audience, that his memory failed him, and he could not recollect a ſyllable of what he intended to ſay. The houſe, having given him ſome time to recover from his confuſion, requeſted him to proceed, when he expreſſed himſelf to this effect: "If I, ſir," addreſſing himſelf to the ſpeaker, "who riſe only to "give my opinion on the bill now depending, am "ſo confounded, that I am unable to expreſs "the leaſt of what I propoſed to ſay; what muſt "the condition of that man be, who, without "any aſſiſtance, is pleading for his life, and un-"der apprehenſion of being deprived of it?" This unexpected ſally contributed more to the ſucceſs of the bill, than the ſpeech itſelf, however excellent, could poſſibly have done.

This matter being adjuſted, the commons proceeded to take into conſideration the accounts and eſtimates, and voted four millions, twenty-four thouſand, eight hundred, and fifty-three pounds, for the ſervice of the enſuing year. They next began to examine the ſtate of the coin; which, by the villainous arts of clippers, was now moſt ſhamefully debaſed; and, after a long deliberation, reſolved to proceed to a new coinage.

The next point for their determination was, whether the new coin, in its different denominations, ſhould retain the original weight and purity of the old? or the eſtabliſhed ſtandard be raiſed in value? The celebrated Mr Locke contended for the former expedient; Mr. Lowndes argued for the latter: but the obſervations of the philoſopher, were deemed more convincing than thoſe of the projector; and the commons reſolved that the eſtabliſhed ſtandard ſhould be preſerved with regard to weight and fineneſs.

It was reſolved that a reward of five per cent. ſhould be given to all ſuch perſons as ſhould bring in either milled or unclipped money to be employed in exchange of the clipped money, throughout the kingdom: and that three pence per ounce ſhould be given to all perſons who ſhould bring in wrought plate to the mint to be coined *: that perſons might pay in their whole next year's land tax in clipped money, at ſome convenient time to be fixed for that purpoſe: and that commiſſioners ſhould be appointed in every county, to pay and diſtribute the milled and unclipped money, and the new coined money, in lieu of that which was diminiſhed. A bill being framed agreeable to theſe reſolutions, paſſed through both houſes, after ſome inconſiderable oppoſition, and, at laſt, received the royal aſſent.

It is remarkable that the Jacobites were extremely active on this occaſion. They firſt attempted to prevent a recoinage; hoping the debaſed ſtate of the money would ſoon produce a ſtagnation in trade and commerce, and, in the end, an univerſal anarchy, during which they might more eaſily be able to effect their pernicious purpoſes. Failing in that attempt, they endeavoured to alarm the people with apprehenſions of the dangers ariſing from a recoinage. Happily, however, for the nation, they were diſappointed in all their endeavours. The recoinage was undertaken and executed with uncommon expedition; nor was it attended with any of

granted to witneſſes againſt them: that no evidence ſhould be admitted of any overt-act not expreſsly laid in the indictment: and that this act ſhall not extend to any impeachment, or other proceedings in parliament; nor to any indictment for counterfeiting his majeſty's coin, his great-ſeal, privy-ſeal, ſign manual, or ſignet.

Subſequent to this act reſpecting treaſon and ſedition, are thoſe of 33 *G.* III. *c.* 27, 36 *G.* III. *c.* 7, and 36 *G.* III. *c.* 8. They are, in a great degree ſupplementary to, and explanatory of the ſtatutes of 25 *Edward* III. and this of 7 *William* III. and were particularly explained by lord chief juſtice Ellenborough, in his charge to the grand jury, previous to the trial of colonel *Deſpard* and his accomplices, for high treaſon, in February, 1803.

* At this time the humour of poſſeſſing ſilver plate was carried to ſuch a degree of extravagance, that one alehouſe near the Exchange, had ſilver tankards to the value of above five hundred pounds.

thoſe

thoſe fatal conſequences which the enemies of government had pretended to foreſee: for, in leſs than a year, the currency of England, from having been the worſt, became the beſt coin in Europe.

While the parliament manifeſted their attachment to the preſent government, they alſo reſolved to ſupport the liberties of the ſubject.—The king had a particular regard for the earl of Portland, who had always ſerved him with inviolable fidelity. To this nobleman he had lately made a grant of ſome lordſhips in the county of Denbigh, including part of the ancient demeſnes of the principality of Wales.

The vaſſals and tenants of theſe lordſhips preſented a petition to the parliament, remonſtrating againſt the legality of the grant, and inſiſting on the right which they had always enjoyed, of holding ſolely of the prince of Wales. The commons took the affair into conſideration; and, finding the objections advanced by the petitioners to be well founded, addreſſed his majeſty to recal the grant. The king was much embarraſſed with this addreſs, which reflected highly on his conduct. He promiſed, however, to recal the grant, and to have recourſe to ſome other method of manifeſting his favour to the earl of Portland.

About this time, the public attention was engaged by the diſcovery of a conſpiracy againſt the perſon and government of the king. The Jacobites, ſuppoſing his intereſt was conſiderably impaired by the death of his queen, reſolved to attempt the reſtoration of James: in conſequence of which they concerted the ſcheme of a foreign invaſion, and the reſolution of aſſaſſinating his majeſty. The earl of Ayleſbury, lord Montgomery, ſir John Fenwick, ſir John Friend, captain Charnock, captain Porter, and one Mr. Gooman were the projectors of this plot.

In the beginning of February, the duke of Berwick came privately into England, to haſten the preparations of the conſpirators. He aſſured them that James was ready to make a deſcent with a conſiderable number of French forces, and had diſtributed commiſſions, and given directions for procuring men, arms, and horſes, to join him on his arrival. When he returned to France, he found every thing in readineſs for the expedition. Twenty thouſand men were drafted from the northern garriſons, and aſſembled at Calais: a great number of tranſports were collected at Dunkirk. monſieur Gabaret was approaching with a ſquadron of ſhips, which, when reinforced by that of Du Bart at Dunkirk, was deemed a ſufficient convoy; and James himſelf had arrived at Calais to embark with the firſt opportunity.

In the mean time the Jacobites in England were preparing for an immediate inſurrection. Two regiments of horſe were nearly completed by ſir John Friend and ſir William Perkins. Four troops were enliſted by ſir John Fenwick. Colonel Tempeſt had engaged to raiſe a regiment of dragoons: colonel Parker was preferred to the command of another: Mr. Curwin was commiſſioned for a third: and the party jointly intended to levy a fourth in Suffolk, were they pretended to have conſiderable intereſt. The next ſtep was to make choice of a proper perſon to undertake the aſſaſſination of William; and colonel Parker was at firſt propoſed: but he had been concerned in ſo many conſpiracies againſt the life of his majeſty, that he would probably have been apprehended upon his arrival in England; at leaſt his appearance would have alarmed the ſuſpicions of the court. The taſk, therefore, of murdering the king, was committed to ſir George Barclay, a native of Scotland, a man of undaunted courage, ſecret, cautious, and circumſpect, but ſo furious a bigot to the church of Rome, that he believed every thing to be juſt and legal, which tended to its promotion.

Barclay, having obtained from king James a particular commiſſion for this purpoſe, repaired to England in the beginning of January, and immediately prepared for the execution of his deſign. He imparted the ſecret to Harriſon, alias Johnſon, a prieſt, Charnock, Porter, and ſir William Perkins, who readily embarked in the enterprize. Various methods were at firſt propoſed for effecting their purpoſe: but they at length agreed to the bloody deed, and reſolved to attack the king on his return from Richmond, where he uſually amuſed himſelf in hunting on a Saturday; and the ſcene of the tragedy was a lane between Brentford and Turnham green.—As it would be neceſſary to diſperſe the guards which attended the coach, they agreed to augment their number to forty horſemen; and each conſpirator engaged to procure his proportion.

Every

Every thing was now ready for the execution of their deſign, which they reſolved to attempt on the fifteenth of February; when two days before the appointed time, the plot was diſcovered by three of the inferior actors, captain Fiſher, Pendergraſs, an Iriſh officer, and la Rue, a Frenchman. The two former gave their information to the earl of Portland; the laſt to brigadier Leviſon; nor did any one of them know any thing of the others' diſcovery. The king could not, at firſt, be induced to believe in the exiſtence of a plot; but finding it confirmed by ſo many witneſſes, he admitted Pendergraſs into his preſence, and prevailed on him to give a liſt of the aſſaſſins, after having aſſured him, that he ſhould not be produced as an evidence, without his own conſent. A proclamation was inſtantly iſſued for apprehending the conſpirators. Barclay abſconded, and could never be found; the Jacobites had, therefore, a plauſible pretence for diſclaiming the commiſſion which he had obtained from king James. Moſt of the other conſpirators were ſecured.

King James was ſo confident of the ſucceſs of the enterprize, that he had actually embarked his artillery and ſtores, and even a conſiderable number of his troops; but it was not long before he was convinced that he had been a little too ſanguine in his expectations. Admiral Ruſſel was now diſpatched to the French coaſt with a fleet of above fifty ſail of the line; and the enemy, confounded at his appearance, retired precipitately into their harbours. James, perceiving the deſign was defeated, was overwhelmed with deſpair, and returned to his court at St. Germains, to his own unutterable ſorrow, and the inexpreſſible joy of the Engliſh nation*.

On the twenty fourth of February, the king, in a ſpeech to both houſes, acquainted them with the conſpiracy againſt his perſon, as well as with the deſign of a foreign invaſion; expreſſed a confidence in their good will and affection, and hoped they would adopt ſuch ſteps for their common ſafety as to them ſhould appear expedient.

That very evening, the two houſes waited on him at Kenſington with an affectionate addreſs, in which they declared their abhorrence and deteſtation of the villainous and barbarous plan which had been formed againſt his perſon, of which they beſought him to take unuſual care. They aſſured him, that they would defend his life and maintain his government againſt the late king James, and all his other enemies.

They alſo drew up an aſſociation to the ſame effect, which moſt of them ſigned without heſitation. Some of the Tories, however, objected to the expreſſion, rightful and lawful ſovereign, which was uſed in the declaration; and, in order to remove the cavils of theſe ſecret enemies the phraſe was changed into the ſovereign, who, by law, hath a right to the crown of theſe realms. The commons brought in a bill, which eaſily paſſed, importing, that ſuch as refuſed to take the oaths to his majeſty, ſhould be ſubject to the forfeitures and penalties of Popiſh recuſants†.

The parliament next determined upon ways and means for raiſing the ſupplies. A new bank was eſtabliſhed, uſually termed the land-bank, becauſe founded upon land ſecurities. The bill imported, that a fund, redeemable by parliament, ſhould be ſettled in a national land bank, to be raiſed by new ſubſcriptions; and that no perſon ſhould be concerned in both banks at the ſame time. This ſcheme ſuppoſed to have been contrived by Dr. Chamberlain, was principally conducted by Foley and Harley; and was generally

* Admiral Ruſſel, when certain intelligence was received of the projected invaſion, was ordered to repair to the Downs, where he hoiſted his flag on board the Victory. He collected, with incredible diſpatch, a fleet of fifty ſail, with which he made his appearance before Calais: and though he was unable to deſtroy the French ſhipping, or do any great injury to the town, he ſpread terror all along the coaſt, and convinced the enemy of the neceſſity of attending to their own preſervation, inſtead of ambitiouſly attempting to invade their neighbours. Thus were all the hopes of James and his adherents vaniſhed, by what the French denominated his *malignant ſtar*. Full of ſhame and confuſion, and overwhelmed with diſappointment and deſpair, he returned to St. Germains; where, abandoning all thoughts of an earthly crown, he directed his views ſolely toward heaven. Lewis XIV. who was an accompliſhed gentleman as well as a magnificent king, treated the dethroned monarch, on every occaſion, with much tenderneſs and compaſſion.

† The king was well pleaſed with theſe tokens of duty and affection from ſo great a majority of his ſubjects. He thanked the parliament for the zealous attachment they had expreſſed to his perſon and government; and declared that he would cheerfully venture his life in defending the religion, laws, and liberties of England.

believed to be a Tory plan, intended to deſtroy the bank of England. The company of the latter petitioned againſt the bill, and were heard by their counſel; but their repreſentations had no effect; the bill paſſed through both houſes, and at laſt received the royal aſſent.

On the twenty-ſeventh of April, the king cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he thanked them for the generous concern they had manifeſted for his perſon and government; acquainted them with his intention of going abroad for ſome time; and expreſſed his wiſhes that they would endeavour to aſſiſt thoſe whom he ſhould entruſt with the government, in preſerving the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom.

During this time, the conſpirators were brought to trial. The witneſſes againſt them were Porter, Harris, Blair, La Rue, Bertram, Fiſher, Goodman, Haywood, and Ewebank, all of whom were concerned in the deſign of an inſurrection, and ſome in the project of aſſaſſination. They were all found guilty, and executed at Tyburn.

The firſt ſufferers were Robert Charnock, one of the two fellows of Magdalen college, who, in the reign of king James, had embraced the Catholic religion, lieutenant King, and James Key, who had formerly been a trumpeter, but of late a ſervant to captain Porter.

The next who were tried were ſir John Friend and ſir William Perkins. The evidence againſt them was clear and ſatisfactory; and they were ſentenced to die the death of traitors. Friend was a man of great opulence, but little judgment; and had, therefore, been admitted into few ſecrets of the conſpiracy: his purſe was more regarded than his penetration; and his confeſſion contained nothing intereſting. Perkins was a man of greater ability, and conſequently had been honoured with greater confidence.

He acknowledged that he had ſeen king James's commiſſion. He ſaid, however, that it did not authorize the taking away king William's life, but only the attacking of his perſon*

On the twenty-firſt of April†, Rookwood, Lowick, and Cranborne, three of the other conſpirators, were brought to the bar of the King's Bench, and were all found guilty.—Rookwood and Lowick were Papiſts. They expreſſed their diſapprobation of the deſign in which they had been engaged; and only pleaded, that, as military men, they thought themſelves obliged to obey the orders of the ſovereign they acknowledged. Cranborne pretended to be a Proteſtant; but was more ſullen and obſtinate than the reſt; the Jacobites having taken care to rouſe their party to the higheſt degree of fury and diſobedience.

The laſt who were tried in the courſe of this year, were Mr. Knightly and Mr. Cooke, ſon of ſir Miles Cooke, one of the ſix clerks in chancery. The former, making a full confeſſion, his ingenuous behaviour procured him a reprieve, and afterwards a pardon. The evidence againſt the latter was imperfect, though it was deemed ſufficient by the jury, and he was accordingly condemned. But, as he promiſed to make conſiderable diſcoveries, he was indulged with ſucceſſive reprieves, and afterwards baniſhed.

The generals of the allied army had been previouſly acquainted with the intended invaſion and conſpiracy: and had even tranſmitted the intelligence to England. Being now informed that both theſe ſchemes were happily defeated, they reſolved to make an immediate retaliation upon the French for the inhuman deſigns they had formed againſt the life of William.

Lewis had been ſo confident of the ſucceſs of

* A remarkable inſtance of the unparalleled aſſurance of the Jacobites appeared on this occaſion. Collier, Snatt, and Cooke, three non-juring clergymen, attended the criminals to the place of execution, where they gave them the abſolution of the church, and even accompanied the ceremony with a ſolemn impoſition of hands. This inſult on the government did not paſs unnoticed. The three clergymen were preſented by the grand jury for having countenanced the treaſon by abſolving the traitors, before they had repented of their crime. An indictment was alſo preferred againſt them: Cooke and Snatt were committed; but Collier abſconded, and had even the affrontery to publiſh a pamphlet in vindication of his conduct. In order to refute the cavils of this incendiary, fourteen of the biſhops, who happened then to be in London, ſubſcribed a declaration, condemning the adminiſtration of abſolution, before confeſſion made, and an abhorrence expreſſed by the priſoners of the heinous crimes for which they were condemned.

But though Cooke and Snatt were impriſoned; yet through the lenity of the government, they were excuſed from any other puniſhment.

† A. D. 1696.

the expedition, that he had even regulated his military operations in Flanders upon that ſuppoſition; and had actually eſtabliſhed a large magazine at Givet, with a view of ſtriking ſome important ſtroke, while the allies ſhould be weakened by the abſence of the Britiſh forces. Upon this magazine the confederates now determined to pour forth their vengeance; and the execution of the enterprize was committed to the earl of Athlone and lieutenant general Coehorn.

Theſe two commanders proceeded from Namur with a very formidable force. Athlone inveſted Dinant with part of the troops, while Coehorn, with the remainder, advanced to Givet. He inſtantly began to bombard the town; and a party of ſoldiers having forced their way into it, with flambeaux in their hands, ſet it on fire in ſeveral places; and ſo effectually, that in a few hours, it was utterly conſumed, together with the great magazine it contained. The two generals having effected their purpoſe, rejoined their forces, and returned to Namur, with the loſs only of about ten men. King William, having appointed a regency, embarked at Margate on the ſeventh of May, and arrived that ſame evening at Orange Polder, whence he repaired immediately to the Hague. The French had taken the field early in the ſpring; but no enterprize of importance was attempted in the courſe of this campaign. Lewis was obliged to act on the defenſive; and William was ſo diſtreſſed for want of money, that, though at the head of an army greatly ſuperior to that of the enemy, he could not avail himſelf of that advantage.

All the funds for this year proved extremely defective; and the land bank failed, without having produced any other effect than that of injuring the credit of the national bank by its oppoſition. The loſs of the nation on the recoinage amounted to two millions, two hundred thouſand pounds: and though the mint was ſo conſtantly employed as to furniſh about eighty thouſand pounds per week, that ſum was inadequate to the purpoſes of circulation; eſpecially as thoſe who received the new ſpecie either hoarded it, or diſpoſed of it at an unreaſonable advantage. In this ſituation, had the French been able to make the ſame efforts which they had formerly exerted, they might have reduced the allies to great extremities: but, happily for England, and for the general liberties of Europe, Lewis was involved in ſtill greater difficulties than even king William himſelf. That prince, having exhauſted the wealth, and diminiſhed the number of his ſubjects, began to be ſenſible of his inability to proſecute the war; he, therefore, reſolved to direct his attention towards effecting an immediate peace. He diſpatched an ambaſſador to the ſtates-general with ſuch propoſals as were deemed a ſufficient foundation for the commencement of a treaty; though the Dutch refuſed to enter into any conferences on the ſubject, till they had obtained the conſent of king William and the other allies.

In the mean time Lewis renewed his endeavours to detach the duke of Savoy from the grand alliance; and that prince, who had been long engaged in a ſecret negociation with France, at laſt accepted her offers, and privately ſigned a ſeparate treaty at Loretto, to which place he retired, under pretence of a pilgrimage. Lewis engaged to reſtore to the duke all the conqueſts which he had made in his territories; to preſent him with four millions of livres, by way of reparation of the damages he had ſuſtained in the courſe of the war; to aſſiſt him with a certain number of troops againſt all his enemies; to effect a marriage between the duke of Burgundy and the princeſs of Savoy; and to remit the princeſs's portion, (which was ſettled at two hundred thouſand crowns of gold) in conſideration of the preſent treaty, which was guarantied by the Pope and the Venetians.

During this whole negociation the duke manifeſted more policy than ſincerity. When preſſed on the ſubject by the earl of Galway, the Engliſh miniſter, who had received ſome ſecret intimation of the treaty, he conſtantly denied any knowledge of ſuch a treaty, till the arrival of the French army enabled him to avow it, without fearing the reſentment of the allies. Catinat advanced into the plains of Turin, at the head of fifty thouſand men; an army greatly ſuperior to that of the confederates. The duke, ſupported by theſe auxiliaries, began gradually to throw off the maſk. He acquainted the miniſters of the allies with the overtures which France had tendered to him; repreſented the ſuperior ſtrength of her army; inſiſted on the danger to which

which his dominions were expoſed; and finally ſignified his intention to accept the terms which Lewis had propoſed. At the ſame time he ſolicited the concurrence of all the powers engaged in the confederacy; but this was a mere compliment: for though they unanimouſly agreed in refuſing their conſent, he nevertheleſs executed the treaty in public, which he had before concluded in private.

The allies in general, were highly provoked at his perfidious conduct. Prince Eugene, though his relative, exclaimed againſt his treachery with great ſeverity. The young prince de Commercy was ſo enraged at his defection, that he challenged him to ſingle combat, and the duke accepted his challenge; but the quarrel was terminated by the mediation of friends, and they parted in amity with each other.

Though nothing remarkable had lately happened at ſea, the Engliſh ſtill rode the indubitable maſters of that element. In June lord Berkeley ſet ſail for Uſhant with a conſiderable fleet, to annoy the French coaſt. He pillaged and deſtroyed a number of villages on the iſland of Guoy, Horeal, and Hodicke; took about twenty veſſels; bombarded St. Martin's on the iſle of Rhée, which he reduced to aſhes; and the town of Olonne experienced a ſimilar fate. Theſe enterprizes, though inconſiderable, alarmed the whole coaſt of France, and ſtruck the people with the utmoſt conſternation. The miniſtry of that kingdom were ſo apprehenſive of an invaſion from England, that they were obliged to keep ſixty thouſand men continually in arms for the defence of the maritime places. Soon after, rear admiral Benbow was diſpatched with a ſmall ſquadron to block up Du Bart in the harbour of Dunkirk; but that brave adventurer found means to eſcape in a fog, and ſailing to the Baltic, fell in with a large fleet of Dutch merchant ſhips under convoy of ſix or ſeven frigates. Theſe he captured together with a conſiderable number of the trading veſſels; but, being met by the outward bound fleet, convoyed by thirteen ſhips of the line, he was obliged to burn four of the frigates, turn the reſt a-drift, and part with the whole of his prizes except fifteen, which he brought into Dunkirk.

The Scots were as zealous as the Engliſh in expreſſing their abhorrence of the intended invaſion and conſpiracy. The parliament of that kingdom, in the month of September, unanimouſly ſigned an aſſociation ſimilar to that of England; and granted a ſupply of one million, four hundred and forty thouſand pounds for maintaining their forces by ſea and land. The Iriſh were as warm in their expreſſions of loyalty and affection as either the Engliſh or the Scots. The commons of that kingdom expelled Mr. Sanderſon, the only member of their houſe who had refuſed to ſign the aſſociation.

The king grown weary of a campaign which afforded him no opportunity for action, embarked for England on the the fourth of October, and, in two days after, arrived at Margate, whence he proceeded immediately to Kenſington. The parliament meeting on the twentieth of the month, his majeſty opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he obſerved, that propoſals had been tendered for a negociation; but that the moſt effectual mode of treating with France would be ſword in hand: that he hoped they would be expeditious in raiſing ſupplies for the ſervice of the enſuing year, as well as for completing the funds already granted: that the civil liſt was ſo heavily burthened that it could not be ſupported without their aſſiſtance: that he flattered himſelf they would think of ſome expedient for the recovery of the national credit: and that unanimity and diſpatch were now more than ever neceſſary for the honour, ſafety, and advantage of the kingdom.

The commons having taken the ſpeech into conſideration, reſolved to ſupport his majeſty and his government, and effectually aſſiſt him in the proſecution of the war. After theſe profeſſions of loyalty, they began to deliberate on thoſe affairs which ſeemed to require the moſt immediate attention: the farther regulation of the debaſed ſtate of the coin; ſupplies for the enſuing year; and the reſtoration of the public credit to its former ſtate. Having diſcuſſed the firſt and ſecond of theſe articles, they proceeded to the laſt and moſt difficult point, that of reſtoring the public credit, which was now ſo conſiderably impaired that the notes of the bank of England were diſcounted at twenty, and tallies at forty, fifty, and even ſixty per cent. The crown, from the deficiency of the public funds, had contracted a debt of five millions, one hundred and ſixty-four thouſand

thouſand pounds; and as no ſecurity was provided for this, the government could not expect to be regularly ſupplied with money.

The Jacobites ſuppoſed theſe evils were abſolutely irremediable; that the government muſt ſink under the enormous weight of ſuch complicated burthens; and that the general confuſion which muſt be the natural conſequence, would produce a revolution in favour of the depoſed monarch. But all their hopes were happily diſappointed by the ſingular ſagacity, penetration, and prudence of Mr. Montague, chancellor of the exchequer, who was the ſoul of every project concerted for the revival of the national credit. By his induſtry a ſcheme was contrived for diſcharging the debts of the government; and a bill was introduced for that purpoſe*.

The good effects of this expedient were ſoon viſible. The value of two hundred thouſand pounds in bank notes being ſunk by the new ſubſcriptions, the reſt naturally began immediately to riſe in value; its operation was equally beneficial on the tallies, after ſuch a number of them as amounted to eight hundred thouſand pounds had been paid in to enlarge the bank. From this time, the credit of the bank recovered ſo rapidly, that, in a few weeks, their notes on which no intereſt accrued, were equal to money, and their bills which bore intereſt, were more eagerly coveted. Thus, in a ſhort time, the face of affairs was remarkably improved: public credit began to revive, and money to circulate on moderate terms: foreign exchange was leſs to our diſadvantage, and ſoon after upon a perfect equality: and whatever inconvenience the people might ſuffer from the continuance of the war, and the inconveniency of a recoinage, they were ſo perfectly ſatisfied with the meaſures of government, that they cheerfully ſubmitted to the preſent neceſſity.

Another evil remained to be remedied; the ſcarcity of money. The parliament, to prevent the deficiency of future funds, reſolved, that the ſupplies for 1697 ſhould be raiſed within the year; but how could they raiſe five millions within the year, while the ſilver money was called in and recoining, and while there was not a ſufficient quantity of current caſh in the kingdom to anſwer the purpoſes of trade, and hardly even to ſupply the conveniences and neceſſities of life? This vote of the parliament ſeemed abſolutely impracticable: the enemies of the government affected a contemptuous ſmile on the occaſion: and even its beſt friends imagined, that, by this reſolution, they had rather ſhewn their inclination, than their ability, to ſupport the ſtate, and render permanent the preſent eſtabliſhment.

This difficulty, however, was effectually removed by the introduction of paper money.—The parliament authorized the treaſury to iſſue exchequer bills to the amount of two millions; and theſe bills were firſt to be advanced upon the ſecurity of any branch of the king's revenues, except the land-tax. They alſo impowered the exchequer to contract with any number of men, and to allow them a competent premium, provided they would engage to exchange theſe notes for ready money, when tendered to them for that pupoſe: an expedient which was accordingly reduced to practice. The exchequer notes, being thus ſecured in their credit, advanced gradually to par, till at laſt they exceeded the value of money: ſo that, inſtead of refuſing, the people were happy to receive them in payment. For this plan the public were alſo indebted to the ſagacity of Mr. Montague, who ſeems to have poſſeſſed a peculiar talent for this branch of politics, and who contributed, more than any other man, to reſtore and eſtabliſh the national credit.

Theſe affairs being happily adjuſted, the attention of parliament was next engaged in the caſe of ſir John Fenwick, one of the conſpirators, who had been ſeiſed at New Romney in Kent, while he was attempting to eſcape into France. He had, when taken, ſent a letter to his lady by one Webber, who attended him; but this man being apprehended, the letter was diſcovered which clearly demonſtrated his guilt. He then endeavoured to protract his trial by engaging to make ſome important diſcoveries; and even accuſed the earls of Shrewſbury, Marlborough,

* It related to a continuation of certain duties upon births, marriages, windows, the ſubſidy of tonnage and poundage, and various other articles for ten years; and all theſe branches conſtituted a general fund, ſince known by the name of the General Mortgage. Should this prove inſufficient for diſcharging the public debt, the deficiency was to be ſupplied out of ſuch aids or revenues as ſhould be granted in the next ſeſſion of parliament.

and Bath, lord Godolphin, and admiral Ruſſel, of having made their peace with king James, and engaged to act in every reſpect for his intereſt. But theſe accuſations were abſolutely falſe and groundleſs; and were afterwards even declared to be ſuch by parliament. In the mean time his lady and relatives attempted to ſeduce the two witneſſes, Porter and Goodman. Porter pretended to liſten to their propoſals: but, having drawn the lady, and one Chancey, who acted as her agent, into a private apartment, he placed ſome witneſſes in an adjacent room, who came in, and ſeized them with the money: in conſequence of which Chancey was tried, convicted of ſubornation, fined, and ſet in the pillory. They were more ſucceſsful in their deſigns upon Goodman, who had not reſolution to withſtand the temptation, and immediately diſappeared; one witneſs only remained, and Fenwick began to think himſelf beyond the reach of danger. The affair was now ſubmitted to parliament; and the commons brought in a bill of attainder againſt him; which, though violently oppoſed, was actually carried through both houſes, and at laſt received the royal aſſent. Many learned debates enſued, though the whoſe diſpute was reducible to this ſingle queſtion, whether Fenwick, who was confeſſedly guilty, ſhould be condemned to the puniſhment which his crime deſerved, though he was protected by the *forms* of law, an advantage too, which however trivial in a caſe of this nature, he had not been able to obtain without having recourſe to bribery and corruption? the Whigs ſupported the affirmative; the Tories, the negative: in other words, the Whigs maintained the *ſubſtance* of juſtice; the Tories, the *appearance*: the former aſſerted the ſpirit of liberty; the latter, the ſhadow: maxims to which theſe two parties have never failed to adhere on every ſimilar occaſion. In the houſe of commons, the bill was ſupported by lord Coningſby, lord Cutts, ſir Walter Strickland, ſir Herbert Croſts, ſir Walter Young, Mr. Montague, Mr. Vernon, Mr. Methuen, and Mr. Cowper. It was oppoſed by lord Norrey, ſir Charles Carteret, ſir Edward Seymour, ſir Godfrey Copley, Mr. Manley, Mr. Foley, Mr. Harcourt, Mr Howe, and the two Harleys. Mr. Methuen ſupported the lawfulneſs, the expediency, and even the abſolute neceſſity of bills of attainder in certain caſes. The principal ſpeaker againſt the bill, was ſir Godfrey Copley, who acknowledged his entire conviction of Fenwick's guilt; and admitted the legality of bills of attainder.

The bill was ſtill more violently oppoſed in the upper, than in the lower houſe; but the perſon by whom it was chiefly ſupported, was biſhop Burnet; who, after explaining, with great preciſion, the law relating to trials in caſes of high treaſon; and recapitulating ſome of the moſt remarkable bills of attainder which had been paſſed in parliament, and of which he frankly gave his opinion, concluded in theſe words, "The ancient Romans," ſaid he, "were "extremely jealous of their liberty; but however "ſcrupulous they might be in ordinary caſes; "yet, when any of their citizens ſeemed to en"tertain a deſign of uſurping the ſovereign "power, they either created a dictator to de"ſtroy him, or proceeded againſt him in a ſum"mary manner. By the Portian law, no citi"zen could be put to death for any crime what"ever; yet, ſuch regard did the Romans pay "to juſtice above law, that, when the Campa"nian legion had perfidiouſly invaded and pil"laged Rhegium. they put the whole body to "death without exception.

"In the famous caſe of Catiline's conſpiracy, "as the evidence was clear, and the danger ex"treme, the conſpirators were all executed, "notwithſtanding the ſecurity afforded by the "Portian law. This was alſo done by order of "the ſenate, without either permitting them to "ſpeak in their own defence, or giving them the "privilege, which they enjoyed by the Vale"rian law, of appealing to the people; and yet "that whole proceeding was principally directed "by the two greateſt aſſerters of public liberty "that ever exiſted, Cato and Cicero. It is like"wiſe remarkable that Cæſar, who oppoſed it, "on pretence of its being contrary to the Por"tian law, was, for that very reaſon, ſuſpected "of being concerned in the conſpiracy: and, "indeed, it afterwards appeared how little he "regarded either law or liberty; though, on "this occaſion, he made uſe of the one to pro"tect thoſe who had engaged in a plot for the "deſtruction of the other."

The laſt expreſſion was highly reſented by the

oppoſers of the bill, who ſuppoſed the biſhop meant to inſinuate, that they were liable to the ſame accuſation which had been imputed to Cæſar.

The bill of attainder was no ſooner paſſed, than Fenwick exerted his utmoſt endeavours to procure a reprieve from his majeſty: but all his applications proving ineffectual, he began to prepare himſelf for his approaching fate. He deſired the aſſiſtance of a divine; and the court had no objection to any of the clergymen who had taken the oaths to the government: but of theſe he did not approve. He had then the choice of any of the biſhops who had diſſented from the bill of attainder: but to theſe he alſo objected. At laſt he was indulged with the aſſiſtance of Dr. White, the non-juring biſhop of Chicheſter; a favour which he obtained by the interceſſion of biſhop Burnet, whom he thanked in a letter for this friendly office.

He was complimented with the axe, in conſideration of his rank, and his alliance with the houſe of Howard, and ſuffered on Tower-hill, with apparent compoſure and reſignation*. He acknowledged his loyalty to king James, and earneſtly prayed for his reſtoration; but mentioned, with abhorrence, the idea of aſſaſſinating king William; which he juſtly termed a moſt abominable project. This expreſſion offended the Jacobites, who doubtleſs conſidered it as a very laudable undertaking†.

On the ſixteenth of April, the king cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, thanking them for the liberal ſupplies they had granted him; congratulating them on the ſucceſs of their endeavours for reſtoring public credit, acquainted them with his intention of repairing to the Continent; and begging they would promote in their ſeveral counties the ſame loyal principles, which they had ſo eminently diſplayed in parliament.

About this time the earl of Dorſet reſigned the office of lord chamberlain, which he had enjoyed from the time of the Revolution. He was ſevere and ſatirical in his writings, but humane, generous, and beneficent in his private conduct. So indolent, that he could not ſubmit to the drudgery of a court; and, when ſolicited by king Charles the Second, to become a favourite, he declined the offer, on account of the labour which muſt neceſſarily ariſe from ſo troubleſome a ſtation. He was ſucceeded in office by the earl of Sunderland, who was alſo ſworn of the privy-council‡.

The king, having appointed a regency§, embarked at Margate, on the twenty-ſixth of April, and on the following evening arrived in Holland. The chief object of the preſent year was the treaty for a general peace. The Engliſh miniſters were the earl of Pembroke, a virtuous, learned, and popular nobleman‖, lord Villiers, and ſir Joſeph Williamſon. Thoſe of France were Harley, Crecey, and Callieres: and the plenipotentiaries of all the princes agreed to accept the mediation of his Swediſh majeſty, who had appointed Mr. Lillienroot for that purpoſe. The place of congreſs was fixed at a palace be-

* In a paper which he delivered to the ſheriff, he called God to witneſs, that he knew not of the intended invaſion, till it became the common ſubject of converſation, nor was he employed in any manner for the ſervice of king James. He thanked thoſe noble and worthy perſons who had oppoſed his attainder in parliament; proteſted before God that the information he gave to the miniſtry he had received in letters and meſſages from France; and obſerved, that he might have expected mercy from the prince of Orange, as he had been inſtrumental in ſaving his life, by preventing the execution of a deſign which had been formed againſt it. Dr. Goldſmith, with too much propriety, obſerves, "that "the death of Fenwick may ſerve to prove the inſufficiency of any laws to protect the ſubject, when a majority "of the powerful ſhall think proper, to diſpenſe with "them."

† The parliament, having finiſhed the affair of Fenwick, proceeded to remedy a public grievance, of which the people had long complained. Certain places in and about London, which, during the prevalence of the Popiſh ſuperſtition, were allowed as ſanctuaries to criminals and debtors, continued ſtill to pretend to poſſeſs a privilege of protecting the latter. One of theſe, named Black Friars, was inhabited by a ſet of lawleſs ruffians, who daily committed the moſt daring acts of violence and outrage. To remove this intolerable nuiſance, the parliament now paſſed an act for the more effectual relief of creditors in caſes of eſcapes, and preventing abuſes in priſons and pretended privileged places. In conſequence of this act, the outlaws were obliged to abandon their quarters, which were ſoon occupied by more reputable inhabitants.

‡ A. D. 1697.

§ The regency was compoſed of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, lord chancellor Somers, now created baron of Eveſham, the earl of Pembroke, the duke of Devonſhire, the duke of Shrewſbury, the earl of Dorſet, the earl of Romney, the earl of Sunderland, and admiral Ruſſel, who was now advanced to the dignity of baron Shingey, viſcount Barfleur, and earl of Oxford.

‖ His office of privy-ſeal was executed in his abſence by ſir Thomas Mompeſſon, ſir Charles Cotterel, and Mr. James Tyrrel.

longing

longing to king William, called Newbourgh-houſe, ſituated between the Hague and Delfdt, not far from the village of Ryſwick.

The ſeveral powers engaged in the war were actuated by very different motives. Lewis was deſirous of a peace, not only on account of the miſerable condition to which his kingdom was reduced; but alſo as the king of Spain was in a very declining ſtate of health, and he had formed a deſign of ſecuring the ſucceſſion of that rich monarchy: a ſcheme which he could not ſo well execute during the exiſtence of the confederacy. The emperor had alſo pretentions upon that crown; and therefore endeavoured to ſupport the grand alliance. The Engliſh and Dutch had no other view than to reſtrain the power of France within its proper limits; to eſtabliſh a proper barrier in the Netherlands; and to procure an acknowledgement of king William's title.

All parties ſeemed heartily tired of the war. Lewis XIV. by his ſucceſsful intrigues, had detached the duke of Savoy from the confederacy: he tampered with the other powers: and a congreſs for a general peace, under the mediation of Charles XI.* of Sweden, was at laſt opened, at the caſtle of Ryſwick, between Delft and the Hague. The taking of Barcelona, by the duke of Vendome, induced the king of Spain to hearken to the propoſals of France; and the emperor, after reproaching his allies with deſerting him, thought it expedient to accede to the treaty †. The conceſſions made by Lewis XIV. were very conſiderable; but the pretenſions of the houſe of Bourbon to the Spaniſh ſucceſſion remained in full force. Though the renunciation of all claim to that ſucceſſion, conformable to the Pyrennean treaty, had been one great objection of the war, it was not even mentioned in the articles of peace. It was ſtipulated, That, the French monarch ſhould acknowledge William to be lawful ſovereign of Great Britain and Ireland, and make no farther attempt to diſturb him in the poſſeſſion of his kingdoms‡; that the duchy of Luxembourg, the county of Chiney, Charleroy, Mons, Aeth, Courtray, and all the places united to France by the chambers of Metz and Briſac, as well as thoſe taken in Catalonia, during the war ſhould be reſtored to Spain; that Friburg, Briſgaw, and Philipſburgh, ſhould be reſtored to the emperor; and that the duchies of Lorraine and Bar ſhould be rendered back to their native prince.

As king William had always aſſumed, and uniformly ſupported the character of the protector of the Proteſtant intereſt, his miniſters, on the day preceding the concluſion of the treaty, preſented a remonſtrance in favour of the French Proteſtant refugees in England, Holland, and Germany: but the French ambaſſadors declared, in the name of their maſter, that as he pretended not to preſcribe rules to king William reſpecting the Engliſh Catholics, he did not expect to have any reſtraint impoſed upon him with regard to his Proteſtant ſubjects. The king expreſſed his concern at this diſappointment; but, as he did not think it a ſufficient reaſon for preſevering in the war, the treaties were ratified.

During the progreſs of the treaty, king James publiſhed two manifeſtoes, addreſſed to the Catholic and Proteſtant princes of the confederacy, ſoliciting their aſſiſtance to reſtore him to his throne, and proteſting againſt whatever ſhould be tranſacted at Ryſwick, to the prejudice of his inconteſtible right. The confederate princes treated theſe manifeſtoes with neglect and indifference; and a ſenſible pamphlet appeared in

* The negociation was interrupted by the death of Charles the eleventh of Sweden, who was ſucceeded by his ſon, the celebrated Charles the Twelfth, then a minor: but the queen and five ſenators, whom the late king had, by his will, appointed adminiſtrators of the government, reſolved to continue the mediation, and tranſmitted a commiſſion to Lillienroot for that purpoſe. Accordingly, on the twenty-ſecond of May, the Imperial plenipotentiaries delivered their maſter's demands to the mediator, and the ſeveral German miniſters gave in the pretenſions of the reſpective princes whom they repreſented.

A. D 1697.

‡ Lewis, it is ſaid, diſcovered much reluctance in ſubmitting to this article; and that he might not ſeem wholly to deſert the dethroned monarch, propoſed that his ſon ſhould ſucceed to the crown of England, after the death of William; that William, after a little heſitation, agreed to the requeſt; that he even ſolemnly engaged to procure the repeal of the Act of Settlement, and to obtain another act, declaring the pretended prince of Wales his ſucceſſor. But James it is added, rejected the offer: proteſting, That ſhould he himſelf be capable of conſenting to ſo diſgraceful a propoſal in favour of his ſon, he might juſtly be reproached with departing from his avowed principles, and with ruining monarchy, by rendering elective an hereditary crown. *Depot des Affairs Etrangères a Verſailles.* James II. 1697. Macpherſon, *Hiſt. Brit.* vol. ii.

England,

England, in which the principles of the revolution were juſtified, the conduct of king William vindicated, and James's pretence to a divine, indefeaſible, hereditary right, was demonſtrated to be equally abſurd and ridiculous.

The king, having regulated with the ſtates-general the number of forces which were deemed neceſſary during a peace, embarked for England on the thirteenth of November, and the following evening landed ſafely at Margate; from whence he repaired immediately to London, where he was received in a kind of triumph, amidſt the acclamations of the people. Some progreſs was made towards erecting triumphal arches; but the king prohibited ſuch oſtentatious parade. Excluſive of natural modeſty, he had conceived an additional antipathy to pompous exhibitions, from the ridiculous extent to which the French had carried that puerile ſpecies of vanity, by which means they had expoſed themſelves to the contempt and deriſion of the other nations of Europe.

The parliament meeting on the third of December, the king, in his ſpeech to both houſes, informed them, that the war, which he had undertaken by their advice, was now, by the bleſſing of God, and their effectual aſſiſtance, terminated by a ſafe and honourable peace; a peace which he was willing to conclude, leſs to relieve himſelf from any trouble or danger to which he might be expoſed, than to remove from his people thoſe heavy burthens, which they had hitherto borne with ſo much patience and reſignation: that he was ſorry, however, to inform them, that his ſubjects could not be relieved from theſe burthens ſo ſoon as he could have wiſhed, and they might have expected: that the deficiencies of the late funds were conſiderable; the debts contracted by the crown were great; that he did not entertain a doubt but they would enable him to ſupply the one, and diſcharge the other with their uſual liberality: that the naval force of the kingdom, which, ſince his acceſſion, had been doubled, could not be ſupported without a proportionable encreaſe of ſupply; and he believed they would agree with him in admitting, that the principal ſtrength of England muſt ever conſiſt in a formidable navy: that, conſidering the ſtate of affairs on the Continent, he thought it his duty to inform them, that, in his opinion the kingdom could not be ſafe without a reſpectable army; and he hoped they would not give France an opportunity of effecting, during the continuance of a peace, what ſhe had been unable to accompliſh by war: that he acknowledged, with equal gratitude and pleaſure, that he had hitherto received every mark of zeal and affection which a prince could deſire or expect from his people; and he now aſſured them, in the moſt ſolemn manner, that he never had cheriſhed, nor ever could cheriſh, any intereſt ſeperate from theirs: that he conſidered it as one of the greateſt advantages of the peace, that it would afford him leiſure to rectify any abuſes which might have been introduced into any part of the adminiſtration, and effectually to diſcourage vice and immorality: and that as he had, at the hazard of his life, reſcued their religion, laws, and liberties, when they were in a perilous ſtate, ſo he ſhould conſider it as the greateſt glory of his reign to preſerve and tranſmit them unimpaired to poſterity.

The commons, after congratulating the king on the concluſion of the peace, and aſſuring him that they would ever be ready to ſupport his government, directed their attention to that part of his ſpeech which related to the maintenance of a ſtanding army; a practice to which they had conceived the moſt inveterate averſion, and the recommendation of which from the throne afforded them no conſolation. This point was debated with great vehemence, and many learned arguments were enforced on the ſubject. Several pamphlets were alſo iſſued on this important conteſt, abounding with great energy of ſtyle, ſtrength of argument, and cogency of reaſoning.

But though the Engliſh had at that time no regular militia, they had conceived ſuch an obſtinate jealouſy of a ſtanding army, that the commons paſſed a vote, reducing the forces to leſs than eight thouſand men. This meaſure gave much uneaſineſs to his majeſty. He was ſenſible that the nation was ſtill in a very unſettled condition, and not perfectly relieved from apprehenſions of a viſit from the late king, who was ſtill protected by the French monarch*. He

* The death of John Sobieſki having, about this time, vacated the throne of Poland, James was mentioned as a candidate; and Lewis promiſed to promote his election with all his intereſt: but he alledged that his acceptance of ſuch an offer

He knew that the Jacobites were as violent and numerous as they had ever been; and, when not overawed by the fear of a ſtanding army, would be the more readily induced to form hoſtile deſigns and attempts againſt his perſon and government. He was informed, that Lewis had not yet diſmiſſed a ſingle regiment; and he was convinced, that, in theſe circumſtances, ſo great a reduction of the Engliſh army, would render the peace, which had been obtained at the expence of ſo much blood and treaſure, extremely precarious; and would once more expoſe this kingdom, as well as the other ſtates of Europe, to the mercy of an ambitious prince, who had ſhown himſelf an inveterate enemy to the Proteſtant religion, the independence of England, and the general liberties of Europe. Theſe and many other arguments were urged by his majeſty, againſt ſo great a reduction of the army; but perceiving that all his remonſtrances were ineffectual, he ſubmitted, with his uſual prudence, to this, as he had formerly done to other mortifications.

In conſequence of the vote for reducing the army, the commons granted a ſupply of two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, to be diſtributed among ſuch officers and ſoldiers as ſhould be diſcharged. Proviſion was alſo made for allowing half-pay to commiſſion-officers, who were Engliſhmen; and a bill was introduced, importing, that diſbanded ſoldiers ſhould have liberty to exerciſe their trade in any town or corporation in England*. An annual ſum of ſeven hundred thouſand pounds was alſo granted for the maintenance of his houſehold.

Of this ſum, one hundred thouſand pounds were appropriated to enable his majeſty to pay the jointure of queen Mary D'Eſte, and to eſtabliſh and ſupport a court for the duke of Glouceſter, ſon of the princeſs Anne of Denmark, who was now in the ninth year of his age. It was, however, affirmed that, notwithſtanding this proviſion, he never advanced any part of it to the abdicated queen, nor ever paid the duke above fifteen thouſand pounds†.

During the debates on the public ſupplies, the affairs of the Eaſt India company, which had been ſo long depending, was again revived. The trade to that part of the world was very advantageous to the proprietors; and government expected a proportionable gratuity. They had lately applied to the old company, demanding a ſum for the ſervice of the public; and the members had agreed to advance, by way of loan, ſeven hundred thouſand pounds, at four per cent. for that purpoſe, provided they might be gratified with an excluſive privilege of trading to the Eaſt Indies.

The miniſtry ſeemed inclined to accept this offer; when another body of merchants, preceded by ſir John Ward, ſir Francis Eyles, ſir Gilbert Heathcote, and Mr. Samuel Shepherd, and ſupported by Mr. Montague, chancellor, of the exchequer, propoſed a new ſcheme, by which they engaged to raiſe two millions, at eight per cent. on condition that an excluſive trade to the Eaſt Indies ſhould be granted to the ſubſcribers. They alſo propoſed that theſe ſubſcribers ſhould not be obliged to trade in a joint-ſtock; but that if any number of members ſhould wiſh to be incorporated, a charter ſhould be granted them for that purpoſe.

This propoſal was thought preferable to that of the old company; and accordingly a bill was

offer would be equivalent to an abdication of the Engliſh ſovereignty; and declared that he would never renounce his hereditary right for the poſſeſſion of a crown to which he had no pretenſions. *Memoirs of James II.*

* To raiſe the ſums neceſſary for diſbanding the forces, paying their arrears, and making good deficiencies, a land tax was granted of three ſhillings in the pound; an additional duty on coal, culm, and ſalt; a duty was impoſed upon all coals imported from Scotland, or from any part beyond ſea; the poll-tax was continued for another year, and the duties upon coffee, tea, chocolate, ſpices, pedlars, and hawkers for three; the duty upon ſtamped vellum, parchment, and paper, and thoſe upon imported alamodes and lutеſtrings were doubled, the time was enlarged for purchaſing and granting annuities; and, finally an act paſſed for raiſing a ſum not exceeding two millions, upon a fund for payment of annuities at the rate of eight per cent. redeemable by parliament.

The commons then examined the ſtate of his majeſty's revenue, which they found greatly anticipated, and charged with heavy debts; and in order to remove this incumbrance as well as to ſecure him againſt ſimilar inconvenience for the future, they granted the annual ſum of ſeven hundred thouſand pounds for the maintenance of his houſehold, to be continued during his life.

† For this anecdote we are indebted to the ducheſs of Marlborough, in the account ſhe has given of her own conduct; but as that lady is well known to have had no great regard for the king, her aſſertion, perhaps, in this particular, deſerves the leſs credit.

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framed, importing, that every ſubſcriber ſhould have liberty to trade annually, to the amount of his reſpective ſubſcription, or might transfer ſuch liberty to any other perſon: that his majeſty ſhould be empowered to incorporate ſuch of the ſubſcribers as were deſirous of trading collectively: that the powers and privileges of the Eaſt India company ſhould be ſettled by parliament: that the ſubſcribers ſhould enjoy the eight pounds per cent. and the excluſive right of trading to the Eaſt Indies for the term of ten years, or till it ſhould be redeemed by parliament: that every perſon ſubſcribing to the amount of five hundred pounds, ſhould have a vote: and that no perſon, however large his ſubſcription might be, ſhould have more than one.

The old company were no ſooner informed of this bill, than they preſented a petition againſt it; and the commons paid ſo much regard to their remonſtrance as to offer them an excluſive right provided they would accept of it on the ſame terms, to which the others had promiſed to ſubmit; but the company, believing they ſhould ſoon be able to ruin their rivals, refuſed to agree to the propoſal. Apprehenſive, however, that this taſk might prove too difficult, they at laſt conſented to advance the two millions; but the commons, having other important buſineſs, and not chooſing that any ſet of men ſhould trifle with them in ſuch a manner; and even ſuſpecting, that the company, by this offer, only intended to gain time, till they ſhould have an opportunity to exerciſe thoſe arts of bribery and corruption which they had formerly adopted, proceeded on the bill, which had been already introduced, and which accordingly paſſed without any oppoſition.

The company, finding themſelves diſappointed in this quarter, applied to the houſe of peers; and their lordſhips indulged them with a hearing. Many arguments were advanced in their favour; but what principally merited their attention, was, that, as they had obtained a charter, it was ungenerous that they ſhould be deprived of their right, without any accuſation of ill conduct or miſdemeanour. To this it was replied, that though his majeſty had granted them a charter, he had reſerved a power of recalling it upon three years notice: that the king was not inveſted with the power to grant a perpetual excluſive right, nor had he indeed indulged them with any ſuch privilege: that if it ſhould appear to the honourable houſe, before whom the cauſe was now depending, that the old company enjoyed unreaſonable profits: that they themſelves were ſo convinced of this truth, that they had even expended the enormous ſum of ninety thouſand pounds, in the deluſive arts of bribery and corruption, in order to obtain an excluſive right: and it ſhould further appear, that the new ſubſcribers were willing to ſupply the nation with Eaſt India goods at as reaſonable rates as the old company, and at the ſame time to furniſh government with larger loans of money; their lordſhips would then be able to determine to whom the preference ſhould be ſhewn, to the old or to the new company. The lords influenced by theſe arguments, agreed to the bill, which had been ſent up by the commons; and it was ſoon after confirmed by the royal ſanction.

In conſequence of this act, by which the old company was diſſolved, and the new one erected, the books for receiving ſubſcriptions were opened at Mercers Hall, on the fourteenth of July, and, ſuch was the zeal diſcovered by all claſſes of people to engage in this new project, that, in the courſe of three days, the ſum of two millions was fully completed.

The Tories were confounded and chagrined to ſee ſo large a ſum ſo expeditiouſly and ſo cheerfully furniſhed, at the very time they were invidiouſly complaining, that the nation was reduced to beggary: and, being deprived of all other means of conſoling themſelves, they caſt the moſt virulent invectives againſt the Whigs, who had been chiefly inſtrumental in eſtabliſhing the new company, and whom they openly accuſed of public robbery and peculation*.

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* The charge, however, was merely general, and therefore the leſs regarded; but it was notorious, that the immenſe ſum of ninety thouſand pounds, which, to gain a ſecurity for their unreaſonable profits, the old company had laviſhed in bribes, had been principally diſtributed among that party; the duke of Leeds, one of their chief leaders, having narrowly eſcaped a parliamentary impeachment for the ſhare he had in that infamous commerce: and it is not improbable,

The attention of the commons was now directed to Iriſh affairs: wool being the ſtaple commodity of England, and the manufacture of that commodity its principle trade, the nation was always jealous of any rivalſhip or interference in that article. The Iriſh*, tempted by the ſucceſs of the Engliſh, had lately eſtabliſhed ſome woollen manufactures; and the commons, receiving intelligence of this circumſtance, preſented another addreſs to his majeſty, entreating him to enjoin all thoſe whom he employed in the government of Ireland, to diſcourage the woollen manufactures in that kingdom, as they interfered with thoſe of England; and to promote the linen manufacture, which would be equally advantageous to both nations.

Orders were accordingly tranſmitted to the lords-juſtices, who recommended the matter to the Iriſh parliament; and the members promiſed to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to effect a reformation in theſe branches†. The citizens of Londonderry had delivered a petition to the Engliſh parliament, repreſenting the important ſervices which they had performed to government, and the ſevere hardſhips they had ſuffered during a long and cruel ſiege, the terrible havock which had been made in their city and ſuburbs, the large ſums they had expended in fortifying the place, purchaſing arms and ammunition, raiſing and maintaining forces, and the many other public loſſes they had ſuſtained; and humbly entreating the members to procure them ſuch relief, as to them, in their great wiſdom, ſhould ſeem proper. The commons, convinced of the truth of this repreſentation, recommended their caſe to his majeſty, with high encomiums on their gallant behaviour. The king promiſed to take it into conſideration; but no immediate relief was granted them.

Since the arrival of the French refugees ſeveral manufactures of alamodes and luteſtrings had been eſtabliſhed in England, and had even been carried to a conſiderable degree of perfection; but as it could not be expected that theſe commodities could, at once, be afforded upon ſuch moderate terms as they were ſold in France, ſome merchants, influenced by the ſordid motive of avarice, and regardleſs of the intereſt of their country, had long engaged in a ſecret and clandeſtine trade with that kingdom, and had imported large quantities of theſe articles into England; by which illicit means, beſides defrauding the king of his cuſtoms, they had checked the growth and progreſs of theſe manufactures at home.

They had alſo exported wool, fuller's earth, and ſcouring clay, in order to ſupply a woollen manufactory, which had been eſtabliſhed in Picardy; and as they had practiſed this illicit commerce during the whole war, they had, as an aggravation of their crime, tranſmitted to the enemy the earlieſt intelligence of all our deſigns and projects. The pernicious practices, however, being now diſcovered, the commons came to a reſolution that theſe peſts of ſociety ſhould be proſecuted by the attorney and ſolicitor-general, and puniſhed with the utmoſt rigour and ſeverity. The delinquents, conſcious of their own guilt, and dreading the reſentment of an enraged nation, thought proper to make an ingenious confeſſion, and to implore the mercy of their judges. In conſequence of which, the lords, before whom they were tried, impoſed ſevere fines upon eight of them, amounting in the whole to ſixteen thouſand pounds, and ordered them to be impriſoned in Newgate, till they ſhould pay the money‡.

Criminals of another denomination were about

improbable, that their preſent vexation might be occaſioned by a ſuppoſition, that, by the diſſolution of the old company, they were deprived of all expectations of ever ſharing ſuch another booty. The Whigs have been mercenary: and the Tories have been mercenary; but, it ſhould ſeem, that mercenary principles are equally applicable to both parties; and can, with no propriety, be conſidered as diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics of either. There are other principles of a very different nature, which ſufficiently diſcriminate the two parties; and theſe but too plainly appear in the courſe of the Engliſh hiſtory

* A. D. 1698.

† The commons having received a complaint of a work written by William Mollyneux, in which the dependence of Ireland on the Engliſh parliament was denied; it was voted that this publication was of pernicious tendency; and that the late conduct of the Iriſh parliament, in re-enacting an Engliſh ſtatute, with material alterations, had given occaſion to the propagation of the dangerous poſitions which the book contained.

‡ The commons, likewiſe, addreſſed the king, deſiring, that theſe fines ſhould be appropriated to Greenwich hoſpital; and his majeſty promiſed to comply with their requeſt.

this

this time detected; but unhappily for the nation, they eſcaped with impunity. Exchequer bills had been found uſeful for the purpoſes of trade in ſupplying the ſcarcity of money, while the ſilver was called in and recoining. Though no intereſt accrued on theſe bills at their firſt iſſuing from the exchequer; yet, upon their ſecond iſſuing with an indorſement, after having been paid in upon any of the king's taxes, they were allowed an intereſt of ſeven pounds twelve ſhillings per cent.; and this was a temptation too ſtrong to be reſiſted by thoſe, who, by counterfeiting the indorſements, had it in their power to enrich themſelves. Of thoſe, who engaged in this nefarious practice, the principal were Charles Duncomb, receiver-general of the exciſe; Bartholomew Burton, who enjoyed a department in the ſame branch of revenue; John Knight, treaſurer of the cuſtoms; and Reginald Mariot, a deputy-teller of the exchequer. The laſt was admitted an evidence; and the proof being judged ſufficiently apparent, the commons reſolved to make examples of the delinquents. Duncomb and Knight, both members of parliament, were expelled the houſe, and committed to the Tower. Burton was impriſoned in Newgate; and bills of pains and penalties were ordered to be brought in againſt them *.

The great importation of foreign luxuries, which if not under proper reſtrictions, are ſure to corrupt the morals of a people; the unhappy diviſions which prevailed among the clergy, and which had greatly diminiſhed the reſpect due to their profeſſion and character; the pernicious example of men of ſuperior rank, which never fails to influence the inferior claſſes; with many other cauſes, concurred to diffuſe through the nation a ſpirit of immorality, irreligion, and profaneneſs.

The commons, alarmed at the rapid progreſs of theſe vices, preſented an addreſs to his majeſty, beſeeching him to give ſtrict orders to all his judges, juſtices, and magiſtrates, to put the laws in force againſt blaſphemy, atheiſm, and every other immorality. The king, who in his own conduct was particularly ſtrict and decorous, was highly pleaſed with this addreſs, and readily conſented to comply with their requeſt. He therefore iſſued a proclamation for preventing and puniſhing immorality and profaneneſs, and for ſuppreſſing ſome impious books, which had been lately publiſhed, and which contained doctrines inimical to Chriſtianity. At the ſame time he encouraged the Society for the Reformation of Manners, which had originated in the preceding reign. At its firſt inſtitution, it was ſo far from being countenanced by the reigning monarch, that it was induſtriouſly checked and diſcountenanced, as tending to prevent the progreſs of that ſuperſtition, which he unhappily profeſſed; and this circumſtance had long kept it in a very declining ſtate, and hindered it from producing any conſiderable effect. But, being now honoured and protected by the prince, it ſoon acquired a more permanent eſtabliſhment, and diſcovered its influence in a more effectual manner.

On the third of July, the king repaired to the houſe of peers, and cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which, after expreſſing the moſt grateful ſenſe of the many marks of zeal and affection which they had ſhown to his perſon and government; he requeſted they would be particularly careful, in their reſpective counties, to enforce the laws againſt vice and immorality, and effectually diſcourage irreligion and profaneneſs. The parliament was then prorogued; and as it had now ſat the full period of three years; the term, to which, by an act lately paſſed, all future parliaments were limited, it was ſoon after diſſolved.

Though William had compelled Lewis to acknowledge his title, he was afraid, that, while James ſhould continue to reſide in France, cabals and intrigues might be expected to be formed againſt his perſon and government: he therefore diſpatched the earl of Portland, as his ambaſſador to Paris, to obtain if poſſible, the diſmiſſion of that prince to Avignon, in which

* The firſt, which readily paſſed the lower houſe, impoſed upon Duncomb, a fine of two hundred thouſand pounds; which however was not above half the fortune he acquired by this infamous practice; but this bill was rejected in the upper houſe by the caſting vote of the duke of Leeds. The other two bills experienced the ſame fate. The peers diſmiſſed Duncomb from his confinement; but he was re-committed by the commons, and remained in cuſtody till the concluſion of the ſeſſion.

caſe he promiſed to ſettle on him a handſome penſion; as well as to procure ſome indulgence in favour of the French Proteſtants, who were now expoſed to the ſevereſt perſecution. The earl was accompanied with a ſplendid retinue of the Engliſh nobility and gentry, and was received at Paris, as well as in every other part of France, with particular marks of honour and diſtinction; but notwithſtanding theſe expreſſions of regard, he was unſucceſsful in his embaſſy: Lewis was reſtrained, by a ſenſe of honour, from complying with his firſt demand: his bigotry prevented him from yielding to the ſecond.

During the earl's abode in France, he was preſent at a review of the houſehold troops, which was held in the plain of Archers, before the king, the dauphin, the young princes, and ſeveral perſons of the firſt quality. King James and the titular prince of Wales were alſo in the company, and were anxious of joining in converſation with the Engliſh ambaſſador and his attendants: but the latter induſtriouſly avoided every opportunity of meeting; and the former were diſappointed in their expectations*.

The earl of Portland was ſo far from gaining any thing by his embaſſy, that, on the contrary, he found, on his return to England, that he was ſupplanted in the king's favour, by a young Dutch nobleman of the name of Keppel, now advanced to the earldom of Albemarle; who, by a rapid progreſs, ſeemed wholly to have engroſſed the royal ear. The two favourites continued, for ſome time, to regard each other with a jealous eye; till, at laſt, the earl of Portland, jealous of the ſuperior intereſt of his rival, reſigned all his employments, and retired from court.

The French commiſſary, who was ſent to London to regulate the tariff or cartel between the two nations, was as unſucceſsful in his endeavours for that purpoſe, as the earl of Portland had been in his embaſſy. This diſappointment may be attributed to ſeveral cauſes. The parliament had loaded the French commodities with ſuch heavy duties, that few were willing to engage in that extravagant branch of commerce. The Engliſh ſupplied themſelves with wines from Italy, Spain, and Portugal; with linen from Holland and Sileſia: and manufactories of paper, ſtuffs, hats, and ſilks, were ſucceſsfully conducted in England, by the French refugees, who had reſorted to this kingdom†.

About this time, the king ſettled the houſehold of the duke of Glouceſter, who was now entering the tenth year of his age, and gave manifeſt proofs of an excellent genius, and a moſt amiable diſpoſition. The earl of Marlborough, who had been lately reſtored to favour, was appointed his governor; and the biſhop of Saliſbury, his preceptor. Notwithſtanding the diſgrace which Marlborough had lately experienced, the king always entertained an exalted opinion of his great merit and abilities. When he delivered the young prince to his care and tuition, he ſaid, "Teach him, my

* Mr. Matthew Prior, the poet, who was ſecretary to this embaſſy, being one day conducted through the royal apartments, and ſhewn among other curioſities, thoſe excellent pieces of Le Brun, which repreſent the French king's victories; was aſked by his guide, whether king William's victories were not alſo to be ſeen in his palace? "No," replied Mr. *Prior*, "the monuments of my maſ-"ter's victories are to be ſeen every where but in his "houſe."

Mr. *Dodſley*, an ingenious, though humble attendant on the muſes, has favoured the world with a ſpirited epigram on biſhop *Burnet*'s mentioning this ingenious poet with a degree of contempt, in his *Hiſtory of his own Times*: for inſerting which, we hope to be entitled to pardon. Indignant at the ſupercilious prelate, for giving him the degrading appellation of *one* PRIOR, he applied the following laſh:

"*One Prior!* And is this, this all the fame,
"The poet from the hiſtorian can claim.
"No! Prior's verſe poſterity ſhall quote,
"When 'tis forgot *one Burnet* ever wrote."

† On the fifth of January, a fire breaking out at Whitehall, through the careleſſneſs of a laundreſs, the whole body of the palace, with the gallery, council-chamber, and ſeveral contiguous apartments, were entirely conſumed; and ſuch was the violence of the flames, that the banqueting-houſe, of which the king was extremely fond, and for the preſervation of which he exerted his utmoſt endeavours, could, with great difficulty be preſerved.

In the courſe of this ſeſſion, the earl of Macclesfield obtained a divorce from his lady, who had long lived in a ſtate of ſeparation. The earl, unwilling to proclaim his ſhame to the world, had long connived at her irregular conduct; but being informed that the lady was leſs delicate, and that ſhe had even been lately delivered of two daughters, he was at laſt induced to apply to his peers, who readily granted him that redreſs, which the laws of his country had pointed out to him.

"lord

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"lord, but to be what you are, and my nephew "cannot want accompliſhments."

William was, at this time, revolving in his mind a project of the utmoſt importance to the general intereſts of Europe. This was a plan for ſettling the ſucceſſion to the crown of Spain, which in a ſhort time, was expected to be vacated by the death of Charles the Second, whoſe conſtitution was almoſt exhauſted.

The competitors were, the electoral prince of Bavaria, grandſon to a daughter of Spain; the archduke Charles, ſecond ſon of the emperor, who was alſo related, though in a remote degree, to the ſame family, and upon whom Philip the Fourth, the late king of Spain, had ſettled the ſucceſſion of his Spaniſh dominions: and the dauphin of France, ſon of Maria Thereſa, daughter of the ſame monarch, and ſiſter of the preſent king of Spain, but whoſe right his father, Lewis the Fourteenth, when he eſpouſed the Spaniſh princeſs, had formally and expreſsly renounced. Thus the right of the electoral prince depended ſolely on conſanguinity, without any act either in ſupport or in diminution of his title: the right of the archduke, beſides the plea of blood, was farther confirmed by a formal grant of the Spaniſh crown, ratified by the laſt will of the late ſovereign of thoſe dominions: and the right of the dauphin, ariſing ſolely from the principle of deſcent, had been cancelled and aboliſhed by the ſolemn renunciation of his father.

Lewis, however, who was never remarkably ſcrupulous in adhering to his word, was firmly reſolved, notwithſtanding the renunciation he had made, to aſſert his ſon's claim to the Spaniſh throne; and with that reſolution, had prepared a numerous fleet and army, in order to invade the territories of Spain, the moment he ſhould hear of the death of the indiſpoſed ſovereign.

Had William been permitted to follow his own inclinations, he would have been extremely anxious to compel Lewis to obſerve his renunciation, and effectually to prevent him from acquiring poſſeſſion of any part of the Spaniſh territories: but finding all his allies averſe to a new war, and that his Engliſh ſubjects were ſtill more unwilling to agree to ſuch a meaſure than even his allies, he was obliged to chooſe the leaſt of two evils; and accordingly aſſented to a treaty of partition, which was ſigned by his miniſters, the earl of Portland and ſir Joſeph Williamſon, who had been furniſhed with the neceſſary powers for that purpoſe, tranſmitted by the lord chancellor Somers, under the great ſeal of England.

This treaty imported, that, if the king of Spain ſhould die without iſſue, the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, with the places depending on the Spaniſh monarchy, ſituated on the coaſt of Tuſcany, on the adjacent iſlands, the marquiſate of Final, the province of Guipuſcoa; all places on the French ſide of the Pyrenees; or the other mountains of Navarre, Alva, and Biſcay, ſhould become ſubject to the dauphin: in conſideration of his right to the crown of Spain: and that crown, with all its other dominions and dependencies, both in Europe and the Indies, ſhould deſcend to the electoral prince of Bavaria, under the guardianſhip of his father, who ſhould act as adminiſtrator till the ſon came of age: that the duchy of Milan ſhould be ſettled on the emperor's ſecond ſon, the archduke Charles: that this treaty ſhould be communicated to the emperor and the elector of Bavaria, by the king of England and the States General; that if either ſhould refuſe to agree to this partition, his proportion ſhould remain in ſequeſtration, till the diſpute could be accommodated: that if the electoral prince of Bavaria ſhould die before his father, then the elector and his other heirs ſhould ſucceed him in thoſe dominions: and that if the archduke ſhould reject the duchy of Milan, it ſhould be ſequeſtered and governed by the prince of Vaudemont, and, after his death, by his ſon prince Charles.

It was intended that this extraordinary agreement ſhould not be divulged, before the deceaſe of the king of Spain, to any princes except the emperor and the elector; but the court of Madrid ſoon gained intelligence of it, and reſented it as a groſs inſult. The emperor, to whoſe claim ſo little regard had been paid by the contracting parties, warmly reprobated a treaty ſo injurious to his intereſts; and was particularly diſpleaſed with William and the States, for their violation of their engagements in his favour. His hope of the Spaniſh ſucceſſion had formed one motive of his oppoſition to the peace of Ryſwick, that, while France and Spain

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Spain continued hoſtile to each other, his ſupport of the weakneſs of the latter kingdom might render him acceptable to the reigning prince. His views were encouraged by his ſiſter-in-law, the wife of Charles, who had a great ſway over the mind of that monarch. Her influence, however, could not prevent the king from making a will, by which he rejected the pretenſions of Leopold for himſelf or his ſons; and, though he exploded the treaty of partition, he favoured the prince to whom that convention aſſigned the greateſt ſhare, by appointing the young Bavarian to the inheritance of all his dominions.

On the third of December, the king arrived in England, where a new parliament had been choſen and prorogued, on account of his majeſty's abſence, which had been prolonged by contrary winds, and tempeſtuous weather. Though the majority of the members were firmly attached to the new eſtabliſhment, many of them had conceived ſo much jealouſy of the court during the former unpopular reigns, that they could not be induced to abandon it, even during the preſent adminiſtration, when there was ſo little reaſon to apprehend any danger: but their choice of ſir Thomas Lyttleton for ſpeaker, ſeemed to preſage an amicable ſeſſion.

The parliament having met on the tenth of December, the king, in his ſpeech to both houſes, obſerved, that the ſafety, honour, and happineſs of the kingdom, would, in a great meaſure depend upon the ſtrength which they ſhould reſolve to maintain by ſea and land: that he hoped they would make farther proviſion for diſcharging the public debt, which now amounted to an enormous ſum, occaſioned by the late tedious and expenſive war; and in the diſcharge of which, the intereſt as well as the honour of the nation was ſo nearly concerned: that he begged they would deviſe more effectual expedients for relieving the poor; that he expected they would prepare ſome ſalutary bills for the advancement of trade, and the farther diſcouragement of vice and profanity: and finally, that he flattered himſelf, they would proceed, in all their deliberations, with that unanimity and concord, which was ſo neceſſary for the diſpatch of buſineſs.

An act had paſſed in the preceding parliament, for a reduction of the army: but, regardleſs of this act, the king, at his departure for Holland, had left orders to his miniſtry to maintain a body of ſixteen thouſand troops; a number which he judged indiſpenſibly neceſſary for the ſafety of the kingdom, in caſe a war ſhould happen on the ſudden death of the king of Spain, which was daily expected. The members of the preſent parliament, without adverting to the motives which induced his majeſty to adopt this ſtep, were ſo enraged at his preſuming to tranſgreſs an act, to which he had given the royal aſſent, that inſtead of the uſual addreſs of thanks in return for his ſpeech, they inſtantly reſolved, that all the forces of England, in Engliſh pay, exceeding ſeven thouſand men, ſhould be inſtantly paid and diſbanded; as alſo thoſe of Ireland exceeding twelve thouſand; and that thoſe retained ſhould be all natives of theſe kingdoms*.

By this vote, the king was deprived, not only of his Dutch guards, to which he was remarkably attached, but alſo of the regiments of French refugees, who had always ſerved him with uncommon fidelity. He therefore exerted every expedient to divert the commons from their purpoſe; but finding them unalterably fixed, he was ſo ſenſibly affected with this inſtance of groundleſs jealouſy, that he actually formed a reſolution of abandoning the government, and had even prepared a ſpeech, which he intended to have made on the occaſion.

Happily, however, his majeſty was prevailed on to abandon this fatal reſolution, and to aſſent to the bill for reducing the army. Accordingly on the firſt of February, he came to the houſe of peers; and inſtead of the intended ſpeech, he delivered himſelf in the following terms: "I "am come to paſs the bill for diſbanding the "forces, as ſoon as I knew it was ready for my "aſſent. Though the reduction of the army to

* The Engliſh, diſguſted at the king's preference even of thoſe of his native country, to one in which he had acquired a ſplendid and powerful eſtabliſhment, had before complained of his partiality in acrimonious terms, and affirmed that he only reſided in this kingdom for the convenience of parliamentary buſineſs; while he made choice of Holland from motives of inclination, and ſeemed to be out of his element when he was not in the boſom of that republic.

" ſuch an inconſiderable number, may, in our " preſent circumſtances, be attended with the " moſt fatal conſequences; and though I might " juſtly complain of the harſh treatment I have " received in being deprived of thoſe guards, " who accompanied me into this kingdom, and " have conſtantly attended me in all my for- " tunes: yet, as I am convinced that nothing " can be more prejudicial to our common in- " tereſt, than to ſuffer any jealouſy or miſun- " derſtanding to ariſe between me and my peo- " ple, I am firmly determined to comply with " your requeſt.

" Nevertheleſs, after having thus aſſigned my " reaſons, for paſſing this bill, I muſt likewiſe, " in diſcharge of the truſt you have repoſed in " me, declare, that, in my opinion, the nation " is left too naked and defenceleſs. It is, there- " fore, your duty to take this matter into your " ſerious conſideration, and immediately to pro- " vide ſuch a ſtrength, as may be deemed ne- " ceſſary for the ſafety of the kingdom, and the " preſervation of that peace, which we have ſo " lately obtained."

The reſentment of the commons was ſo wonderfully aſſuaged by this inſtance of his majeſty's condeſcenſion, that they preſented an addreſs, in which they thanked him for this additional teſtimony of his royal beneficence, and ſolemnly aſſured him, that they would, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes, defend his perſon and government againſt all his enemies foreign and domeſtic.

So ſtrong was the affection which the king had conceived for the Dutch guards, that he could not think of parting with them, without making another effort in their favour. He ſent lord Ranelagh with a meſſage to the commons, acquainting them, that the neceſſary preparations were made for tranſporting the guards who came over with him into England: and that he intended to ſend them away immediately, unleſs out of conſideration to him, the houſe ſhould be diſpoſed to find an expedient for continuing them longer in the ſervice: an indulgence, which his majeſty would deem an act of kindneſs. The commons, however, were inflexible; and the king finding it impoſſible to ſoften their obduracy, was at laſt obliged to yield to the preſent neceſſity.

A jealouſy of court meaſures, and particularly of a ſtanding army, ſeems to be inherent in the Engliſh conſtitution. This jealouſy has often been productive of the moſt ſalutary effects; and if duly reſtrained, and never exerted but upon proper occaſions, it cannot be too much encouraged. The commons, that they might not manifeſt a total diſregard for the ſafety of the kingdom, reſolved to compenſate the ſmallneſs of the land-army, by the greatneſs of the naval force; and they accordingly voted fifteen thouſand ſeamen, and a fleet proportioned to that number. For the maintenance of theſe, and the other public ſervices, they granted the ſum of one million four hundred and eighty-four thouſand and fifteen pounds; to be raiſed by a tax of three ſhillings in the pound upon lands, perſonal eſtates, penſions, and offices.

The ill effects of diſmiſſing the army ſoon became viſible *. The Papiſts and Non-jurors, encouraged by the weakneſs of the civil power, repaired to London in great multitudes, and behaved with remarkable inſolence and irregularity. The commons, alarmed at the appearance of ſuch a concourſe of diſaffected perſons, addreſſed the king for removing them from the capital, and its environs; and a proclamation for that purpoſe, was accordingly publiſhed on the ſecond of March. This proclamation, however, was little regarded: the prieſts ſtill continued to ſwarm about London: and the Jacobites, whoſe fictions have generally been as abſurd as their principles are arbitrary, had even the audacity to aſſert, that the king himſelf was a Papiſt; or, at leaſt, that, whatever appearances he might aſſume, he was attached to that religion in his heart. But that deluſive party, had ſo totally forfeited all claim to veracity, that, if at any time they happened to declare the truth, little credit was given to their aſſertion.

That licentious and profane ſpirit, which exiſted under Charles the Second, continued to prevail with unabated vigour. It had corrupted all ranks and orders of ſociety; and had particularly infected the theatre, which was now ſo ſhamefully degenerated, that few perſons of virtue or principle thought proper to frequent it. This dangerous abuſe excited the fears of the religious part of the nation; and their appre-

* A. D. 1699.

henſions were greatly encreaſed by a treatiſe publiſhed by Jeremy Collier, in which the author, inſtead of inveighing againſt the indecent ſcenes which were repreſented on the ſtage, exclaimed againſt theatrical repreſentations in general.

The theatre might be eſtabliſhed upon ſuch a rational foundation, and ſubjected to ſuch ſtrict regulations, as to be rendered one of the moſt powerful means of reforming the lives, and poliſhing the manners of the people: but conducted as it then was, it was become a ſchool of vice and immorality. The youth, inflamed by the alluring pictures, which were there exhibited, ruſhed precipitately into the groſſeſt ſenſualities, bidding defiance to all law, human or divine. To ſuppreſs this growing evil, the king renewed an order, which he had formerly publiſhed, prohibiting the repreſentation of any profane or indecent ſcenes on any ſtage; commanding the maſter of the revels to licence no plays, but ſuch as were conſiſtent with morality and religion; and ſtrictly enjoining him to inform the lord chamberlain, if the players preſumed to contravene this order*. On the laſt day of May, the king appointed a regency to govern in his abſence†; and the next morning renewed his annual viſit to the Continent‡, after having made ſome official changes.

William enjoyed his favourite diverſions of ſhooting and hunting at Loo, where he was viſited by the duke of Zell, with whom he had long maintained an intimate correſpondence. During his reſidence on that ſpot, the earl of Portland, the grand penſionary of Holland, and the French ambaſſador, count Tallard, had frequent conferences upon the ſubject of the Spaniſh ſucceſſion; but no alteration was then made in the late treaty of partition. His majeſty, having ſettled with the States General, the number and ſtrength of the Dutch fleet and army, embarked for England on the ſixteenth of October, and arrived the next day at Margate, from whence he immediately repaired to Kenſington§.

The parliament meeting about the middle of November, the king, in his ſpeech to both houſes, obſerved that there was an abſolute neceſſity for making ſome farther proviſion for the ſafety of the kingdom, by ſea and land, and for repairing the ſhips and fortifications: that the funds ſettled ſince the commencement of the war had proved extremely deficient, the nation was incumbered with a heavy debt, and freſh ſupplies would be requiſite for making good the one, and diſcharging the other: he expreſſed his ſorrow that he was obliged to aſk ſuch frequent aids of his people, and concluded in theſe words: "Since, therefore, our aims are only for "the general good, let us act with confidence "in one another; which will not fail, with "God's bleſſing, to make me a happy king, and "you a great and flouriſhing people." The commons ſtill retained the ſame captious and diſſatisfied ſpirit, which they had ſo ſtrongly manifeſted in the former ſeſſion. They ſtill ſeemed

* About the latter end of March, the earl of Warwick and lord Mohun were tried by their peers in Weſtminſter-hall, for the murder of captain Richard Coote, who had been killed in a midnight combat of three on each ſide. Warwick was found guilty of man-ſlaughter, and diſcharged on claiming the benefit of the peerage, and Mohun was acquitted.

† The regency was compoſed of the lord chancellor, lord preſident, lord privy ſeal, lord ſteward of the houſehold, the earl of Bridgewater, firſt commiſſioner of the admiralty, the earl of Marlborough, the earl of Jerſey, and Mr. Montague.

‡ On the fourteenth of May, the earl of Jerſey, who had returned from his embaſſy to France, was appointed ſecretary of ſtate, on the reſignation of the duke of Shewſbury. This nobleman had long enjoyed the ſecretary's place; but was now rendered incapable, by a fall from his horſe, to endure the fatigue of ſo laborious an office. He therefore accepted the poſt of lord chamberlain; and travelled to France and Italy for the benefit of the air. During his emigration he married an Italian lady named Adelaïda Palleotica, of Bologna. The earl of Mancheſter was ſent ambaſſador extrordinary to France: the earl of Pembroke was declared lord preſident of the council: and lord viſcount Lonſdale, keeper of the privy ſeal.

§ It 1698, a Scottiſh company had formed a ſcheme of effecting a ſettlement on the iſthmus of Darien, to which they gave the name of Caledonia, and began to erect a town under the appellation of New Edinburgh. This new ſettlement, notwithſtanding immenſe ſums had, from time to time, been expended, to bring it to a ſtate of perfection, now verged on ruin, king William having declined to afford them that protection, which the Scottiſh adventurers expected; on which occaſion, that exaſperated people affirmed, that their ſovereign's partiality to his countrymen, had prompted him to betray the intereſts of his Britiſh ſubjects, and to ſacrifice, to the mean jealouſy of the Dutch, a juſt and well-concerted ſcheme, which promiſed a degree of national benefit.

determined to mortify the king by oppoſing his humour in every particular. They affected to cavil at the generous and cordial expreſſion: "let us act with confidence in one another." Inſtead of an addreſs of thanks, they preſented a remonſtrance, importing, that they were fully convinced of the abſolute neceſſity of maintaining an entire confidence between his majeſty and his parliament: that they conſidered it as their greateſt misfortune, that, after the repeated proofs they had given of their zealous attachment to his perſon and government, they ſhould be ſo unhappy as to incur the leaſt ſuſpicion of being deficient in their duty to him and his people; and that they hoped he would manifeſt his high diſpleaſure towards all thoſe, who had preſumed to miſrepreſent their reſolutions or proceedings. The king, in his anſwer, aſſured them, that no one had preſumed to miſrepreſent their proceedings; and that, if any ſhould attempt to impoſe upon him by ſuch calumnies, he ſhould conſider them as his moſt inveterate enemies.

Though many of the commons were infected with a ſpirit of rancour and diſcontent, the majority were firmly attached to the preſent government, and even ſatisfied with the preſent miniſtry. A few of them, however, were not only diſpleaſed with the preſent adminiſtration, but were alſo enemies to the Revolution. Actuated by theſe dangerous principles, they embraced every occaſion of caſting an odium on the king and his miniſters; and they imagined the following affair had furniſhed them with an excellent opportunity for this purpoſe.

A piratical caſe furniſhed the adverſaries of the court with an object of animated diſcuſſion. During the war the province of New York, and moſt of the other Engliſh colonies had been greatly infeſted with pirates; who received but too much encouragement from many of the inhabitants of theſe ſettlements. Coote, earl of Bellamont, who had lately been appointed governor of New England and New York, applied to his majeſty, and repreſented the neceſſity of ſuppreſſing theſe public plunderers. The king ordered the matter before the admiralty; but, the whole fleet being employed in other ſervices, no veſſels could be ſpared for that purpoſe. Bellamont, diſappointed in this quarter, propoſed, that, if his majeſty would give his authority, a ſhip might be equipped by private adventurers, which would be fully ſufficient for effecting the purpoſe.

The king approved of the propoſal, and inſtantly granted his letters patent, reſerving to himſelf the tenth of the captures, as a proof that he was a partner in this laudable undertaking. The ſcheme was immediately carried into execution. The lord chancellor the duke of Shrewſbury, the earls of Romney, Orford, and Bellmont, ſir Edward Harriſon, and colonel Levingſton of New York, engaged in the project. Six thouſand pounds were in a few days ſubſcribed; and a ſhip of ſufficient force being equipped, the command of her was beſtowed upon one captain Kidd of New York, who, from his knowledge of theſe ſeas, and his approved bravery, was deemed a proper perſon for conducting the enterprize.

Kidd, being furniſhed with every thing neceſſary, commenced his intended expedition: but in the courſe of it, he betrayed his truſt; and, inſtead of acting againſt the maritime depredators, became himſelf a pirate, and afterwards arrived on the coaſt of New York, where he and his men were ſeized by lord Bellamont. His lordſhip tranſmitted an account of the tranſaction to the ſecretary of ſtate, deſiring he would ſend for the priſoners to England, as there was no law in that colony for puniſhing piracy with death, and the people, in general, approved of the practice. The Rocheſter ſhip of war was accordingly diſpatched for that purpoſe, but, after having been toſſed for ſome time with tempeſtuous weather, ſhe was driven back to Plymouth in a very ſhattered condition: and this incident furniſhed the Jacobites with a pretence for repreſenting the miniſtry as the authors and encouragers of a piratical expedition, which they wanted to conceal from the inveſtigation of the public.

They had even the effrontery to move in the houſe, that the letters patent, granted to the earl of Bellamont, and others, of pirates' goods, were diſhonourable to the king, repugnant to the law of nations, contrary to the laws and ſtatutes of the realm, invaſive of property, and deſtructive of trade and commerce: but the principles by which they were influenced, were

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ſo notorious; the end, at which they aimed, was ſo diſtinctly known; and the aſſertion, which they advanced, was ſo palpably abſurd; that the motion was rejected with the utmoſt indignation.

Baffled in this attempt, they directed their next battery againſt Burnet, biſhop of Saliſbury, who, by his great ſervices in the Revolution, and his ſpirited defence of the principles of liberty, had incurred the hatred of the whole party. They now endeavoured to remove him from his office of preceptor to the duke of Glouceſter; for which, they alledged he was wholly unqualified; as well on account of his being a native of Scotland, as by his having written the paſtoral letter, which had been committed to the flames by order of the parliament, and in which he had aſſerted, that William had a right to the crown from conqueſt. A motion was accordingly made for that purpoſe; but it inſtantly experienced the fate of the former.

In the mean time a ſupply was granted for the ſupport of the fleet and army; and a fund eſtabliſhed for that purpoſe. Thoſe, who had contributed ſo zealouſly towards the reduction of the troops, thought it unneceſſary to have ſo great a naval force: it therefore was reſolved, that ſeven thouſand ſeamen were ſufficient for the ſervice of the enſuing year. The motion was made by the Tories; and was readily approved by the Whigs, becauſe the management of the navy was now entruſted to other commiſſioners; the earl of Orford and his friends were diſmiſſed from the board, and their places ſupplied by ſome other of the faction.

The next object which engaged the attention of the commons, was an enquiry into the forfeited eſtates in Ireland; which the king had diſtributed, partly among thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the reduction of that kingdom, and partly among ſuch as deſerved well of the nation in other reſpects. The commiſſioners appointed to examine this affair, were Anneſley, Trenchard, Hamilton, Langford, the earl of Drogheda, ſir Francis Brewſter, and ſir Richard Leving*.

The firſt four were actuated by all the violence of faction, and proceeded in their enquiry with ſuch rigour and ſeverity, as plainly to demonſtrate the malicious ſpirit by which they were governed. They greedily ſeized upon every particular, which might tend to inflame and exaggerate the account; and artfully ſuppreſſed every fact and circumſtance, which might ſerve to exculpate or juſtify his majeſty†.

The other three were influenced by more generous principles, and refuſed to concur with their colleagues in the report, which was tranſmitted; and in which it was aſſerted, that no leſs than a million and a half might be raiſed by the ſale of the forfeitures. They even ſent over a memorial to the parliament, explaining the reaſons of their diſſent; but no regard was paid to their repreſentation. The report of the others, was readily approved; and a bill was introduced for applying theſe eſtates to the uſe of the public.

A vote was even paſſed by the commons, importing, that they would not receive any petition from any perſon, concerning the grants: that the four commiſſioners, who had ſigned the report, had acquitted themſelves with ability and integrity, and deſerved to be rewarded for their faithful ſervices: and that ſir Richard

* When this bill was in its progreſs Montague informed the houſe, that a member of oppoſition had directed the commiſſioners, by letter, to make the parade attack of a valuable grant which had been made to Elizabeth Villiers (miſtreſs who was conſidered as the favorite) was in high favour with William, who had granted her almoſt the whole of the private eſtate of James II. in Ireland, which exceeded (according to the report of the commiſſioners) the annual value of twenty thouſand pounds.

† Under the ſpiritual government of Taylor, about this time, a proceſs was inſtituted againſt Watſon biſhop of Saint David's, who had diſgraced the order to which he belonged. The primate, aſſiſted by ſome of his brethren, ſat in judgement upon this occaſion. It appeared that the accuſed prelate had been guilty of corrupt and ſimoniacal practices, of fraud and extortion and of ſolemn atteſtations of falſehood; and for theſe offences he was deprived of his ſee. He appealed from this ſentence to a court of delegates; but they confirmed the former deciſion. Complaint was made in the houſe of lords, of the illegality of the proceſs; and it was aſſerted, that the juriſdiction of the archbiſhop was incompetent to ſuch a trial, as the cognizance of the cauſe belonged to a regular ſynod of the biſhops of the province. Though better authority was adduced on the other ſide, the vacancy, occaſioned by the deprivation, was not filled before the court of exchequer had decided, that the delinquent had no right to the temporalities of the ſee. *Ch. Hiſt.*

Leving,

Leving, as the author of ſcandalous aſperſions, caſt upon his four colleagues, ſhould be committed to the Tower. They likewiſe preſented an addreſs to his majeſty, in which they affirmed, that the procuring and paſſing theſe grants had involved the nation in heavy debts, burthened the people with heavy taxes, and highly reflected on the king's honour; and that the officers and inſtruments concerned in the ſame, had failed in the performance of their truſt and duty.

The king replied, that he was not only led by inclination, but thought himſelf bound in juſtice, to reward thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the reduction of Ireland: that he alſo thought theſe rewards could not ſo properly be beſtowed out of any funds, as out of the eſtates forfeited to him by the rebellion in that kingdom: and that, as the long war had conſiderably increaſed the national debt, their taking effectual methods for diminiſhing that debt, and ſupporting public credit, would, in his opinion, be the moſt effectual method of maintaining the honour, intereſt, and ſafety of the kingdom.

The commons were highly diſpleaſed at this anſwer; and inſtantly reſolved, that whoever adviſed it, had endeavoured to create a miſunderſtanding and jealouſy between the king and his people. They framed, finiſhed, and paſſed a bill of reſumption*.

The commons apprehenſive that the bill of reſumption would be ſtrongly oppoſed in the houſe of peers, tacked it to the money-bill, that one might not be rejected without defeating the other. The lords propoſed ſome alterations: the commons refuſed their conſent: a conference was deſired: the peers inſiſted on their amendments: the commons perſevered in their refuſal: and a violent altercation was expected to enſue; when the commons, in order to intimidate their antagoniſts, proceeded to the moſt deſperate reſolutions. They ordered a liſt of the privy-council to be laid before them; cauſed their houſe to be cleared of ſtrangers, and the doors to be ſhut: they then began to take into conſideration the report of the Iriſh forfeitures, with the liſt of the privy-counſellors; and, ſuppoſing that the lord chancellor Somers, though himſelf a ſteady Whig, and at preſent confined to his houſe by indiſpoſition, was the ſecret author of all the oppoſition, they moved, that an addreſs ſhould be made to his majeſty for removing that nobleman from his preſence and councils for ever: but the motion was rejected by a great majority.

The king was extremely offended at this bill, which he conſidered as an invaſion of his prerogative, an inſult to his perſon, and an injury to his friends and ſervants; and he at firſt ſeemed determined to riſk the conſequences, rather than to paſs ſuch an iniquitous law: but he was diverted from his reſolution by the remonſtrances of thoſe in whom he chiefly confided; and at laſt conſented to give it his aſſent. He could not, however, conceal his reſentment. He became peeviſh, moroſe, and diſcontented; and his enemies ſeized this opportunity of painting his character in the moſt odious colours†. They inſinuated, that his affections were entirely confined to a few foreign favourites; that he deteſted the company and even the ſight of Engliſhmen; and that he was no ſooner relieved from the burden of buſineſs, than he fled annually to his dear retirement on the Continent‡.

* In this bill of reſumption, little regard was ſhewn to juſtice or even to common decency: but among all the inſtances of ſeverity, with which it was attended, the caſe of the earl of Athlone, was the moſt remarkable. The commons of the parliament, which was ſitting at the time of completing the reduction of Ireland, were ſo ſenſible of the ſervices which this nobleman had performed, in accompliſhing that important enterprize, that they had unanimouſly addreſſed the king to beſtow upon him a proportionable reward: the king had complied with their requeſt: and the Iriſh parliament were ſo fully convinced of his ſuperlative merit, that they confirmed the grant with the utmoſt alacrity. The earl had diſpoſed of the grant to thoſe, who thought they had purchaſed it under an unqueſtionable title: little regard, however, was ſhewn to thoſe conſiderations: he and his purchaſers were thus deprived of their property, and involved in one common and undiſtinguiſhed ruin.

† A. D. 1700.

‡ The commons, not ſatisfied with the victory they had gained, reſolved to addreſs his majeſty, that no perſon, who was not a native of his dominions, except the prince George of Denmark, ſhould be admitted into his councils in England or Ireland. This reſolution was levelled againſt the earls of Portland, Albemarle, and Galway, but, before the addreſs could be preſented, the king came to the houſe of peers, and having paſſed ſuch bills as were ready for his aſſent, the parliament was prorogued to the twenty-third of May.

A rigorous law was now enacted againſt the Catholics, which offered a reward to any perſon who ſhould apprehend a Popiſh prieſt in the exerciſe of his function: it condemned to perpetual impriſonment all who ſhould diſcharge any part of that prieſthood, as well as all Catholic inſtructors of youth; and diſabled the profeſſors of that religion from inheriting or purchaſing any eſtate, unleſs they ſhould take the oaths of allegance and ſupremacy, and deny tranſubſtantiation.

In the courſe of this ſeſſion, a bill was introduced into the houſe of commons, for continuing the old Eaſt India company till the expiration of their charter. A ſtate of their caſe was publiſhed, in which the equity of their claim was attempted to be proved, and the injuries they had ſuffered were greatly exaggerated. An anſwer was given to this remonſtrance, by the members of the new company; who endeavoured to expoſe the corrupt practices of their adverſaries. But, though ſtrongly oppoſed, the bill was actually carried through both houſes, and at laſt received the royal aſſent: in conſequence of which there were now two rival companies of merchants trading to the Eaſt Indies.

The king had lately been ſo much chagrined by the violence of the Whigs, that it cannot appear ſurpriſing if he liſtened with the greateſt attention to the ſuggeſtions of the Tories. They aſſured him, that, if he would gratify them with the diſmiſſion of a few of his Whig miniſters, and the admiſſion of ſome of their own party, they would ſerve him with greater zeal than the other party; whom they repreſented as a peeviſh, ſullen, and diſſatisfied race. The better to pave their way for their own elevation, they endeavoured to remove lord Somers from the office of chancellor; to effect which, they imagined that he, who was univerſally conſidered as the principal leader of the Whigs, was, at the ſame time, the real author of all the oppoſition which the parliament had lately ſhewn to his majeſty.

The caſe of lord Somers was extremely ſingular. The Whigs had accuſed him as the ſecret courſe of oppoſition which the commons had received from the miniſtry: the Tories charged him as the original cauſe of that oppoſition which the miniſtry had received from the commons. Both theſe aſſertions could not poſſibly be true: yet, ſuch is the force or prejudice, and ſo incapable are zealots of diſtinguiſhing the moſt palpable and glaring contradictions, that they were both believed by the enthuſiaſts of either party. But, though the Tories were extremely deſirous of removing the chancellor, they were at a loſs in what manner to accompliſh their aim: nor would they ever have been able to effect their purpoſe, had they not been favoured by the inclinations of his majeſty, which now leaned viſibly towards that party. Somers's* character, as a man, was unexceptionable: his conduct, as a judge, was equally unimpeachable: the king himſelf was fully convinced of his merit; and believed him to be innocent of the crimes which were attributed to him: but, as he was determined to make trial of a Tory miniſtry, who inſiſted on the diſmiſſion of this nobleman, he found himſelf obliged to comply with their humour. He therefore ſent for the chancellor, and repreſented the neceſſity of his parting with the ſeals, not for any error he had committed, but merely for the ſake of public peace and tranquillity.

Somers was no ſtranger to the king's ſentiments; and, as he apprehended the dangerous conſequences of the meaſures which he intended to embrace, he took the liberty of expreſſing his opinion on the ſubject.

The king, however, had been ſo harraſſed by the violence of the Whigs, that he was reſolved to have recourſe to the other party; and only obſerved, that there was an abſolute neceſſity for yielding to the times. The chancellor replied, that his voluntary reſignation of the ſeals might be ſuppoſed to betray a conſciouſneſs of guilt, or a fear of danger; and he was unwilling to take

* In June, 1700, the time appointed for the trial of lord Somers, the court aſſembled in Weſtminſter-hall, when the lord keeper called for evidence againſt that nobleman; but, none being adduced, the lords adjourned to their own houſe, and had a long debate, which terminated in a vote for his acquittal.

The lords then proceeded to the trial of the earl of Orford, whom they acquitted in default of evidence. For the ſame reaſon they diſmiſſed the articles which had been brought againſt lord Hallifax, as well as the charge againſt Havertham, relative to the affair of the partition, and to the acquiſition of various grants from the crown. The earl of Portland againſt whom no articles had been exhibited, was alſo releaſed from his impeachment. Thus ended an affair which had filled the nation, as well as both houſes, with clamour and confuſion.

take any ſtep which could naturally bear ſo odious a conſtruction; but that, whenever his majeſty ſent a peremptory order, demanding the ſeals, he ſhould be ready to reſign them with the moſt perfect ſubmiſſion. An order was accordingly ſent by lord Jerſey, to whom the ſeals were delivered by Somers, on the ſixteenth of April.

The ſucceſs of the Tories had ſo far exceeded their expectations, that they had not yet thought of a ſucceſſor, to whom the ſeals could be properly committed. They were ſucceſſively offered to lord chief juſtice Holt, and Trevor, the attorney-general, who declined the acceptance of ſuch a precarious office. In the mean time the king granted a temporary commiſſion to three judges to ſit in the court of chancery: and at length conferred the ſeals, with the title of lord keeper, on ſir Nathan Wright a zealous Tory, one of the ſerjeants at law; whoſe talents and attainments were inadequate to the truſt.

William imagined, that, by the treaty of partition, he had, in ſome degree, ſecured the tranquillity of Europe, in caſe the king of Spain ſhould die without children; but the treaty being rendered ineffectual, by the death of the electorial prince of Bavaria, who had died in the beginning of the former year, a new treaty of the ſame nature was concluded between England France and Holland.

On the ſeventh of July, the king embarked for Holland, after having appointed a regency * to manage the government in his abſence. On the twenty ninth of the ſame month, the young duke of Glouceſter, the only remaining child of Anne, the princeſs of Denmark, died of a malignant fever in the eleventh year of his age. During his illneſs his mother attended him with an affection truly maternal.

Biſhop Burnet, this prince's preceptor, informs us, that he had acquired a degree of knowledge rarely attained by thoſe of his tender years. He had made conſiderable progreſs in the ſtudy of hiſtory, geography, politics, and religion; and manifeſted an equal deſire and capacity for farther improvement. Theſe endowments, added to the natural ſweetneſs of his diſpoſition, had endeared him to the affections of the whole nation; and rendered him the ſubject of general lamentation.

The Jacobites alone rejoiced at his deceaſe; and conſidered it as an event which had removed the principal bar to the intereſt of the prince of Wales: but the Proteſtants directed their attention to the princeſs Sophia, electreſs dowager of Hanover, and grand-daughter of James the Firſt It was with a view to concert the eſtabliſhment of her ſucceſſion, that the court of Brunſwick now returned the viſit which they had lately received from the king.

The preſent ſtate of affairs in England, however, afforded but an unfavourable proſpect.—The people in general manifeſted a diſapprobation of the perſon and government of the king; and he, on his part, ſignified that he was weary of them and their factious proceedings. The act for triennial parliaments kept the whole nation in a perpetual ferment for the next elections.—Pride, luxury, ambition, and venality, had corrupted the morals of the people, and, in a great meaſure, extirpated all public and private virtue. Few appeared to underſtand the real intereſt of their country; and fewer ſtill to purſue it with prudence and perſeverance. The commons, though greatly advanced in power, were conſiderably ſunk in credit: faction, violence, and party-ſpirit, were but too conſpicuous in all their proceedings. The chief balance lay in the houſe of lords: but that houſe was deficient in natural ſtrength to reſiſt the commons †.

When the partition-treaty was imparted, by the

* The regency conſiſted of the archbiſhop of Canterbury; ſir Nathan Wright, lord keeper; the earl of Pembroke, lord preſident of the council; viſcount Lonſdale, lord privy-ſeal; the duke of Devonſhire, lord ſteward; the earl of Bridgewater, firſt commiſſioner of the admiralty; the earl of Marlborough, governor of his highneſs the duke of Glouceſter; and the earl of Tankerville, firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury.

† This year was diſtinguiſhed by a glorious victory which the young king of Sweden obtained, in the nineteenth year of his age. Riga continued inveſted by the king of Poland, where Peter, the czar of Muſcovy, made his approaches to Narva, at the head of a prodigious army, purpoſing, in violation of all faith and juſtice, to ſhare the ſpoils of the youthful monarch. Charles landed at Revel, compelled the Saxons to abandon the ſiege at Riga, and, having ſupplied their place, marched, with a handful of troops againſt the Muſcovites, who had undertaken the ſiege of Narva. The czar quitted his army with ſome precipitation, as if he had been afraid of hazarding his perſon.

the miniſters of the contracting powers, to the other princes of Europe, it generally met with a very unfavourable reception. Moſt of them appeared cautious and dilatory in their meaſures, and returned only vague and evaſive anſwers. The Italian ſtates diſapproved of a treaty, which would put France in poſſeſſion of Naples, and other diſtricts of their country. The duke of Savoy affected a myſterious neutrality, in hopes of being able to barter his conſent for ſome valuable conſideration. The Swiſs cantons declined acceding as guarantees. The emperor expreſſed his aſtoniſhment, that any diſpoſition ſhould be made of the Spaniſh monarchy, without the conſent of the preſent poſſeſſor, and the ſtates of the kingdom. All Europe was amazed at the oppoſition made by Leopold; well knowing, that he was totally incapable of ſupporting his pretenſions by force of arms.

The Spaniards were enraged at the inſolence of the three foreign powers, who preſumed to parcel out their dominions. The hearts of the nation were alienated from the houſe of Auſtria, by the puſillanimous conduct of the preſent king, and by the imperious behaviour, and rapacious diſpoſition of the queen Mariana.—From the whole of this tranſaction, it is reaſonable to conclude, that Lewis was never ſincere in the partition-treaty; that he only meant it as a ſpecious contrivance to amuſe the allies, till he ſhould be able to effect his real purpoſe; and that he even employed it as a powerful, though ill founded, argument, to perſuade the Spaniards to declare in favour of one of his grandſons.

But, though he had thus ſucceeded in his perfidious endeavours, he was ſtill determined to continue the farce. His miniſters at foreign courts co-operated with thoſe of the maritime ſtates; in ſoliciting the acceſſion of the other powers of Europe. When count Zinzendorf, the Imperial ambaſſador at Paris, preſented a memorial deſiring to know what part the court of France would act, ſhould the king of Spain voluntarily place a grandſon of Lewis upon the throne; the marquis de Torcy anſwered in writing, that his moſt Chriſtian majeſty would, by no means, attend to ſuch a propoſal. And, when king William, who had received ſome ſecret intimation of the intrigues carried on by the French at Madrid, expoſtulated with Lewis on the ſubject, he not only denied his knowledge of the matter; but declared, that ſhould even a will be made in favour of his family, he was determined to reject the offer, and adhere firmly to the treaty of partition.

That treaty was no ſooner known in England, than it excited various and even oppoſite ſentiments in the nation. The timid and irreſolute approved of it, as the only means of preventing the Spaniſh monarchy from becoming an acceſſion to the crown of France; and it was this ſpirit of timidity and irreſolution which induced king William to agree to the treaty. The brave and patriotic condemned it, as a meaſure which would increaſe the power of France to a dangerous height; and warmly exhorted his majeſty to exert his endeavours, in conjunction with the other powers of Europe, to compel Lewis to adhere to the renunciation which he had formerly made.

The Jacobites exclaimed againſt it, on pretence of its pernicious tendency, but in reality, with a view to render the king unpopular; and this they hoped ſo effectually to accompliſh, that they actually began to concert meaſures for eſtabliſhing the ſucceſſion of the Engliſh crown upon the pretended prince of Wales. They even diſpatched Mr. Graham to St. Germain's, with an overture to this purpoſe; and an aſſurance, that a motion would be made in the houſe of commons, to paſs a vote, that the crown ſhould not be ſupported in the execution of the partition treaty. Such was the ſituation of affairs when the king arrived in England, not a little chagrined at the perplexities in which he was involved; and ſoon after he received information that the king of Spain was actually dead. He could not be ſurpriſed at this event, which had been ſo long expected; but it was attended with a circumſtance which he could not certainly foreſee.

Charles had, by his laſt will, declared the duke of Anjou, ſecond ſon of the dauphin, ſole heir

ſon, while Charles advanced through ways that were thought impracticable, and ſurprized one enemy. He broke into their camp before they had the leaſt intimation of his approach, and totally routed them, after a ſhort reſiſtance. He took a great number of priſoners, with all their baggage, tents, and artillery, and entered Narva in triumph.

of the Spaniſh monarchy. If this prince ſhould die without iſſue, or inherit the crown of France, he ordained, that Spain ſhould devolve to the duke of Berry; in default of him and his children, to the archduke Charles and his heirs; in failure of whom, to the duke of Savoy and his poſterity*.

It remains a doubt whether this will was actually ſigned by the king of Spain, or was only a forgery of cardinal Portocarrero's; eſpecially as his majeſty had been ſo long in a wavering and irreſolute ſtate of mind. It is certain, however, that when the teſtament, real or pretended, was notified to the French court, it afforded a new ſcene of hypocriſy and diſſimulation. The whole tranſaction had been managed and accompliſhed by the intrigues and policy of Lewis; and he was now determined to conclude the farce with the ſame dexterity with which it had been begun. A cabinet council was ſummoned in the apartments of madam de Maintenon. The miniſtry declared for the treaty of partition: the king affected a kind of neutrality: the dauphin ſpoke in behalf of his ſon, with an air of authority, which he had never before aſſumed: Pontchatrian ſeconded his arguments: Madam de Maintenon aſked, what the duke of Anjou had done to offend the king, that he ſhould be deprived of his right to that ſucceſſion? the reſt of the miniſters, influenced by theſe conſiderations, acceded to the dauphin's opinion; and the king acknowledged himſelf convinced by their reaſons.

Lewis, having thus accepted the will, cloſetted the duke of Anjou, to whom he thus addreſſed himſelf in the preſence of the marquis des Rios: "Sir, the king of Spain has made you a king: "the grandees demand you: the people wiſh "for you: and I give my conſent. Remember "only, you are a prince of France. But I re"commend to you to love your people, to "gain their affection by the lenity of your go"vernment. and to render yourſelf worthy of "the throne your are aſcending."

The French king's acceptance of the will was ſo contrary to his engagements with England and Holland, that he found ſome difficulty in juſtifying his conduct to thoſe two powers. Had William been able to engage the nation in a new war, he would never have agreed to the partition-treaty; which he conſidered merely as the only poſſible means of preventing the whole Spaniſh monarchy from becoming an acceſſion to that of France. As Lewis had perfidiouſly violated this treaty, he was now reſolved to return to his original object, and effectually to aſſert the claim of the Auſtrian family to the Spaniſh ſucceſſion.

The parliament meeting on the ſixth, was prorogued to the tenth of February†, when Mr. Harley was choſen ſpeaker by a conſiderable majority. The king, in his ſpeech to both houſes, obſerved, that the loſs which the nation had ſuſtained, in the death of the duke of Glouceſter, had rendered it abſolutely neceſſary to make ſome farther proviſion for ſettling the ſucceſſion in the Proteſtant line; that this was a point of ſuch importance to the happineſs of the nation, and the ſecurity of their religion, that he preſumed it would meet with a ready and general concurrence; he therefore begged leave to recommend it to their early and ſerious conſideration: that the death of the late king of Spain, and his declaration with regard to his ſucceſſor had produced ſuch an alteration in the affairs of Europe, as to require the moſt ſerious attention, and he truſted, their reſolutions on that head would be ſuch as ſhould be moſt conducive to the intereſt and ſafety of England, the preſervation of the Proteſtant religion, and the maintenance of the liberty and independence of Europe: that theſe were points of ſuch great importance, that he had conceived it moſt proper to ſubmit them to the conſideration of a new

* The following extract from the king of Spain's will, ſtrongly diſplays the ſuperſtition of the church of Rome. "I order, that on the day of my death, all the prieſts and "religious perſons of the place where I ſhall die, ſay maſs "for the repoſe of my ſoul, and that during three days "they celebrate as many maſſes as they can at privileged "altars. And further, it is my will that they ſay one "hundred thouſand maſſes for me: and my deſign is, that thoſe of which, by the mercy of God, I ſhall not ſtand in need, be applied to my father's and other predeceſſors, and if they do not need them, to the ſouls in purgatory that are leaſt taken care of; and the executors of my will ſhall recommend it to thoſe who are to ſay them, to do the ſame according to my intentions, and to regulate "the alms that are to be given for that end."

† A. D. 1701.

parliament, that he might learn the more immediate ſenſe and judgment of the nation.

A vote followed which declared Sophia (the electreſs dowager of Hanover) and her poſterity, the next Proteſtant heirs of the crown, after the king and the princeſs Anne, on the failure of iſſue from either. This important bill paſſed through both houſes, and received the royal aſſent. The friends of the Proteſtant faith were pleaſed with a ſettlement which ſecured the throne to perſons of their perſuaſion; and the advocates of liberty rejoiced at the additional reſtrictions that were impoſed upon the power of the crown*.

The French monarch, to juſtify his conduct to the king of England and the ſtates-general, who affected to be offended at his breach of faith, very plauſibly urged, that the treaty of partition was, perhaps, inadequate to the ends for which it had been negociated; that the emperor had refuſed to accede to it; that it was approved by none of the princes to whom it had been communicated: that the people of England and Holland were diſpleaſed with the proſpect of ſeeing France in the poſſeſſion of Naples and Sicily; that the Spaniards were averſe to the diviſion of their monarchy; that the whole Spaniſh ſucceſſion would have devolved upon the archduke Charles, if France had rejected the will: the ſame courier who brought it, having orders to proceed to Vienna, with ſuch an offer, in caſe of the refuſal of the court of Verſailles; that the conſervation of the peace of Europe was what his moſt chriſtian majeſty conſidered to be the chief object of the contracting parties; and that on this principle, he had only departed from the words, that he might the better adhere to the ſpirit of the treaty. Though theſe reaſons were far from ſatisfactory to William or the ſtates, they cautiouſly concealed their reſentment, as they were unable to ſupport it by any deciſive meaſure†. It muſt be confeſſed indeed, that, independent of prejudice or paſſion, war was become inevitable. The ſecuring of commerce and of barriers, the preventing an union of the two powerful monarchies of France and Spain in any future period, and the preſerving an equilibrium of power, were matters of too much importance to England, Holland, and Europe in general, to be ſubmitted to the moderation of the French, and the vigour of the Spaniſh councils, under a prince of the houſe of Bourbon, and a grandſon to Lewis XIV. yet in his minority. Convinced of this, and ſenſible of their own inability to defend their extenſive dominions, the Spaniards reſigned themſelves entirely to the guardianſhip of the French monarch. The regency commanded the viceroys of the provinces to obey his orders: a French ſquadron anchored in the port of Cadiz; another was diſpatched to the protection of the Spaniſh ſettlements in America; and, under pretence that the ſtates were preparing for war, the court of France was empowered to take poſſeſſion of the Dutch barrier in Flanders.

The elector of Bavaria, uncle to Philip V. and governor of the Spaniſh Netherlands, introduced on the ſame day, and preciſely at the ſame hour, French troops into all the barrier towns in Flanders, and ſeized the Dutch forces in garriſon, to the number of twenty-two battalions. Alarmed at this event, eſpecially when they conſidered their own defenceleſs condition and the facility of an invaſion from France, the ſtates inſtantly agreed to acknowledge the new king of Spain; and the French monarch, on receiving a letter to that purpoſe, ordered their troops to be ſet at liberty. The king of England remained obſti-

* Elizabeth the daughter of James I. having eſpouſed the elector Palatine, who was for a ſhort time, king of Bohemia, had ſeveral children. Sophia, on whom the crown of England was now ſettled, was one of theſe. She was married in 1658, to Earneſt Auguſtus, a prince of the houſe of Brunſwick, who afterwards became the firſt elector of Hanover. As the ducheſs of Savoy, was grand-daughter of Charles I. and had, therefore, a better claim in right of blood, than any one who derived her pretenſions from a ſiſter of that monarch ſhe made a formal proteſtation againſt all the proceedings of the parliament to her prejudice; but her claim, and that of all other Papiſts, had been annulled by the Act of Settlement in 1689; and, as the new bill was founded on the ſame baſis, it could not be ſuppoſed that her allegation of an exploded demand would meet with the ſmalleſt regard.

† It has been aſſerted, with ſome appearance of truth, that if they permitted Philip V. peaceably to enjoy the Spaniſh throne, he would have become, in a few years, as good a Spaniard as any of the preceding Philips, and utterly excluded the influence of French councils from the adminiſtration of his government; whereas the confederacy that was afterwards formed againſt him, and the war by which it was followed, threw him wholly into the hands of the French, becauſe their fleets and armies were neceſſary to his defence, and gave France a ſway over the Spaniſh councils, which ſhe has ever ſince retained.

nate;

nate; but having in vain attempted to draw the parliament, which conſiſted chiefly of Tories, (ſuppoſed to have been under the influence of French gold,) into his hoſtile views, he at length found it neceſſary to acknowledge the duke of Anjou as lawful ſovereign of Spain, though Lewis refuſed to give any other ſecurity for the peace of Europe, than a renewal of the treaty of Ryſwick.

The emperor alone of all the potentates of Europe, continued to diſpute the title of Philip V. Though Leopold pretended a prior right to the whole Spaniſh monarchy, he determined at firſt to confine his views to a part, and fixed upon the duchy of Milan, which he claimed as a fief of the empire. He therefore iſſued his mandate to the inhabitants commanding their obedience on pain of being conſidered as rebels. But the prince of Vaudemont, governor of that duchy, had already ſubmitted to the new king of Spain, in conformity to the will of Charles II. A body of French troops, at his requiſition, had entered the Milaneſe territory. Theſe were ſoon followed by a powerful army; and the duke of Savoy, whoſe daughter Philip had married, was declared captain-general of the whole. The emperor, however, was not diſcouraged by theſe formidable appearances, from enforcing his claim to the duchy of Milan.

The mareſchal de Catinat, who was ſecond in command, ſuſpecting the fidelity of the duke of Savoy, communicated his ſuſpicions to Lewis XIV. who, not thinking it poſſible that his intereſts could be betrayed by a prince ſo intimately connected with his family, aſcribed his ſurmiſes to impatience or private diſguſt, and ſent the mareſchal de Villeroy, to ſuperſede Catinat. Anxious to ſignalize himſelf by ſome achievement. Villeroy, in concert with the commander in chief, attempted to ſurprize the Imperialiſts in their camp at Chiari; but the duke of Savoy having acquainted Prince Eugene of this deſign, and of the diſpoſition of the intended attack, the French were repulſed with great loſs.

During theſe operations in Italy, the Engliſh and Dutch were engaged in fruitleſs negociations with France, which were continued rather to procraſtinate, in order to make preparations for war, than with any hope of preſerving the peace of Europe. At laſt the departure of the French ambaſſador, D'Avaux, from the Hague, terminated even the appearance of a negociation: and the ſucceſſes of the emperor, though not deciſive, contributed to brighten the proſpect. He had already ſecured the elector of Brandenburgh, through the channel of his vanity, by dignifying him with the title of king of Pruſſia The German princes, in general, were induced to depart from their propoſed neutrality. The king of England though ſtill oppoſed and thwarted by his parliament, was determined upon a war; and the king of Denmark gained by a ſubſidiary treaty, readily aſſiſted him with a body of troops.

In proportion as Leopold obſerved the increaſe of the inclination of the maritime powers for war, he advanced in his demands reſpecting the terms of the projected alliance. At one time his expectations were ſo exorbitant that he ſeemed determined to be ſatisfied with nothing leſs than the whole Spaniſh monarchy; but, finding William and the States reſolute againſt engaging in ſuch an ambitious project, he grew more moderate and came into their propoſals. They would only engage to procure for him the Spaniſh dominions in Italy, and to recover Flanders, as a barrier for Holland. Matters being thus adjuſted, the famous treaty, generally known by the name of the GRAND ALLIANCE, was ſigned by the plenipotentiaries of the emperor, the king of England, and the ſtates-general of the United Provinces. The avowed objects of this treaty were, "The procuring ſatisfaction to his imperial majeſty in "regard to the Spaniſh ſucceſſion; the obtaining "ſecurity to the Engliſh and Dutch for their "dominions and commerce; the preventing the "union of the two great monarchies of France "and Spain; and the hindering the French from "poſſeſſing the Spaniſh dominions in America." It was farther ſtipulated, that the king of England and the ſtates might retain for themſelves whatever lands and cities they ſhould conquer in both Indies. And the contracting powers agreed to employ two months, in attempting to obtain, by amicable means, the ſatisfaction and ſecurity they demanded.

In order to ſupport the king in theſe new engagements, and enable him to defray the other

public expences, the commons granted the ſum of a million and a half; to be raiſed by a land tax, certain duties upon merchandize, and a weekly deduction from the exciſe, in order to bring down the civil liſt to ſix hundred thouſand pounds; as the duke of Glouceſter was dead, and James's queen had refuſed her allowance. They voted thirty thouſand ſeamen, and reſolved that ten thouſand troops ſhould be ſent to the aſſiſtance of the ſtates-general. They paſſed a bill for taking away all privilege of parliament, in legal proſecutions, during the intermediate prorogations; and they introduced another for appointing commiſſioners to examine and ſtate the public accounts. In this, however, they had named ſo many of the Tory faction, that the lords took the liberty of making ſome amendments. The commons objected to any alteration: the peers inſiſted on their privilege: and the former animoſity was beginning to revive between the two houſes, when the king interrupted their diſputes, by terminating the ſeſſion, on the twenty-fourth of June, after, having thanked the parliament for their zeal in the public ſervice, and exhorted them to the diſcharge of their duties in their ſeveral counties.

His health was now conſiderably impaired, and he was daily becoming more infirm: but he concealed the decline of his conſtitution, that his allies might not be diſcouraged from engaging in a confederacy, which was ſo neceſſary for the general intereſt of Europe, and of which himſelf was deemed the principal ſupport. He beſtowed the command of the ten thouſand auxiliaries on the earl of Marlborough, whom he alſo appointed his plenipotentiary to the ſtates-general.

William, having named a regency *, embarked for Holland, in the beginning of July; and, on his arrival at the Hague, aſſiſted at an aſſembly of the ſtates-general, whom he addreſſed in a very affectionate ſpeech, and was anſwered with great cordiality. Soon after he made a progreſs round the frontiers, to viſit the towns and garriſons: and gave ſuch orders as he ſuppoſed neceſſary for the better defence and ſecurity of the country.

Every thing now portended a new war between France and Holland. The French ambaſſador, D'Avaux, who was recalled from the Hague, delivered to the ſtates-general a letter from his maſter, who complained, that they had interrupted the conferences, from which no advantageous fruits were to be expected: but he aſſured them, that it depended wholly upon themſelves, whether they ſhould continue to receive marks of his ancient friendſhip for their republic. This letter was accompanied with an inſolent memorial, to which the ſtates general returned a very ſpirited anſwer. As they plainly perceived the hoſtile intentions of France, they exerted their utmoſt endeavours in making preparations for their own defence. They repaired their fortifications, augmented their army, and engaged auxiliaries from various quarters.

In the mean time the Spaniards were not perfectly ſatisfied with the conduct of their new maſter. They reſented the inſolence of his French miniſters and attendants; and were ſhocked at the manners and cuſtoms which they have introduced. The grandees found themſelves totally neglected by their ſovereign, and reprobated his parſimonious diſpoſition for retrenching the expences of the court, which formerly diſplayed the utmoſt grandeur and magnificence.

Though all Europe was intereſted in reducing the power of the Bourbon family, the emperor was the perſon who was more immediately affected by the acceſſion of the duke of Anjou to the crown of Spain. Ferdinand, enraged at the perfidious conduct of the French court, reſolved to do himſelf juſtice by force of arms; and, with that view aſſembled an army, the command of which he conferred upon prince Eugene. That general entered Italy by Vincenza, paſſed the Adige without oppoſition, and defeated a body of French forces in the neighbourhood of Carpi. Being afterwards attacked by the duke of Savoy and prince Vaudemont, in his intrenchments at Chiari, he not only maintained his ground, but obliged the enemy to retire with the loſs of five thouſand men. Towards the end of the campaign, he took poſſeſſion of all the Mantuan territories, except Mantua itſelf, and Goita, which he immediately blocked up. He reduced all the places in the Oglio, and continued in the

* The regency conſiſted of the archbiſhop of Canterbury; ſir Nathan Wright, lord keeper, the earl of Pembroke, firſt commiſſioner of the admiralty; the duke of Devonſhire, the earl of Jerſey, and lord Godolphin.

field

field during the whole winter, exhibiting repeated marks of the moſt undaunted courage, indefatigable vigilance, and conſummate prudence.

In January he formed a deſign of ſurprizing Cremona; and this project he had nearly accompliſhed. An old aqueduct, which led into the town, being deemed impaſſable, was entirely neglected. Through this he introduced a body of men, who forced one of the gates, by which the prince and his followers entered. Villeroy, the governor, being arouſed by the noiſe, ran into the ſtreets, where he was taken priſoner; and the town muſt have been infallibly reduced, had prince Eugene been ſupported by another body of troops, which he had ordered to advance from the Parmeſan, to ſecure the bridge. Theſe not arriving in time, an Iriſh regiment in the French ſervice took poſſeſſion of the bridge; and the prince was obliged to retire with his priſoners, including Villeroy and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction. This enterprize, though it had not ſucceeded to his wiſhes, was conducted with ſuch ſpirit and intrepidity, as greatly enhanced the military fame of prince Eugene, who was now conſidered as the moſt conſummate general of the age.

The French king, alarmed at the progreſs of the Imperialiſts, reinforced his army in Italy, and appointed the duke of Vendome to command his forces in that country. He likewiſe importuned the duke of Savoy to furniſh him with ſome auxiliaries: but that prince, having nothing farther to expect from France, manifeſted extreme indifference: His ſecond daughter was about this time married to the new king of Spain, who met her at Barcelona, where the nuptials were celebrated. Philip was now greatly indiſpoſed, and had frequent periodical returns of a fever. He was alſo involved in a warm diſpute with the States of Catalonia, who refuſed to pay a tax he had impoſed, till he ſhould confirm their privileges; and after a long and violent altercation he was at laſt obliged to comply with their demand.

Lewis, diſappointed in his applications to the duke of Savoy, endeavoured to procure aſſiſtance from other dominions. He engaged in his intereſt the elector of Bavaria, and his brother the elector of Cologne, together with the dukes of Wolfenbuttle and Saxe-Gotha, who, while they affected to maintain a neutrality, proceeded in levying troops, and making ſuch preparations for war, as plainly demonſtrated that they had received ſubſidies from France. He alſo formed ſo ſtrong a party in the Portugueſe councils, that his moſt faithful majeſty, though perſonally attached to the Auſtrian family, was obliged to agree to a treaty of alliance with the French monarch.

About this time an event occurred which had been long expected, and which was by no means diſagreeable to the Engliſh nation. Soon after the ſigning of the GRAND ALLIANCE, James the Second died at St. Germains; and Lewis XIV. in violation of the treaty of Ryſwick, acknowledged the ſon of that unfortunate prince as king of Great Britain and Ireland, under the title of James the Third*.

In his laſt illneſs, he did not mention the legitimacy of his ſon; an omiſſion, which was ſubject to different conſtructions. Some imagined his ſincerity would not permit him to affirm a falſehood in his dying moments; while others believed, that having mentioned the matter ſo frequently before, he thought it unneceſſary to reſume it in his laſt extremity. He certainly treated him as his ſon in every reſpect. He conjured him to prefer his religion to all worldly conſiderations, and even to renounce

* James, like the reſt of his family, was better qualified to bear adverſity than proſperity. Since the miſcarriage of his laſt attempt for recovering his throne, he had abandoned all thoughts of enjoyments, and devoted his whole attention to the concerns of his ſoul. Though he could not prevent the active genius of his queen from forming new plans of reſtoration, he was always beſt pleaſed when wholly diſengaged from ſuch chimerical projects. Hunting was his chief diverſion; religion was his conſtant care. Nothing could be more harmleſs than the life of this deluded prince; and in the courſe of it he ſubjected himſelf to uncommon ſeverities. He rigidly obſerved all the regular faſts; and, by way of penance, frequently ſubmitted his body to be bound with a ſharp-pointed iron chain. He paid an annual viſit to the poor monks of La-Trappe, who were much pleaſed with his humble and pious deportment. His pride and arbitrary diſpoſition ſeemed to have vaniſhed with his greatneſs. He became affable, kind, and eaſy, to all his dependants: and his religion appeared, in ſome meaſure, to have improved the virtues of his heart, though it certainly impaired the faculties of his mind.

the idea of a crown, if he could not enjoy it without offering violence to his faith. He recommended to him the practice of juſtice and chriſtian forgiveneſs; declaring with reſpect to himſelf, that he heartily forgave the prince of Orange, the emperor, and all his enemies. He died with great marks of devotion, and, at his own requeſt, was buried in the church of the Engliſh Benedictines in Paris, without any pompous funeral ſolemnity.

Immediately after his death, a queſtion aroſe in the French council, what ſteps ſhould be taken with regard to his ſon. The miniſtry agreed in adviſing their maſter to remain paſſive, and ſuffer him to aſſume what title he pleaſed: but the dauphin and madam de Maintenon eſpouſed the intereſt of the pretended prince of Wales, and perſuaded Lewis to acknowledge him as king. In conſequence of which he was proclaimed king of England at St. Germains, being then in the fourteenth year of his age, and treated as ſuch at the court of Verſailles*. His title was alſo recogniſed by the king of Spain, the duke of Savoy and the Pope.

William was no ſooner informed of this tranſaction, than he diſpatched a courier to the king of Sweden, as guarantee of the treaty of Ryſwick, to complain of this manifeſt violation. At the ſame time he recalled the earl of Mancheſter from Paris, and ordered him to return without the ceremony of taking leave. That nobleman immediately withdrew, after having acquainted the marquis de Torcy with the order he had received. Lewis endeavoured to vindicate his own conduct in a long manifeſto, which he diſperſed throughout Europe. This paper was ſuppreſſed by order of government, and Pouſſin commanded to depart the kingdom. The whole nation was enraged at Lewis, for pretending to declare who ſhould be their ſovereign. Addreſſes were preſented to the lords-juſtices, by the city of London, and by all the counties and corporations in the kingdom, expreſſing the keeneſt reſentment of the Gallic king's preſumption. Theſe addreſſes were tranſmitted to the king, who was ſtill in Holland; and who, having now completed his treaties of alliance, reſolved to return to his own kingdom. His voyage, however, was, for ſome time, delayed on account of a ſevere indiſpoſition, which he at laſt overcame, but it impaired his conſtitution to ſuch a degree, that he plainly perceived his end was approaching. He aſſured the earl of Portland, he felt himſelf ſo weak, that he could not expect to live another ſummer: but conceiving that the apprehenſion of his death would be extremely prejudicial to the general intereſt of Europe, he charged him to conceal the circumſtance till his actual diſſolution.

In the mean time he embarked for England, and landed at Margate on the fourth of November. The firſt point debated in council, after his arrival, was, whether it would be moſt prudent to continue or diſſolve the preſent parliament. The commons in the laſt ſeſſion had diſcovered their principles in ſuch an unequivocal and alarming manner, that it ſeemed dangerous to truſt them with another meeting: and ſome of them had even declared, in private conferences, that they were determined to adhere to their former maxims. The parliament was accordingly diſſolved on the eleventh of the month, and a new one appointed to meet on the thirteenth of December.

Never did the two parties proceed with ſuch zeal and activity in influencing the elections; but the nation was ſo fully apprized of the pernicious deſigns of the Tories, that the Whigs obtained an incontеſtible majority. The choice of ſpeaker, however, fell upon Harley, who was deemed the principal leader of the former faction, and who was propoſed in oppoſition to ſir Thomas Lyttleton, recommended by the court.

The marquis de Torcy now attempted in vain to apologize to the king of England for the conduct of his maſter; the inſult to William was too flagrant to be patiently borne, and he ordered the French envoy to quit his dominions. Nor did the Engliſh parliament to which William made an appropriate ſpeech on the occaſion, diſcover leſs reſentment at the inſult offered to their ſovereign, and to themſelves, by the French monarch; in preſuming to declare who

* Lewis made a formal viſit to the young prince, to congratulate him on his nominal royalty. This behaviour, he pretended, was no infraction of the treaty of Ryſwick, as he did not intend to aſſiſt the new king againſt the preſent poſſeſſor of the throne which he claimed; but ſuch ſophiſtry was not calculated to convince William.

ſhould be their king, and in naming a perſon excluded from the ſucceſſion by an act of the whole legiſlature. They paſſed a bill of attainder againſt the pretended prince of Wales*, for aſſuming the title of king of England; and alſo a bill to oblige all perſons, enjoying any office in church or ſtate, to abjure his claim to the crown. They entered warmly into the idea of the war, which was eagerly deſired by the people; voted forty thouſand men for land-ſervice, agreeable to the terms of the Grand Alliance, and an equal number for the navy. And they preſented an addreſs to the throne, requeſting the king to inſert in the treaty an article, which was readily aſſented to by the contracting powers, that no peace ſhould be concluded with France, till reparation was made by the French monarch, for the indignity offered to his majeſty and the nation, in declaring the *pretended* prince of Wales king of England.

Soon after, a moſt excellent and patriotic ſcheme, was projected, which failed ſolely through the unhappy animoſities, which prevailed in the northern parts of the iſland. This was an union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland. A propoſal had been ſtarted for this purpoſe, by the earl of Nottingham, who, when the bill of abjuration paſſed in the houſe of peers, declared, that, though he differed from the majority, in many particulars relative to the bill, he was a friend to the deſign of it; and, in order to ſecure a Proteſtant ſucceſſion, he thought a union of the whole iſland was abſolutely neceſſary. He therefore voted for an addreſs to the king to diſſolve the parliament of Scotland, now ſitting, as the legality of it might be called in queſtion, on account of its having been originally a convention; and that he would ſummon a new parliament; which might be enabled to negociate the union of the two kingdoms.

The king himſelf was ſo fully convinced of the utility and importance of this deſign, that, even when he was diſabled perſonally from appearing in parliament, he wrote a letter to the commons, expreſſing an anxious deſire, that a treaty for that purpoſe might be proceeded on, and earneſtly recommended ſuch a meaſure to the conſideration of the houſe. But the ferment raiſed in Scotland, by the diſappointment of the Darien enterprize, was ſtill ſo great, that it was deemed hazardous to riſk the calling of a new parliament, at ſuch a critical conjuncture. The project was therefore poſtponed, and reſerved for a more favourable opportunity.

The king had already formed a ſcheme of reducing the exorbitant power of France. Before his return from Holland, he had concerted with his allies the operations of the enſuing campaign: but William did not live to ſee the reſult of theſe operations. His conſtitution was now almoſt exhauſted, though he endeavoured to conceal the effects of his malady, and to repair his health by exerciſe.

On the twenty-firſt of February, in riding from Kenſington to Hampton Court, his horſe fell under him, and he was thrown upon the ground with ſuch violence, as to produce a fracture in his collar-bone. His attendants conveyed him to Hampton Court, where the bone was ſet by Ronjat, his ſerjeant-ſurgeon. In the evening he returned to Kenſington in his coach, and the two ends of the fractured bone having been ſeparated by the jolting of the carriage, were replaced under the inſpection of Bidloo, his phyſician.

He was apparently in a fair way of recovering from the accident, till the firſt of March, when an inflammation appeared in his knee, accompanied with much pain and weakneſs. On the following day he granted a commiſſion under the great ſeal to ſeveral peers for giving the royal aſſent to the bills, which had paſſed both houſes; particularly the act of attainder againſt the pretended prince of Wales, and another in favour of the Quakers, importing, that their ſolemn affirmation and declaration, ſhould be accepted inſtead of an oath in the uſual form. On the ſeventh of March the king was ſo well recovered of his lameneſs, that he took ſeveral turns in the gallery at Kenſington; but finding himſelf weak and fatigued, he ſat down upon a couch, where he fell aſleep, and was ſoon after ſeized with a ſhivering, which terminated in a fever and diarrhea. He was attended by ſir Thomas Millington, ſir Richard Blackmore, and others of the faculty, whoſe endeavours procured him a temporary relief.

He continued tolerably eaſy till the fifth, when-

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when the diarrhea returned with great violence. On the ſixth, he granted another commiſſion paſſing the bills for the malt-tax, and the act of abjuration: and as he was now ſo extremely weak, that he could not write his name, a ſtamp was prepared for his ſigning the commiſſion, which according to due form muſt be ſubſcribed by the king, in the preſence of the lord-keeper, and the clerks of parliament. The ſame day the earl of Albemarle arriving from Holland, gave him an account of the ſituation of affairs on the continent; and could any thing of that nature have engaged his attention, he muſt have rejoiced at the favourable intelligence: but he received the information with unuſual apathy, and ſaid, *Je tire vers ma fin:* "I draw "towards my end."

In the evening he thanked Dr. Bidloo for his care and tenderneſs ſaying, "I am convinced "that you and the other learned phyſicians have "done all that your art can do for my relief: "but, finding all means ineffectual, I ſubmit," He was attended by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the biſhop of Saliſbury; who on Sunday morning adminiſtered to him the ſacrament. His ſenſes remained entire to the laſt moment: but he was ſo weak, that he could hardly expreſs himſelf, ſo as to be underſtood. The lords of the privy council and ſeveral noblemen were in an adjoining apartment, and to ſome of them, who were admitted, he uttered a few words with a faint and feeble voice. He thanked lord Overkirk for his long and faithful ſervices; and delivered to lord Albemarle the keys of his cloſet and ſcrutore, telling him, he knew what to do with them. He enquired for the earl of Portland; but being ſpeechleſs before that nobleman arrived, he graſped his hand, and laid it to his heart with marks of the tendereſt affection. On the eighth of March, about eight in the evening, he expired in the arms of Mr. Sewel, one of the pages of the back ſtairs, in the fifty-ſecond year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign. The lords Lexington and Scarborough, who were in waiting, perceiving his majeſty was dead, ordered Ronjat to take from his left arm a black ribbon, to which was attached a gold ring, containing ſome of the late queen Mary's hair: a proof of his ſincere regard for the memory of that princeſs.

The body being opened* and embalmed, lay in ſtate for ſome time at Kenſington; and on the twelfth of April was interred in a vault of Henry the Seventh's chapel, in Weſtminſter Abbey†. In the beginning of May, a will, which he had executed in October 1695, and entruſted with monſieur Schuylemberg, was opened at the Hague. In this he had declared his couſin prince Friſon of Naſſau, ſtadtholder of Frieſland, his ſole and univerſal heir, and appointed the States General his executors. He took no notice either of the king of Pruſſia, the prince of Naſſau Siegen, or the princeſs of Anhalt, who all pretended they had a right to the ſucceſſion. But, by a codicil annexed to the will, he bequeathed to the earl of Albemarle, the lordſhip of Breevert, and a legacy of two hundred thouſand guilders.

By his friends, William has been repreſented as poſſeſſed of every virtue: by his enemies, as guilty of every vice: but he neither merited the extravagant encomiums of the one, nor the invidious cenſures of the other; though the opinion of the former, will, upon a careful examination, appear to be much better founded, than that of the latter. William was rather dignified in his deportment, than majeſtic in his perſon. He did not riſe above mediocrity in his ſtature; and was not remarkable for elegance of ſhape: he had an aquiline noſe, ſparkling eyes, a high forehead, and a grave and ſolemn aſpect. From an immature birth, he derived a weak and feeble conſtitution; but by the force of temperance and exerciſe, he was enabled to undergo greater fatigues in the field, and greater application in the cabinet, than many princes bleſſed with ſuperior natural advantages, but leſs virtuous and regular in their conduct, have been able to encounter. His manly diſpoſition evinced itſelf at an early period, in an eagerneſs to quit the humiliation of female tutelage. Though he had not the beſt of inſtructors, he made conſiderable

* The ſurgeons who opened his body, and the phyſicians who witneſſed that operation, repreſented the extreme inflammation of the left ſide of the lungs, and of the neareſt part of the *pleura*, as the immediate cauſe of his death.

† The funeral was conducted with œconomy, as it was deemed imprudent to be laviſh on the eve of a new war.

proficiency

proficiency in his ſtudies; and acquired a competent knowledge of the Latin tongue, of the principle modern languages, and of hiſtory, geography, and mathematics: though De Wit had endeavoured to divert him from too cloſe a purſuit of affairs of ſtate, that he might not be tempted to aim at the dignity of ſtadtholder. Poſſeſſed of a ſtrong and tenacious memory, he hardly ever forgot a circumſtance, that was worth remembering; and he was well qualified to improve, to the regulation of his own conduct, every incident in ancient and modern hiſtory. Poſſeſſed rather of a ſound judgment than a lively imagination, his ſchemes were always formed with uncommon ability; and, as a natural conſequence, though they were ſeldom crowned with remarkable ſucceſs, they never proved wholly ineffectual: a fate, which frequently attends the deſigns of thoſe, who enjoy a greater ſhare of the latter, than of the former quality.

He was frequently placed in the moſt critical and delicate ſituations; and yet, by his ſingular prudence, he generally conducted himſelf with ſuch ability, as would have entitled any other perſon, even acting in the moſt common circumſtances, to the character of wiſdom and ſagacity. But, though ſuch was often his ſituation, from neceſſity, he never threw himſelf, voluntarily, into any great or inſuperable difficulties; and if, by ſome unforeſeen and unavoidable accident, he became involved in ſuch perplexities, he never failed to extricate himſelf, with ſuch dexterity, as to raiſe his character higher in the eſtimation of the world. Virtuous and regular in his own conduct, he endeavoured to recommend the practice of morality to all his courtiers and dependants; but his example had too little influence on the manners of men, corrupted by the licentiouſneſs of a former reign, and who ſtill continued to indulge themſelves in every ſpecies of debauchery and vice.

He was a prince of great vigour of mind, firmneſs of diſpoſition, and intrepidity of ſpirit; but ungraceful in his perſon and addreſs, diſguſtingly cold in his manner, and dry, ſilent, and ſolitary in his humour. To a happy concurrence of circumſtances, and a ſteady perſeverance in his plans, rather than to any extraordinary talents, either in a civil or military capacity, he was indebted for that high reputation, and extenſive influence, which he acquired and ſo long enjoyed among the princes of Chriſtendom. He was, however, an able politician, and a good ſoldier, though not a conſummate general. He has been ſeverely blamed for thoſe intrigues which he employed to dethrone his uncle and father-in-law*. But as William's heart ſeems to have been as dead to the ſympathetic feelings, as his ſoul was inſenſible to the charms of literature and the beauties of the elegant arts, it is poſſible that, while he was guiding the great political ſyſtem, he might be led by the illuſions of ambition, under the appearance of principle, to think the ties of blood, and the right of inheritance, a neceſſary ſacrifice to the welfare of Europe, and the intereſts of the reformed religion. England, at leaſt, was obliged to him for ſupporting her cauſe, in her grand ſtruggle for liberty and a Proteſtant ſucceſſion. But ſhe has dearly paid for thoſe bleſſings, by being involved in deſtructive foreign wars, partly indeed rendered neceſſary by the ſupineneſs of her two preceding princes, but in which ſhe ought naturally to have had no concern; by the introduction of the infamous practice of corrupting parliaments, in order to engage them to ſupport thoſe wars: and by their unavoidable conſequence, a grievous national debt, which, daily accumulating, and augmenting the weight of government, threatens us with the worſt of evils†.

Impreſſed with a deep ſenſe of the awful truths

* Dr. *Coote*, however, obſerves, that "his conduct with "reſpect to England, has met with an equal ſhare of admi- "ration and cenſure. It would have been more deſerving "of praiſe, had he not inſidiouſly intrigued with the mi- "niſters of James, to ſmooth the way to his own acquiſi- "tion of the throne. Abſtractedly from that conſidera- "tion, his interference in the removal of a tyrant, though "his own uncle and father-in-law, will ever merit the ap- "plauſe of the friends of mankind." Vol. vii. p. 219.

† A certain proportion of public debt, by increaſing circulation, and creating a new ſpecies of money, always ready to be employed in any beneficial undertaking, is ſuppoſed to be of advantage to a trading people. But what that proportion may be, no politician has hitherto pretended to determine. It is however certain, that the national debt of England has long exceeded, not only all calculations of commercial benefit, but even what the kingdom could poſſibly bear; and that the enormous taxes, levied

truths of religion, he acted up, as near as the frailty of human nature will commonly permit, to the true ſpirit of Chriſtianity; and, though educated in the principles of the Preſbyterian party, he had a charitable indulgence for all who differed from him in matters of opinion: nothing gave him greater uneaſineſs, than the unhappy diviſions which prevailed among the ſeveral denominations of Proteſtants; nor was there any thing, which he more earneſtly deſired, than to unite them all in one general and brotherly communion.

But what ſeems chiefly to have diſtinguiſhed his character, and to have conſtituted his ruling and predominant paſſion, was a ſincere regard to the natural rights and liberties of mankind. Animated by this noble ardour, he bravely undertook, and ſucceſsfully accompliſhed, even in his moſt tender years, the delivery of his native country, when it was not only menaced with immediate ſubjection, but was almoſt involved in utter ruin and deſtruction. Prompted by the ſame generous principle, he reſcued the inhabitants of this iſland from the dreadful calamity of civil and religious ſlavery. The Gallic tyrant dreaded his courage, activity, and perſeverance; the adverſaries of that potentate reſpected and admired him as the hero of their confederacy; and his countrymen repoſed ſo much confidence in him, that they ſuffered him to exerciſe an authority which exceeded the limits of his ſtation. "Over the Engliſh he had leſs influence. "His unſocial reſerve, and unaccommodating "manners, his inattention to conciliatory arts, "his preference of the counſels of aliens, who "were unacquainted with the conſtitution of "the kingdom, his laviſh diſtribution of his fa"vours among thoſe foreigners, and his fre"quent and long abſence from his ſubjects, "concurred to render him unpopular. His "government was acceptable to neither of the "parties, which contended for power and ſu"periority. The Tories could never forgive "him for the breach which he cauſed in the "hereditary ſucceſſion; and though he occa"ſionally admitted their leaders to a ſhare of the "adminiſtration, they were diſguſted at his par"tial regard for his countrymen, as well as at "the influence which ſome of the Whigs con"tinued to retain." Influenced by a truly benevolent ſpirit, he commenced the champion of the general liberties of Europe, which he not only preſerved from impending ruin, but eſtabliſhed upon a firm and ſolid foundation. He checked the growing power of the French monarchy; and, though he could not humble it to ſuch a degree as he wiſhed and expected, he yet reſtrained it within ſuch limits, and formed ſuch a mighty confederacy againſt it, as rendered it, at that time, and, it is to be hoped, will always render it, unable to endanger the freedom and independency of Chriſtendom.

It muſt be acknowledged, however, that with all his virtues, William was not exempt from errors and imperfections. Naturally incapable of bearing contradiction, though by no means delighting in flattery, he was too little inclined to hearken to the advice of thoſe, who were moſt able and willing to beſtow it; and too ready to rely on thoſe who never could be reconciled to his perſon or government. Hence his imprudent diſſolution of the convention parliament, from whom he received his crown and dignity; and his convocation of another of a very different ſpirit, who would willingly have deprived him of his ſovereign authority. To this muſt be aſcribed his impolitic, and ſeemingly ungrateful conduct, in deſerting the Whigs, his only ſteady friends, and confiding in the Tories, his inveterate and implacable enemies.

Smollet concludes the hiſtory of this prince in the following terms.—"William was a fataliſt in "religion, indefatigable in war, enterpriſing in "politics, dead to all the warm and generous "emotions of the human heart; a cold relation, "an indifferent huſband, a diſagreeable man, "an ungracious prince, and an imperious ſove"reign†."

to pay the intereſt of that debt, by enhancing the price of the neceſſaries of life, of labour, and conſequently of every ſpecies of manufacture, have injured the ſale of our commodities in foreign markets; have ſtrengthened the enſlaving influence of the crown, by increaſing the number of its dependents, if not broke, in ſome meaſure, the free ſpirit of the people, by multiplying their neceſſities.

† This ſovereign had no iſſue.

ANNE.

ANNE*. A. D. 1702.

THE death of William the Third threw the allies into the utmoſt confuſion, and occaſioned joy and feſtivity in the court of France; but thoſe raptures were tranſitory and illuſive: the excluſion of the Catholic branch of the houſe of Stuart, made for the ſucceſſion of the Proteſtant heir of the family. The crown now devolved upon the princeſs Anne of Denmark, ſecond daughter of the late king James, and the wife of George, the brother of Chriſtian V. of Denmark. She was now in the thirty-eighth year of her age; a princeſs of a mild diſpoſition, and virtuous deportment. The firſt act of her reign, was to convene the privy council, to whom ſhe declared, that ſhe was fully ſenſible of the loſs which the nation had ſuſtained, in the death of his late majeſty, and of the burthen which it had entailed upon her: that, influenced, however, by a ſincere regard for the religion and liberties of her country, nothing ſhould be wanting on her part to preſerve them inviolable; to maintain the ſucceſſion in the Proteſtant line, and the government in church and ſtate, as by law eſtabliſhed: and that it was her fixed reſolution to proceed in the preparations for oppoſing the exorbitant power of France, and to convince her allies, that ſhe would reſolutely purſue the true intereſt of England, and that of the confederates, for the ſupport of the common cauſe.

The members of the privy council having taken the oaths, ſhe iſſued a proclamation, ſignifying her pleaſure, that all perſons in offices of authority under government, at the deceaſe of the late king, ſhould continue in thoſe offices till her further commands ſhould be made known. As, by an act paſſed in the preceding reign, the parliament continued ſitting even after the demiſe of the king, both houſes inſtantly met, and unanimouſly voted an addreſs of condolence and congratulation; and in the afternoon, the queen was proclaimed.

The lords declared, that they firmly reſolved to maintain her unqueſtionable right and title, and the ſucceſſion in the Proteſtant line, againſt all her enemies: that the loſs they had ſuſtained was no otherwiſe to be repaired, than by a vigorous adherence to her majeſty, and her allies, in proſecution of thoſe meaſures already concerted to reduce the exorbitant power of France: and that they hoped her majeſty, for the encouragement of her allies, would, with all convenient ſpeed, aſſure them of her ſincere intention to eſtabliſh the alliances which were already concluded, and which they would exert with their utmoſt endeavours to enable her to maintain. The commons obſerved, that they were determined to aſſiſt and ſupport her on the throne, where God had placed her, in ſpite of the endeavours of the friends and abettors of the pretended prince of Wales; and, that relying on her majeſty's reſolution to adhere to the alliances, which had lately been contracted for preſerving the general liberties of Europe, they would effectually provide for the public credit of the nation.

Theſe addreſſes were graciouſly received by the queen, who, on the eleventh of March, repaired to the houſe of peers, with the uſual ſolemnity, where ſhe delivered her firſt ſpeech to the parliament. She ſignified her zeal for the maintenance of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, and the eſtabliſhed government both in church and ſtate; remarked that the conjunction of affairs required the greateſt application and diſpatch, as too much could not be done for the ſupport of the confederacy againſt France, ſtrongly recommended an union with Scotland, and deſired a new ſettlement of the civil liſt. In the courſe of her addreſs, ſhe complimented the memory of William, by mentioning him "as the "great ſupport, not only of theſe kingdoms, but "of all Europe." That, as ſhe knew her own

* Prince George of Denmark, ſecond ſon of Frederic III. and younger brother of Chriſtian V. kings of Denmark, came into England, and was married to the princeſs Anne, on the 28th of July 1683. The ceremony was ſolemnly performed by the biſhop of London, in the chapel royal at St. James's.

heart

to be entirely Engliſh, ſhe could very ſincerely aſſure them, that there was not any thing they could expect or deſire of her, which ſhe ſhould not always be ready to perform for the happineſs and proſperity of England: and that they ſhould always find her a ſtrict and religious obſerver of her word*.

The lords anſwered the ſpeech by a warm addreſs: the commons contented themſelves with ſending a meſſage of thanks. An addreſs of condolence and congratulation was preſented by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury and clergy of London, the biſhop of the metropolis being then indiſpoſed. The ſame cuſtomary compliment was adopted by the diſſenters in and about London, and by all the counties, cities, towns, and corporations of England. In theſe addreſſes a great diverſity of ſtile, as well as ſentiment, was particularly remarked. Moſt of them mentioned the late king with the higheſt reſpect and gratitude: ſome, however, named him with indifference: others omitted to mention either him or his death, and ſimply congratulated the queen's acceſſion to the crown: ſome threw reflections on the memory of the king, and intimated, that he had treated the queen with indifference. The queen manifeſted great policy and prudence on this occaſion. To ſome of the addreſſors ſhe replied in a gracious manner: to others ſhe expreſſed herſelf in general terms, ſome ſhe gratified with a complacent ſmile: and ſome anſwers were aſcribed to her, which ſhe publicly diſavowed.

On the firſt information of the king's death, the Dutch were ſeized with terror and conſternation. The States immediately aſſembled, and diſpatched letters to the cities and provinces, informing them of this unfortunate event, and exhorting them to union and perſeverance. The expreſs from England having brought her majeſty's addreſs to her privy council, they cauſed it to be tranſlated into French and Dutch, and diſperſed every where for the encouragement of the people. On the following day, penſionary Fagel imparted to the States of Holland a letter, which he had received from the earl of Marlborough, containing aſſurances, in the queen's name, of union and aſſiſtance. Thus animated, the States of Holland proceeded in a body to the aſſembly of the States General, and declared their reſolution to adhere to the alliances which had lately been contracted, and to ſacrifice their lives and fortunes, rather than abandon their religion and liberty. The city of Amſterdam, as a more particular mark of their zeal, propoſed in addition to their own proportion, to advance money to thoſe provinces, who might otherwiſe be unable to furniſh their reſpective quotas.

In a few days, queen Anne tranſmitted a letter to the States, confirming her former aſſurances: but what chiefly contributed to give vigour to their reſolutions, was the arrival of the earl of Marlborough, whom her majeſty had declared captain-general of her forces both at home and abroad, and appointed her ambaſſador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the States General. He aſſured them, that the queen, his miſtreſs, would faithfully adhere to the alliances, which had been concluded by the late king, and exert her utmoſt for preſerving the common liberties of Europe. The ſorrow occaſioned in England and Holland, by the death of William, could only be exceeded by the joy which it occaſioned at Rome and Paris. The French were tranſported with the intelligence, and were ſo apprehenſive that it would not prove true, that they impriſoned the perſon who firſt introduced ſuch a report at Calais, till his information was confirmed. At Rome, the joy of the people was ſo extravagant, and broke out in ſuch in-

* There were two expreſſions in this ſpeech, that were not generally approved. The firſt was, the queen's ſaying, "that her heart was entirely Engliſh," a reflection was ſuppoſed to be implied againſt the late king, who was generally believed to have a greater regard for the Dutch than the Engliſh, and to prefer the intereſt of the former to that of the latter. Conſidering the terms on which ſhe had lived with his majeſty, during a conſiderable part of his reign, it will not appear ſtrange that ſhe had contracted ſome prejudices againſt him: though it might be deemed inconſiſtent with the dignity of a queen of England, to reſent the injuries of a princeſs of Denmark. Another expreſſion was thought exceptionable, "that they "ſhould always find her a ſtrict and religious obſerver of "her word." A ſimilar promiſe had been given by her father, in his firſt ſpeech, which he neglected to perform; and to which ſhe perhaps alluded. The former expreſſion muſt have been the effect of deſign, and therefore cannot be juſtified. The latter might proceed from inattention, and, perhaps, flowed from the ſincerity rather than the inſincerity of her heart.

decent

GEORGE PRINCE of DENMARK

decent raptures, that cardinal Oremani, the Imperial miniſter, complained of them to the Pope, as an inſult on his maſter the emperor, who was William's friend, confederate, and ally.

In the mean time, the Engliſh parliament was employed in conſidering the ſeveral affairs, which the queen had recommended from the throne. They had ſettled the civil liſt upon her for life; and when the bill received the royal aſſent, ſhe aſſured them, that one hundred thouſand pounds of this revenue, ſhould be appropriated to the public ſervice of the preſent year: an inſtance of liberality, which contributed greatly to endear her to her ſubjects. On the twenty-fourth of March, the oath of abjuration was taken by the ſpeaker and members, none of the Tories refuſing compliance; though with what ſincerity they acted upon this occaſion, was but too evident by their ſubſequent proceedings. The queen had always entertained a ſtrong attachment to this party, and an averſion to the Whigs. She had been inſtructed to regard the former as the true friends of the church and monarchy, and the latter as Preſbyterians and republicans. In the choice of her miniſters, the queen chiefly favoured the Tories, (or the high-church party as the zealots for the church and monarchy were ſtyled)*.

The prince of Denmark was declared generaliſſimo of all the queen's forces, both by ſea and land; and afterwards created lord high admiral: the earl of Pembroke being diſmiſſed with the offer of a penſion, which, though his circumſtances ſeemed to require it, he generouſly refuſed. The prince, as admiral, was aſſiſted by a council, conſiſting of ſir George Rooke, ſir David Mitchell, George Churchill, and Richard Hill. As this court was new, it could not properly be conſtituted without the conſent of parliament: but, from reſpect to the queen, no objection was ſtarted againſt it, and it was permitted to act without interruption.

Though the Tories had promiſed to gratify the inclinations of the people, by adhering to the treaties which had been lately concluded, it ſoon appeared that the more violent among them could not ſo eaſily overcome their prejudices. A motion having been made in council to declare war againſt France and Spain, the earl of Rocheſter alledged, that ſuch a ſtep would probably be attended with the moſt dangerous conſequences: the earl of Marlborough maintained, that the honour of the nation was concerned to fulfil the late king's engagements; and that France could never be reduced within due bounds, unleſs the Engliſh ſhould enter, as principals, into the quarrel. This opinion was ſupported by the dukes of Somerſet and Devonſhire, the earl of Pembroke and others; and the Tories, perceiving that nothing leſs would ſatisfy the nation, were, at laſt, obliged to adopt the ſame ſentiments. The queen accordingly reſolved to declare war, and communicated her intention to the houſe of commons, by whom it was approved, and on the fourth of May, the declaration was ſolemnly publiſhed.

The French king was equally enraged and aſtoniſhed at the declarations of the Emperor, England, and the States General, which were iſſued on the ſame day. When his miniſter,

* The earl of Rocheſter was continued lord lieutenant of Ireland, and enjoyed a conſiderable ſhare of her majeſty's confidence: the privy ſeal was committed to the marquis of Normandy †: the earl of Nottingham and ſir Charles Hedges were appointed ſecretaries of ſtate: the earl of Jerſey was made chamberlain of the houſehold; the earl of Bradford treaſurer; Peregrine Bertie, vice-chamberlain; ſir Edward Seymour, comptroller of the houſehold; and ſir John Leviſon Gower, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaſter. The earl of Abingdon, viſcount Weymouth, lord Dartmouth, Muſgrave, Greenvil, Howe, Harcourt, and others, who during the late reign, had diſcovered the moſt violent and implacable averſion to the government, were now ſworn of the privy council; while the names of lord Somers, Halliſax, and others attached to revolution-principles, were excluded from the liſt. The earl of Marlborough, however, and lord Godolphin, were alſo admitted into her majeſty's confidence; but it may not be improper to intimate, that both theſe noblemen were ſuppoſed to be of the Tory party; friends of their country. Godolphin, however, declined accepting the office of treaſurer, till he was overcome by the importunities of Marlborough, to whoſe eldeſt daughter his ſon had been married. This nobleman refuſed to command the armies abroad, unleſs the treaſury ſhould be placed under the command of Godolphin, on whoſe punctuality, in point of remittances, he knew he could depend; and the nation was, at that time, ſo eager for a war with France, that, had the Tories preſumed to oppoſe that meaſure, the queen, with all her authority, would not have been able to continue them in power.

† *It was this nobleman, when earl of Mulgrave, who made his addreſſes to the queen, then princeſs Anne; and though they were checked the moment they were diſcovered, ſhe always retained a regard for him.*

de Torcy, read them in his hearing, he ſaid nothing againſt the emperor; ſenſible, perhaps, that his conduct to the Auſtrian family had deſerved it. He reflected ſeverely on the queen of England for reſenting his conduct reſpecting the pretended prince of Wales: but what gave him the higheſt indignation was the declaration of the States General. Having taken it in his hand, and glanced it over, he threw it on the table in a tranſport of rage; and with a vanity truly characteriſtical of himſelf and his nation declared, "that meſſieurs the Dutch "merchants ſhould one day repent of their in-"ſolence and preſumption, in declaring war "againſt ſo great a monarch."

The queen having recommended an union between England and Scotland, a bill was now introduced, empowering her majeſty to name commiſſioners to treat with the Scots upon that ſubject. The Tories immediately took the alarm. They knew, that, ſhould ever their deſigns in favour of the pretended prince of Wales ſucceed, the firſt attempt muſt be made in Scotland; and they were ſenſible, that, by the union of the two kingdoms; all their hopes would be annihilated. They conſequently exerted their utmoſt endeavours to defeat it. The bill, however, paſſed the two houſes, and afterwards received the royal aſſent. The Jacobites endeavoured to vilify the character of the late king, whoſe memory they treated with the moſt indecent ſcurrility*.

The buſineſs of the ſeſſion being finiſhed on the twenty-fifth of May, the queen went to the houſe of peers, and after giving her aſſent to ſeveral public and private bills, prorogued the parliament to the ſeventh of July†.

Soon after the queen, in conſequence of the power inveſted in her by acts of parliament of both kingdoms, appointed commiſſioners‡ for treating of an union between England and Scotland. On the twenty-ſecond of October, the commiſſioners met for the firſt time, at the Cockpit, where, after both commiſſions had been read, the lord keeper Wright delivered a ſhort harangue on the ſubject of their meeting, which was replied to by the duke of Queenſberry: and on the twentieth of the following month, they adjuſted the preliminaries.

About this time the campaign had been opened in Germany, and proved very favourable to the allies. The old duke of Zell, and his nephew, the elector of Brunſwick, had ſurpriſed the dukes of Wolfenbuttle and Saxe Gotha, whom they compelled to renounce their engagements with France. Keyſerſwaert had been reduced after a deſperate reſiſtance, by the prince of Naſſau Saarbrugh, mareſchal du camp to the emperor. The earl of Athlone, who commanded the Dutch troops, had defeated the deſign, which the French had formed, of ſurpriſing Nimeguen. General Coehorn, at the head of a ſtrong detachment, had entered Flanders, demoliſhed the French lines between the forts of Donat and Iſabella, and laid the Chatellanie of Bruges under contribution. And the prince of Badennith had inveſted Landau, and taken it by aſſault.

Such was the ſituation affairs when the earl of Marlborough arrived in Holland, to aſſume

* As a ſpecimen of the complexion of their wit, it may not be improper to remark, that they drank to the health of Sorrel, meaning the horſe that fell with his majeſty; and under the appellation of *the little gentleman in velvet*, toaſted the mole that raiſed the hill, over which the horſe had ſtumbled. As the beaſt had formerly belonged to ſir John Fenwick, they inſinuated, that William's fate was a judgment upon him for his cruelty to that gentleman; and a Latin epigram was written on the occaſion.

† Among the ſtatutes paſſed in this ſeſſion, one is an act to oblige the Jews to maintain and provide for their Proteſtant children. By this regulation, if any Jewiſh parent, with a view to compel his Proteſtant child to change his religion, ſhould refuſe ſuch a child a maintenance, ſuitable to the ability of the parent, and the age and education of the child, the lord chancellor was empowered to make ſuch an order for the maintenance of the child, as to him ſhould ſeem moſt proper and convenient.

‡ The Engliſh commiſſioners were, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the lord keeper Wright, the dukes of Somerſet and Devonſhire, the marquis of Normandy, the earls of Pembroke, Jerſey, Burlington, Nottingham, Rocheſter, Marlborough, and Scarborough, the biſhop of London, ſir Charles Hedges, chief juſtice Holt, chief juſtice Trevor, ſir John Leviſon Gower, ſir Chriſtopher Muſgrave, ſir John Cook, Robert Harley, Charles Godolphin, Samuel Clarke, and Stephen Waller.

The Scotch commiſſioners were, the dukes of Queenſberry and Argyle, the marquiſſes of Annandale and Lothian, the earls of Seafield, Hyndford, and Leven, the viſcounts Tarbat and Stair, the lords Galloway and Boyle, ſir James Stuart, ſir George Maxwell, ſir James Smollet, ſir Alexander Douglas, ſir David Dalrymple, ſir Patrick Johnſton, Mr Montgomery, Mr Scrimger, and the provoſt of Aberdeen.

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the command of the allied troops; and when he was declared generaliſſimo of all their forces. Early in the month of July, he repaired to the army, which was now encamped under the walls of Nimeguen; and which, after calling in the detached parties, amounted to about ſixty thouſand men.

The French, who were inferior in number, were commanded by the duke of Burgundy, and under him, by the mareſchal de Boufflers. On the ſixteenth of the month, the earl paſſed the Maeſe, and made ſeveral attempts to bring the enemy to an engagement; but rather than expoſe themſelves to the hazard of a battle, they choſe to abandon the Spaniſh Guelderland, and leave it entirely to the diſcretion of the allies.

The earl did not fail to improve this advantage. He detached general Schultz with a body of troops to attack the town and caſtle of Wertz, which were both ſurrendered after a ſlight reſiſtance. In the beginning of September, he undertook the ſiege of Venlo, which capitulated on the twenty-fifth of the month, after one of the forts had been ſtormed and taken by the Engliſh volunteers under lord Cutts. In this action the young earl of Huntington gave many ſtriking ſpecimens of a martial diſpoſition*.

In the month of October the general inveſted Ruremonde, which he took after a very obſtinate defence, together with Stevenſwaert, both ſituated on the Maeſe. On his arrival at Liege, he found the ſuburbs of St. Walbrugh had been ſet on fire by the French garriſon, who had retired into the citadel and the Chatreux. The allies immediately entered the city; and in a few days opened their batteries againſt their citadel, which was taken by aſſault. On this occaſion the hereditary prince of Heſſe Caſſel behaved with remarkable bravery. He charged at the head of the Engliſh grenadiers, was the firſt perſon who mounted the breach, and with his own hands took the colours from a French officer. Violaine, the governor, and the duke of Charoſt, were made priſoners. Three hundred thouſand florins in gold and ſilver were found in the citadel, beſides notes for about twelve hundred thouſand more, drawn upon ſubſtantial merchants in Liege, who paid the money. The whole booty was ſo conſiderable, that an Engliſh grenadier is ſaid to have got a thouſand louis d'ors for his own ſhare. Thus ended the campaign, equally to the advantage of the allies and the honour of the general, who had now eſtabliſhed his military character beyond all controverſy, and perfectly ſecured the approbation and confidence of the ſtates. The earl, however, in his return to the Hague, had nearly met with a misfortune, which would not have been more diſagreeable to himſelf, than injurious to the allies. He propoſed, for the ſake of expedition, to take his paſſage by water; and accordingly embarked on the Maeſe in a ſmall boat with twenty-five ſoldiers, under the command of a lieutenant. He was joined the next morning at Ruremonde by Coehorn, in a large veſſel with ſixty men, and they were alſo eſcorted by fifty troopers, who rowed along the margin of the river. The large boat out-ſailed the other, and the horſemen miſtook the road in the dark. The French were ſtill in poſſeſſion of Guelders, the only place which they now retained in that province. A party of the garriſon, conſiſting of thirty-five men, had concealed themſelves among the ruſhes on the banks of the river, in expectation of prey; and obſerving the boat, they ſeized the rope† by which it was drawn, hauled it aſhore, diſcharged their ſmall arms and hand-grenades, and then ruſhing into it, ſecured the ſoldiers before they could aſſume a poſture of defence.

The earl was accompanied by general Opdam, and mynheer Gueldermalſen, one of the deputies of the States. The enemy knew theſe two gentlemen, who were furniſhed with paſſports, according to a civility uſually practiſed by the general on both ſides; but they were totally ignorant of the quality of the earl, who had unfor-

* Afraid of being left behind by the ſoldiers, who were ruſhing on to the charge, he earneſtly beſought them to aſſiſt him in getting over the palliſadoes, and he would cheerfully give them all the money he had in his pocket. The ſoldiers complied with his requeſt: the earl performed his promiſe; and led them on to the attack with equal bravery and ſucceſs.

† For the gratification of the leſs intelligent reader, it may not be improper to remark, that in moſt of the canals and rivers in the Low Countries, boats are drawn by ropes faſtened to horſes, that are driven along the ſide of the river.

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tunately forgot to practice this neceſſary precaution. Recollecting, however, that he had an old paſſport for his brother, general Churchill, he produced it with great preſence of mind; and the French were in ſuch confuſion, that they neglected to examine the date. But they rifled the baggage, carried off the guard as priſoners, and then permitted the boat to proceed.

The allies were almoſt as ſucceſsful on the Rhine as in Flanders. The elector of Bavaria, indeed, who had hitherto profeſſed a neutrality, ſeized the city of Ulm in Swabia, by a ſtratagem, and then openly declared for France: an inſtance of treachery which ſo irritated the empire, that the diet aſſembled at Ratiſbon, and declared war againſt the French king, and the duke of Anjou, for having invaded ſeveral fiefs of the empire in Italy, the archbiſhopric of Cologne, and dioceſe of Liege. The French likewiſe made themſelves maſters of the little town of Newburgh, in the circle of Swabia; and prince Lewis of Baden was ſo much weakened by ſending off detachments, that he had not above eight thouſand men remaining. With this ſmall army, however, he conducted himſelf in ſuch a manner as might reaſonably have been expected from a general of his abilities. The French army formed themſelves into two bodies, commanded by the marquis de Villars, and count de Guiſcard, who endeavoured to encloſe the prince, in his camp near Fridlingen; but he eluded the danger with wonderful dexterity.

He repaſſed the Rhine without oppoſition; and Villars immediately followed him, intending to fall on his rear. An obſtinate engagement enſued, in which the prince was ſo diſconcerted, that his horſe was put to flight; but the foot, in obedience to his orders, though almoſt contrary to his expectations, attacked the enemy with ſuch impetuoſity, that he obliged them to retire with great loſs. The French, however, claimed the victory, and even *Te Deum* was ſung at Paris, on the occaſion; but the prince, to undeceive the world, called in his detachments, and offered to encounter the enemy, which, however, they thought proper to decline.

Prince Eugene commanded the Imperialiſts in Italy; but he was ſo totally neglected by the court of Vienna, that his army, which was the beſt the emperor had, was ſuffered to moulder away for want of reinforcements. The prince, thus abandoned, could not prevent the duke of Vendome from relieving Mantua, and was obliged to relinquiſh ſome other places he had taken.

Philip, king of Spain, being deſirous of finiſhing the Italian war in perſon, ſet ſail for Naples; and, on his arrival there, was viſited by the cardinal legate, with a compliment from the Pope, though he could not obtain the inveſtiture of the the kingdom from his holineſs. The emperor, however, was ſo offended at the embaſſy, which the Pope had ſent to Phillip, that he ordered his ambaſſador at Rome, immediately to withdraw.

Prince Eugene, ſuppoſing the French, who were forty thouſand ſtrong, intended to attack Luzzara and Guaſtalla, paſſed the Po, with an army of about half that number, and poſted himſelf behind the dyke of Zero, in ſuch a manner, that the enemy were ignorant of his ſituation. He conceived, that on their arrival at the ground they had choſen, the horſe would march out to forage, while the foot would be employed in pitching tents, and providing for their refreſhment. His intention was to attack them unawares, while they ſhould be unprepared for reſiſtance: but mere accident rendered his ſcheme abortive. An adjutant, with an advanced guard, had the curioſity to aſcend the dyke, in order to view the country, when he diſcovered the Imperial infantry lying on their faces and their horſes in the rear, ranged in order of battle.

Notwithſtanding this diſcovery, the prince advanced to the charge with reſolution; and, after an obſtinate and bloody engagement, obliged the enemy to retire with the loſs of eight thouſand men. But as he was ſo much inferior in point of number, he was unable to maintain his ground: and the French afterwards reduced Luzzara and Guaſtalla; which furniſhed them with a pretence of claiming the honour of the victory. Prince Eugene, however, preſerved all his poſts; and Philip returned to Spain without having obtained either honour or advantage.

The ſucceſs of the combined ſquadrons had not fully anſwered the expectations of the public. The late king, a little before his death, had

had formed a deſign to reduce Cadiz; and this ſcheme it was now propoſed to reſume.

The operations at ſea were even more favourable to the allies, than thoſe by land; though not perfectly equal to their hopes or expectations. The confederate fleet under ſir George Rooke, aſſiſted by the admirals Hopſon, Fairborne, and Graydon, conſiſting of fifty Engliſh and Dutch ſhips of the line, with twelve thouſand troops on board, commanded by the duke of Ormond, appeared before Cadiz, and ſummoned that city to ſurrender to the houſe of Auſtria, or expect an attack from ſuch a formidable armament. But the governor paid little attention to this menace. The place being much ſtronger than the beſiegers expected, the duke of Ormond found it neceſſary to re-embark his troops after they had taken fort St. Catharine, made an unſucceſsful attempt on fort Matagorda, and pillaged port St. Mary, contrary to his expreſs orders. His next attempt was more fortunate. After leaving Cadiz, the confederates ſailed for Vigo, where the galleons, under convoy of twenty-three French ſhips of war, commanded by the count de Chateau-Renaud, were juſt arrived from America. The wealth on board theſe galleons being conſidered as the principal reſource of the Spaniſh monarchy, and even of the whole houſe of Bourbon, (Lewis XIV. expecting a great ſhare in it) great precaution had been taken to ſecure them. They were conducted into a baſon through a narrow entrance, defended on one ſide by a fort, and on the other by platforms mounted with cannon. A boom was thrown acroſs the mouth of the baſon, within which the French ſquadron was drawn up. But all theſe obſtacles were inſufficient to diſcourage the confederates, when animated by the hopes of ſo rich a booty. The duke of Ormond having landed part of his troops, took the caſtle: the boom was broken by the fleet; and the French admiral, convinced that all farther reſiſtance would be vain, ſet fire to his ſhips. The galleons followed the deſperate example; but the Engliſh and Dutch were preſent to extinguiſh the flames. Six ſhips of war were taken, ſeven ſunk, and nine conſumed by fire. Of thirteen galleons, nine became the property of the conquerors, and four were deſtroyed; and though the greater part of the treaſure had been landed, and conveyed to Lagos, the booty was ſtill immenſe, and the conſternation of the houſe of Bourbon exceſſive*.

In a few days after this exploit, ſir George Rooke was joined by ſir Cloudeſley Shovel, who had been diſpatched with a ſquadron to intercept the galleons. This officer was left to bring home the prizes, and deſtroy the fortifications, while Rooke returned to England, where he was received amidſt the acclamations of the people, his ſucceſs at Vigo having ſilenced the clamours reſpecting the miſcarriage before Cadiz.

The Engliſh were leſs ſucceſsful in America than in Europe. Admiral Benbow had been detached to the Weſt Indies with a ſquadron of ten ſail, in purſuit of Du Caſſe, who, with a fleet of an equal number, was convoying the Spaniſh duke of Albuquerque to his government of Mexico. On the nineteenth of Auguſt, he came up with the enemy near St. Martha, and an engagement inſtantly enſued, in which he was baſely deſerted by ſeveral of his captains. The battle, however, continued till night, and he reſolved to renew it the following morning, when he perceived all his ſhips were at the diſtance of three or four miles aſtern, except the Ruby, commanded by captain George Walton, who joined him in plying the enemy with his chace-guns.

For the ſpace of four days he maintained the fight againſt the whole French ſquadron, though aſſiſted only by the Ruby and the Falmouth. Four of his captains, indeed, obſerving a ſeventy-gun ſhip of the enemy lying like a wreck on the water, to which condition ſhe had been reduced by the admiral, came up with her, gave her their broadſides, and then ran to leeward, without regarding the ſignal for battle. On the morning of the fourth day, the

* Lewis XIV. who combined with the moſt inſatiable and bloody ambition, a ſtrange mixture of piety and reſignation, in a conſolatory letter to the queen of Spain, then at the head of the government, thus endeavours to conſole her:—"Events are in the hands of God, who often draws "good out of what we conſider as our greateſt misfortunes. "If it is poſſible to prevent the bad effects of that diſaſter "which has happened, your majeſty has prevented them." *Mem. de Noailles*, tom. ii. *Burnet*, book xii.

admiral's leg* was ſhattered by a chain-ſhot; but, notwithſtanding this accident, he remained on the quarter-deck, in a cradle, and continued the fight till darkneſs terminated the combat.—On the fifth, he called a council of his captains, and expoſtulated with them on their conduct. They alledged, that the French were extremely ſtrong, and adviſed him not to perſevere. He now perceived he was betrayed, and, with the utmoſt reluctance, returned to Jamaica, after having loſt a leg, received a large wound in his face, and another in his arm, in the act of boarding the French admiral.

Enraged at the treachery of his captains, he iſſued a commiſſion to rear-admiral Whetſtone, and other officers, to hold a court-martial, and bring them to trial for their cowardice. Hudſon, of the Pendennis, died before his trial. Kirkby, of the Defiance, and Wade, of the Greenwich, were convicted and ſentenced to be ſhot. Conſtable, of the Windſor, was caſhiered and impriſoned. Vincent, of the Falmouth, and Fogg, the admiral's own captain, were convicted of having ſigned an engagement not to fight upon the preſent occaſion; but, as they had behaved gallantly in the action, the court inflicted upon them no other puniſhment than that of a ſuſpenſion. Wade and Kirkby, being ſent home in the Briſtol, were, on their arrival at Plymouth, ſhot on board the ſhip, purſuant to a warrant for their immediate execution, which had remained there for ſome time. Benbow himſelf was ſo extremely affected by this miſcarriage, that he became melancholy, and his grief co-operating with the fever occaſioned by his wounds, put a period to his life.

Thus, by the treachery of a few deſpicable individuals, who, probably, owed their advancement to intereſt without any perſonal merit, was England deprived of one of the braveſt ſea-officers that ever ſhe produced. In a letter to his wife, after the engagement, he aſſured her, "that the loſs "of his leg gave him infinitely leſs concern than "the villainous treachery of his captains, which "had hindered him from totally deſtroying the "French ſquadron."

During theſe tranſactions, the queen was employed in ſecuring the affections of her ſubjects. She made a progreſs to Oxford, Bath, and Briſtol, where ſhe was received with every token of eſteem and regard. Though the parliament ought regularly to have ſat ſix months after the king's demiſe, the queen diſſolved it by proclamation; and iſſued writs for electing another, which was appointed to meet on the twentieth of Auguſt. The parliament meeting at the time appointed, choſe Mr. Robert Harley their ſpeaker, and it was then prorogued to the twentieth of October. Re-aſſembling at that time, the queen, in her ſpeech to both houſes, obſerved, that ſhe had called them together to aſſiſt her in carrying on the juſt and neceſſary war in which the nation was engaged. Among other particulars, ſhe obſerved, that the funds eſtabliſhed in the laſt parliament, had not produced the ſums propoſed, and that the deficiency was not ſupplied, even by the additional hundred thouſand pounds which ſhe advanced from her own revenue, for the public ſervice: that ſhe was fully convinced, that the affection of her ſubjects was the ſureſt pledge of their duty and obedience: that ſhe was reſolved to maintain the church as by law eſtabliſhed, and protect her ſubjects in the full enjoyment of their rights and privileges.

The ſtrength of the Tories was very conſpicuous in determining the controverted elections; which was decided in favour of their own party, with ſuch a glaring partiality, that, had they not been loſt to all ſenſe of ſhame, they muſt certainly have bluſhed for their ſucceſs†.

While

* When one of the lieutenants expreſſed his concern for the loſs of the admiral's leg, "I am ſorry for it too," replied the gallant Benbow; "but I would rather have loſt "them both, than have ſeen this diſhonour brought on the "Engliſh nation. But, if another ſhot ſhould take me off, "behave like brave men, and fight it out." When Du Caſſe arrived at Carthagena, he wrote a letter to Benbow to the following effect:

"Sir, I had little hope on Monday laſt but to have ſup-"ped in your cabin; but it pleaſed God to order it other-"wiſe. I am thankful for it. As for thoſe cowardly cap-"tains who deſerted you, hang them up; for, by God, "they deſerve it. Your's, "DU CASSE."

† The borough of Hindon had received a conſiderable ſum from the gentleman they had choſen. Of this they were now accuſed in the houſe of commons; and the proofs were ſo full and ſatisfactory, that a bill was introduced for diſfranchiſing the town. The perſon, however, who adminiſtered the corruption was a Tory; and that circumſtance rendered him innocent. Thus a borough was voted to loſe its right of election for *receiving* a bribe; while the perſon who gave *that* bribe, was not only ſuffered to eſcape

with

While the Tories assumed great liberties to themselves, they would not permit among their enemies, the most innocent freedoms. The bishop of Worcester and his son, Mr. Lloyd, suspicious of the principles of sir John Packington, had endeavoured, merely by speaking their sentiments without malice or prejudice, to prevent his election in that county. Complaint of this being made to the house, they immediately resolved, that the proceedings of William, lord bishop of Worcester and his son, had been malicious, unchristian and arbitrary, in high violation of the liberties and privileges of the commons of England. They even voted an address to the queen, desiring her to remove that prelate from the office of lord almoner; and they ordered the attorney-general to prosecute the son, after his privilege as member of the convocation should be expired.

The lords, alarmed at these furious proceedings of the commons, presented a counter address to her majesty, beseeching her not to remove the bishop of Worcester from his place of lord almoner, till he should be found guilty of some offence by due course of law. The queen's answer plainly discovered her attachment to the Tories. She declared, that she had not yet received any complaint against the bishop of Worcester; but that she thought she was perfectly competent to continue or dismiss any servant attending upon her person, whenever she should think proper. The lords, displeased at this reply, unanimously resolved, that no lord of their house ought to suffer any sort of punishment by any proceeding of the house of commons, otherwise than according to the known and ancient rules and methods of parliament.

Regardless of this resolution, the queen was determined to gratify her favourite party. When the commons, preceded by sir Edward Seymour, presented their address for the removal of the bishop, she said, she was sorry there was any occasion for that address against the bishop of Worcester; and that he should no longer continue to supply the place of her almoner. After such unusual marks of indulgence from the throne, the commons could not be so ungrateful as to refuse the demands of the ministry, with which they now readily complied. they voted forty thousand seamen, and the same number of land forces, to act in conjunction with those of the allies; and fifty one thousand eight hundred and forty-three pounds for subsidies to the allies.

Lord Shannon arriving with official intelligence of the success at Vigo, the queen appointed a day of public thanksgiving for the signal success of her arms under the earl of Marlborough, the duke of Ormond, and sir George Rooke; and on that day, which was the twelfth of November, she went in state to St. Paul's church, attended by both houses of parliament. On the following day the peers presented the thanks of their house to the duke of Ormond, for his services at Vigo; and at the same time prepared an address to the queen, desiring she would cause the duke of Ormond and sir George Rooke to lay before them an account of their proceedings: a request with which her majesty complied. These two officers also receive the thanks of the house of commons; and vice admiral Hopson was not only knighted, but gratified with an annual pension of five hundred pounds, together with a reversion of three hundred-a-year for his wife.

The duke of Ormond, on his return from the expedition, complained of Rooke's conduct, and expressed a resolution of subjecting him to a public trial, but that officer was so great a favourite with the commons, and consequently with the court, that means were contrived to ward off an impeachment. To appease the duke of Ormond, he was honoured with the lord lieutenancy of Ireland; and Rooke, to signify an approbation of his conduct, was admitted into the privy council*.

The next affair which came under their consideration, was of a nature still more delicate, and

with impunity, but was even honoured with a seat in the supreme council of the nation.

* Ormond, however, though in some measure pacified by this appointment, continued to complain to the house of peers; and a committee was appointed to enquire into the matter. Rooke himself, with the other admirals and land officers, was summoned before the committee, and examined on the subject. The committee, however, were so little satisfied with Rooke's defence, that they drew up an unfavourable report, and laid it before the house: but it was rejected by a considerable majority; and a vote passed, in Rooke's favour importing, that he had done his duty, pursuant to the councils of war, like a brave officer to the honour of the British nation. It was observed by some, that if Rooke had erred in the miscarriage before Cadiz, he had sufficiently atoned for that fault, by his success at Vigo.

attended

attended with more animated debates. The prince of Denmark was conſiderably older than the queen, and ſo much afflicted with an aſthma, that it was generally imagined he could not ſurvive her: but her majeſty thought it her duty, as an affectionate wife, to provide againſt all contingencies; ſhe therefore ſent a meſſage to the lower houſe, recommending ſome further proviſion for her huſband, if he ſhould happen to ſurvive her.

This meſſage being conſidered, Mr. How moved, that the annual ſum of one hundred thouſand pounds ſhould be ſettled on the prince, in caſe of that event. No oppoſition was made to the propoſal; but warm debates aroſe upon a clauſe in the bill, exempting the prince from that part of the act of ſucceſſion, by which ſtrangers, though naturalized, were declared incapable of holding employments. But, as the queen intereſted herſelf in the buſineſs with ſome warmth, the bill, with the additional clauſe, from which the commons refuſed to recede, was at laſt carried through both houſes, though not without a formal proteſt by thirty-four.

The earl of Marlborough returning to England on the twenty-eighth of November, received the thanks of the commons for the ſignal ſervices which he had performed to the nation.—The queen was ſo well pleaſed with his conduct, that ſhe created him a duke, indulged him with a penſion of five thouſand pounds upon the revenue of the poſt office, during his life; and diſpatched a meſſage to the commons, requeſting they would adopt ſome method of ſettling it upon the heirs male of his body.

This meſſage occaſioned a warm debate, in the courſe of which ſir Chriſtopher Muſgrave obſerved, that he would not derogate from the duke's eminent ſervices, but that, in his opinion, his grace was very amply paid for them by the profitable employments which he and his duchefs enjoyed. The duke, hearing that the commons were averſe to the propoſal, entreated her majeſty rather to forego her gracious meſſage on his behalf, than create animoſities, which might embarraſs her affairs, or be diſadvantageous to the public. The queen, therefore, diſpatched another meſſage to the houſe, importing, that the duke of Marlborough had declined her interpoſition.

The Tories, not ſatisfied with the various triumphs which they had obtained over the Whigs, were reſolved to render their victory more manifeſt; and, under the pretence of religion, they thought proper to conceal a political project. They knew that a conſiderable part of the Whig intereſt was poſſeſſed by the diſſenters, and they ſuppoſed that if they could once exclude the latter from offices of truſt and magiſtracies of corporations, they ſhould for ever ſecure to their own party the elections of all future parliaments, and conſequently the whole management of the civil adminiſtration.

After long debates in both houſes, and free conferences between the lords and commons, in which the lords adhered to ſome amendments which they had propoſed; and the commons perſiſted in rejecting them; the bill miſcarried, and both parties publiſhed their proceedings, as a vindication of their conduct.

The Tories, under the pretence of public ſpirit, harboured a moſt rancorous averſion to the memory of the late king, and greedily embraced every opportunity of vilifying and diſgracing it. They had invidiouſly circulated a report, that, during the whole courſe of his reign, the public money had been groſsly miſmanaged and embezzled; that large ſums had been laviſhed on undeſerving favourites, and in corrupting members of parliament; and that ſeveral millions had even been tranſported to Holland for his majeſty's private uſe. The better to ſupport the clamour they had raiſed, they appointed a committee to enquire into the particulars; but great was their mortification when they diſcovered that the charge was groundleſs. In order, however, to give their inveſtigation ſome countenance, they expelled from the houſe lord Ranelagh, paymaſter-general to the army, on pretence of his having miſapplied the public money: though they could not fix upon a ſingle article in which he had been fraudulent or negligent. They alſo preſented an addreſs to her majeſty, in which they attributed the national debt to the miſmanagement of the funds; complained that the eſtabliſhed methods of the exchequer had been altered; and that many acts of partiality and injuſtice had been committed by the commiſſioners of the prizes. At the ſame time, they reſolved, that Charles lord Halliſax, auditor of the receipt

of the exchequer, had neglected his duty, and committed a breach of truſt; and they even entreated the queen to order the attorney-general to proſecute him for theſe offences; a requeſt with which ſhe promiſed to comply.

The lords, alarmed at the proceedings of the commons, which were equally unjuſt and ungenerous, directed a ſtrict examination to be made into the public accounts; and from a careful ſcrutiny it appeared, that every allegation advanced by the lower houſe, was erroneous; that the national debt was not imputable to the miſmanagement of the miniſters, but to the deficiency of the funds which the commons had eſtabliſhed, and to the large ſums which they had voted without creating any fund: that the late king, ſo far from miſapplying any of the public money, had actually advanced three millions of his own property in the ſervice of the nation: and that any alterations which had been made in the methods of conducting buſineſs in the exchequer, had been attended with no ill conſequences, they repreſented theſe facts in an addreſs to her majeſty, and cauſed them to be publiſhed for the ſatisfaction of the public; and they farther reſolved, that Charles lord Halifax had faithfully executed the duty of his office, and had not been guilty of any neglect or breach of truſt.

The commons, detected in their perfidious deſigns, expreſſed the utmoſt indignation. They exclaimed againſt the conduct of the lords with all the virulence of diſappointed malice. They affirmed, that no cognizance, which the peers could take of public accounts, would enable them to ſupply any deficiency, or appropriate any ſurpluſage of the public money: that they could neither acquit or condemn any perſon, upon an enquiry ariſing originally in their own houſe; and that their attempt to acquit Charles lord Hallifax was unprecedented and unparliamentary.

The lords replied, that they were poſſeſſed of an abſolute right, which they would never reſign, to take cognizance originally of all public accounts, and to enquire into the miſapplication or miſmanagement of any public money: that, in the affair of lord Hallifax, they had proceeded according to the rules of juſtice: that their reſolution with regard to that nobleman did not amount to any judgment or acquittal; but, that finding a vote of the commons reflecting upon a member of their houſe, they thought proper to give their opinion in their legiſlative authority. The commons, however, would liſten to no arguments: they denied every aſſertion of the lords with equal violence and injuſtice; and the diſpute between the two houſes was advancing to a dangerous height, when the queen interrupted the quarrel by putting an end to the ſeſſion on the twenty-ſeventh of February*.

Though the lords had been able to defeat the pernicious deſigns of the commons, yet the parties in the upper houſe were ſo nearly equal, that moſt of the points had been carried by only a ſingle voice. In order, therefore, to procure a majority in both houſes, the queen elevated four of the moſt violent Tories to the peerage. Theſe were John Granville, created baron Granville; Heneage Finch, baron Guernſey; ſir John Leviſon Gower, baron Gower; and Francis Seymour Conway, younger ſon of ſir Edward Seymour, baron of Ragley. To ſave appearances, however, John Harvey, of the oppoſite party, was created baron of Ickworth; though this favour was obtained by the powerful interceſſion of the ducheſs of Marlborough. At the ſame time the marquis of Normanby was created duke of Normanby, and afterwards honoured with an additional title of duke of Buckinghamſhire.

During theſe tranſactions the attention of the miniſtry was principally engaged by the affairs of the continent. The emperor agreed with the allies, that his ſon the archduke Charles, ſhould aſſume the title of king of Spain, demand the infanta of Portugal in marriage, and undertake ſome enterprize of importance, in conjunction with the maritime powers. He had alſo promiſed to ſend ſuch an army into the field, as would ſpeedily be able to expel the elector of Bavaria from his dominions. But he was ſo dilatory in his preparations that the French king diſconcerted his meaſures, by ſending powerful reinforcements to the elector in whoſe ability and attachment he repoſed the moſt perfect confidence.

Mareſchal Villars paſſed the Rhine with an army of thirty thouſand men, and attacked fort Kehl, the garriſon of which was obliged to ſurrender. The emperor, alarmed at this event, ordered

* A. D. 1703.

count Schlick to enter Bavaria, on the ſide of Saltzburgh, with one army, and count Stirum, on the ſide of Newmark, with another. Both theſe generals were for ſome time ſucceſsful. Schlick defeated a body of militia which guarded the lines of Saltzburgh, and made himſelf maſter of Riedt, and ſeveral other places. Stirum reduced Newmark, and ſoon after Amberg. The elector, aſſembling his forces near Brenau, diffuſed a report, that he intended to beſiege Paſſau; and Schlick, ſenſible of the importance of that place, advanced to its relief. The elector having, by this feint, divided the Imperialiſts, paſſed the bridge of Scardigen, with twelve thouſand men, and after an obſtinate engagement, compelled the Imperialiſts to abandon the field of battle: he then marched againſt the cavalry, which guarded the artillery, and attacked them ſo furiouſly, that they were ſoon defeated. Some time after he took Newburg on the Inn, the garriſon of which was conducted to Paſſau. He obtained another advantage over an advanced poſt of the Imperialiſts, commanded by the young prince of Brandenburgh-Anſpach, who was mortally wounded in the action.

Encouraged by theſe rapid ſucceſſes, he advanced to Ratiſbon, where the diet of the empire was aſſembled, and demanded immediate poſſeſſion of the bridge, and one of the gates of the city. The burghers thought proper to capitulate, and agree to his demands. He entered the town on the eighth of April, and ſigned an inſtrument, obliging himſelf to withdraw his forces, as ſoon as the emperor ſhould ratify the diet's reſolution for the neutrality of Ratiſbon.

Mareſchal Villars, having received orders to join the elector at all events, and being reinforced by a body of troops under count Tallard, reſolved to break through the lines which the prince of Baden had formed at Stolhoffen. The prince had, by this time, been joined by eight Dutch regiments, and received the enemy, though double his number, with ſuch aſtoniſhing bravery, that Villars was obliged to retreat with much loſs, and directed his march towards Offingen. But he proceeded through the Black Foreſt, which was deemed impaſſable, and effected a junction with the elector.

The allies ſucceeded better on the Lower Rhine, and in Flanders. The duke of Marlborough's departure had been delayed for ſome time, by the loſs of his only ſon, the marquis of Blandford, who died of the ſmall-pox in the beginning of the year. That nobleman croſſed the ſea about the middle of April; and, aſſembling the allied army, reſolved to open the campaign with the ſiege of Bonne, which was accordingly inveſted on the twenty-fourth of the ſame month.

The place was attacked in three different quarters. The garriſon made a brave and vigorous defence, and continued to hold out till the fourteenth of May, when the fort, having been taken by aſſault, and the breaches practicable, the marquis d'Alegre, the governor, ordered a parley to be beat; hoſtages were immediately exchanged; on the ſixteenth the capitulation was ſigned; and in three days the garriſon marched out, and were immediately conducted to Luxemburgh. Immediately after the ſurrender of Bonne, the duke of Marlborough, who had been preſent at the ſiege, returned to the allied army in the Netherlands, now amounting to one hundred and thirty ſquadrons, and fifty-nine battalions. He inſtantly began his march towards Liege, as well to cover that place, as to force the enemy from their camp at Tongeren. On the twenty-fifth of May he paſſed the Jecker, meaning to attack them in their intrenchments; but, inſtead of waiting his approach, they abandoned Tongeren, and retreated to Boekwem.

The duke continued to purſue them to Thys, where he encamped, while they withdrew to Hannuye, retiring as he advanced. Finding it impoſſible to bring them to an engagement, he reſolved to force their lines; and this ſervice was effectually performed by Coehorn, at the point of Callo, and by baron Spaar in the county of Waes, near Steken. General Opdam, who was to have made an attempt on the ſide of Antwerp, was not equally ſucceſsful. He was ſurprized at the village of Eckeren by mareſchal Bouffiers, with a ſuperior army, and fled precipitately to Breda. But the troops rallying under general Slangenburg, maintained their ground with incredible valour, and the enemy were obliged to retire with the loſs of three thouſand men. Lewis, however, with his uſual policy or vanity, cauſed *Te Deum* to be ſung for the victory, but, as a more convincing proof of his real ſentiments,

ſentiments, he diſmiſſed Boufflers from his ſervice.

Opdam preſented an apology for his conduct to the ſtates-general; but, by this overſight, he forfeited the fruits of a long ſervice, during which he had given repeated proofs of courage, conduct, and fidelity. The States honoured Slangenburg with a letter of thanks for his valour and conduct in this engagement; but, a miſunderſtanding having ariſen between him and the duke of Marlborough, he was ſoon after deprived of his employment.

Villeroy, who now lay encamped near St. Job, declared he would wait for the duke of Marlborough, who immediately advanced to Hoogſtrant, in order to give him battle; but, at his approach, the French general ſet fire to his camp, and retired within his lines. The duke, diſappointed in this quarter, inveſted Huy, the garriſon of which ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war, after a ſiege of three days. He then recommenced the ſiege of Limburg, which was accordingly inveſted; when in two days the place ſubmitted, and the garriſon, containing one thouſand four hundred men, were made priſoners of war. By this conqueſt, the allies ſecured the country of Liege, and the electorate of Cologne from the incurſions of the enemy; and, before the end of the year, they made themſelves maſters of the whole Spaniſh Guelderland, by the reduction of Guelders, which ſurrendered on the ſeventeenth of September.

Nothing of importance was attempted in Italy. The Imperialiſts were ſo ill ſupplied by the court of Vienna, that they could only pretend to act on the defenſive.

The elector of Bavaria, having rejoined Villars, reſolved to attack count Stirum, whom prince Lewis of Baden had detached from his army. The better to execute this purpoſe, they diſpatched intelligence to the marquis d'Uſſon, whom they had left in the camp at Lavingen, to quit his intrenchments at a certain ſignal, and fall upon the Imperialiſts in the rear, while they ſhould charge them in front and flank. This precaution being taken, they paſſed the Danube at Donawert, and diſcharged ſix guns, which were anſwered by two from the marquis. Stirum no ſooner perceived the ſignal, than he gueſſed the intention of the enemy, and inſtantly reſolved to attack D'Uſſon, before the elector and the mareſchal ſhould advance. He accordingly charged him at the head of ſome ſelect ſquadrons, with ſuch fury, that the French cavalry was totally routed; and all their infantry would have been killed or taken, had not the elector and Villars arrived in time to give a turn to the fate of the day. The battle, however, was maintained from ſix in the morning till four in the afternoon, when Stirum being overpowered by numbers, was compelled to retreat to Norlingen, with the loſs of twelve thouſand men, and all his baggage and artillery.

In the mean time, the duke of Burgundy, aſſiſted by Tallard, undertook the ſiege of Old Briſac, with a formidable train of artillery. In fourteen days the governor ſurrendered, and was ſentenced to loſe his head for having made ſo feeble a defence. The duke of Burgundy returned to Verſailles, and Tallard was ordered to inveſt Landau. The allies, ſenſible of the great importance of that place, detached the hereditary prince of Heſſe Caſſel, to attempt the raiſing of the ſiege. The prince, having joined the count of Naſſau Weilburg, general of the Palatine forces near Spires, reſolved to attack the French in their lines. But at this critical moment, Tallard had been reinforced by a body of ten thouſand men, under monſieur Pracontal, which enabled him to defeat the deſigns of the confederates. He ſuddenly quitted his lines, and ſurpriſed them at Spireback, where he obtained a complete victory, after a very ſanguinary and obſtinate engagement, in which the prince of Heſſe behaved with wonderful intrepidity. Three horſes were ſucceſſively killed under him, and he ſlew a French officer with his own hand.—After incredible efforts, he was obliged to retreat, with the loſs of ſome thouſands. The French paid extravagantly for their victory, Pracontal, and ſeveral other officers of diſtinction, being ſlain in the action*. Nevertheleſs they

* An eminent military critic attributes the ſucceſs of Tallard in this battle, to a miſtake. That general, being near-ſighted, truſted to the eyes of M. de Vaillac, who, miſconſtruing a motion made by one of the wings of the enemy, as it indicated a deſire of avoiding a conflict, adviſed the mareſchal to order an inſtantaneous attack of that diviſion; an aſſault which is ſaid to have decided the fortune of the day. *Mémoires du Marquis de Fenquieres, ch.* 31.

reſumed the ſiege of Landau, which at laſt capitulated upon the ſame terms that had formerly been granted to the French governor. The campaign in Germany was finiſhed with the reduction of Augſburgh, by the elector of Bavaria, who permitted the garriſon to march out with the honours of war, and conducted them ſafe to Norlingen.

The naval operations of this ſummer were ill concerted, and worſe executed. Sir George Rooke was appointed to cruize in the channel, to alarm the coaſt of France, and to protect the trade of England. He remained a long time in port, on pretence of illneſs; but Churchill being ſent to take the command in his ſtead, he thought proper to put to ſea: though, from the choice of his ſtations, he ſeemed rather to have intended to avoid the enemy, than to engage them.

In the month of March, vice-admiral Graydon, a man of a ſavage diſpoſition, and diſloyal principles, was ſent to the Weſt Indies with a conſiderable ſquadron to attack the iſland of Placentia, and expel the French from the Newfoundland fiſhery. In his paſſage he fell in with monſieur Du Caſſe, who was returning from Cathagena, with four ſhips extremely foul, and having treaſure on board amounting to four millions of pieces of eight. Captain Cleland, of the Montague, engaged the ſternmoſt: but he was called off by a ſignal from the admiral, who declared, that he had orders to proceed directly in his voyage, and not to loſe any time by chaſing or ſpeaking with any ſhips that ſhould appear. The nation vociferated their complaints againſt ſuch a complication of treachery and miſconduct. The admiralty, indeed, acknowledged, that they had given ſuch orders to the admiral: but Graydon could by no means be juſtified. The orders, to call them no worſe, were certainly extremely imprudent: but admirals had never thought themſelves ſo ſtrictly limited by their private inſtructions, but they might aſſume a diſcretionary power, when any unforeſeen opportunity preſented itſelf of gaining a conſiderable advantage*.

The next enterprize was entruſted to the care of a man of unqueſtionable courage and fidelity; but, through the treachery, ignorance, or incapacity of the miniſters, proved equally unſucceſsful. After Rooke's ineffectual cruize, a reſolution was formed to ſend a ſtrong ſquadron into the Mediteranean; but the ſcheme was ſo ill planned, that no advantage could reaſonably be expected from it. The fleet was not ready to ſail till the beginning of July, and was ordered to leave the Streights by the end of September. Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, who was appointed to the command, on the peruſal of his inſtructions, repreſented the impoſſibility of performing any ſervice to the public by ſuch an expedition. He was commanded, however, to purſue his orders; and he thought proper to comply.

On the firſt of July, the admiral ſailed from St. Helen's, with the combined ſquadrons of England and Holland, amounting to fifty-two ſhips of war, a force abundantly ſufficient to have accompliſhed an enterprize of the utmoſt importance, had any regular plan been formed. Nothing of this nature however appears to have been intended. The admiral, indeed, landed on the coaſt of Spain, though he ſeems only to have been led thither to procure a ſupply of water. Nevertheleſs he took this opportunity to publiſh a manifeſto, importing, that he was not come to annoy, but to protect the good ſubjects of Spain, who ſhould ſwear allegiance to their lawful ſovereign the archduke Charles: and endeavour to ſhake off the yoke of France.—What effect this declaration produced, the admiral could not wait to be informed of, having

* Graydon did not behave with more prudence or fidelity when he came to the Weſt Indies. He acted as if he had been ſent to terrify, rather than protect the inhabitants. Having at length aſſembled the forces that were in the plantation, he proceeded to the attack of Placentia; but the miniſtry had been ſo unwary in their conduct, that the deſign was univerſally known before the departure of the fleet; and the enemy had found time to put themſelves in a poſture of defence. The attempt was, therefore, judged impracticable; and Graydon returned to England; where the queen, to protect her miniſtry, and ſatisfy the nation, was obliged to diſmiſs him from her ſervice. The houſe of lords paſſed a vote of cenſure upon vice admiral Graydon, for having diſhonoured the nation by ſuffering Du Caſſe to eſcape without an engagement, for his illegal and oppreſſive conduct at Jamaica, for his general miſbehaviour in his expedition, and for his negligence and delinquency, they requeſted her majeſty no longer to employ him.

too

too little time to execute the principal, or rather the only purpoſe of the expedition.

Some abortive expeditions followed; ſoon after which the navy ſuſtained an incalculable injury from the dreadful tempeſt which began to blow on the twenty-ſeventh of November, attended with ſuch flaſhes of lightning and peals of thunder, as to alarm the whole kingdom. The houſes in London ſhook from their foundations, and ſome of them falling, buried the inhabitants in their ruins. The water inundated ſeveral ſtreets, and roſe to a conſiderable height in Weſtminſter-hall. London-bridge was almoſt choaked up by the wrecks of veſſels that periſhed in the river.

The loſs ſuſtained by the capital alone, was eſtimated at about a million; and the city of Briſtol ſuffered to the amount of two hundred thouſand pounds: but the principal damage fell on the navy. Fourteen ſhips of war were loſt, together with fifteen hundred ſeamen, including rear-admiral Beaumont, who had juſt returned from obſerving the Dunkirk ſquadron, and was then riding at anchor in the Downs, where his ſhip foundered*.

In compliance with the treaty concluded at Liſbon, the new king of Spain ſet out from Vienna for Holland, and at Duſſeldorp was viſited by the duke of Marlborough, who, in the name of his miſtreſs, congratulated him on his acceſſion to the crown of Spain. Charles received him courteouſly and reſpectfully.—Hearing of his approach, he decorated himſelf with an elegant new ſword, and, in the courſe of their converſation, taking it from his ſide, he graciouſly preſented it to the duke, ſaying, in the French language, "I am not aſhamed to own "myſelf a poor prince: I poſſeſs nothing but "my cloak and ſword: the latter may be of "ſervice to your grace: and I hope you will "not think it the worſe for my having worn it "one day." "On the contrary," replied the duke, "it will always remind me of your ma-"jeſty's juſt right and title, and of the obliga-"tions I lie under to hazard my life in making "you the greateſt prince in Chriſtendom."

The duke, having finiſhed the campaign in Flanders, returned to England on the thirtieth of October; and king Charles embarking for the ſame kingdom, under convoy of an Engliſh and Dutch ſquadron, arrived at Portſmouth on the twenty-fifth of December. There he was received by the dukes of Somerſet and Marlborough, who had been diſpatched to conduct him to Windſor; and on the road thither, he was met by prince George of Denmark. The queen's deportment towards him was equally noble and obliging; and he expreſſed the moſt profound reſpect and veneration for her majeſty. He ſpoke but little; but his converſation was judicious; and though ſo remarkably grave that he never once ſmiled, he diſplayed ſuch affability and politeneſs as to render himſelf perfectly agreeable to the Engliſh nobility. After having been ſumptuouſly entertained for three days, he returned to Portſmouth, from whence, on the fourth of January, he ſet ſail for Portugal.

The fleet was commanded by ſir George Rooke, and had on board a body of land forces under the duke of Schomberg.

Such was the ſtate of affairs in Europe, when the parliament met in the month of October. The queen, in her ſpeech to both houſes, ſaid, that ſhe hoped ſhe had juſtified the confidence repoſed in her, to the ſatisfaction of her people, and the benefit of her allies, as well by the treaty concluded with Portugal, as by the declaration of the duke of Savoy; and that ſhe truſted the commons would cheerfully enable her to make good her engagements with both theſe powers.—Among other particulars, her majeſty expreſſed a deſire that they would contrive ſome effectual means for lowering the price of coals, which, notwithſtanding the care ſhe had taken to appoint convoys for the ſervice, had riſen to ſuch an immoderate height, as to become a deplorable grievance to the lower ranks of ſociety; and

* But it was obſerved, that the force of the tempeſt did not extend beyond the Trent to the northward, or the Loire (in France) to the ſouthward. Few lives were loſt by land; but among the number, the public particularly deplored the fate of biſhop Kidder, who was killed, with his lady, at his palace in Wells, by the fall of a ſtack of chimnies.

gave juſt reaſon to *ſuſpect*, that a combination was formed by one ſet of men to enrich themſelves by the oppreſſion of others*.

A conſpiracy was about this time diſcovered†, which was far from being regularly matured or adjuſted. Simon Fraſer, a profligate Scot, having applied to the French court, in the name of his malcontent countrymen, and ſolicited ſuccours for enabling them to riſe in arms againſt the government, had been diſmiſſed with aſſurances of aid, and deſired to procure complete intelligence of the number and the preparations of the Scottiſh Jacobites. After his return to his native country, he had diſcloſed the reſult of the intrigues to the duke of Queenſborough, who had encouraged him to endeavour to make freſh diſcoveries. Having viſited many of the diſaffected Scots, he again repaired to France, in the proſecution of his ſcheme; and, in his abſence, Maclean, and ſome other Jacobites who had been ſeized, made a confeſſion of the intentions of the party. Ferguſon, who had been concerned in ſeveral plots, and was now a friend to the exiled prince, denied that there was any conſpiracy againſt the queen; declaring that the adherents of that prince did not wiſh to hinder her from reigning during her life.

When the peers had fully enquired into the contrivances of the queen's enemies, they voted that a dangerous conſpiracy had been carried on for raiſing a rebellion in Scotland, and invading that kingdom with a French force. That nothing had given ſo much encouragement to this plot, as the non-appointment of the princeſs Sophia to the eventual poſſeſſion of the crown of that realm; that it was therefore expedient to provide for that ſettlement, to enable them to promote a perfect union between the two kingdoms. The commons were ſo little inclined to concur with the lords in their opinion of the importance of the plot, that they expreſſed a deſire that it might ſink into oblivion. Though the diſcoveries of ſir John Maclean procured him a pardon and a penſion, they did not produce ſufficient grounds for ſanguinary ſeverity againſt any of the perſons accuſed. Boucher and Lindſey, (two of the priſoners on this occaſion) were, indeed, tried and condemned to death, on the general charge of correſponding with the queen's enemies; but they were both reprieved. The former died in confinement, and the latter was exiled after ſeveral years impriſonment.

The election of members had long been a ſubject of contention in parliament, and of clamour and complaint throughout the nation. The Whigs and the Tories had mutually accuſed each other of the groſſeſt partiality in this particular; and both of them, perhaps, were equally guilty. The partiality, however, had riſen to a much greater height in this parliament, than had ever been obſerved at any former period. Perſons had been admitted to a ſeat in the houſe of commons, who were not entitled to that dignity; and others had been excluded, who were duly and regularly elected.

A check, at laſt, was given to this growing evil by the ſpirit and reſolution of one man. Matthew Aſhby had always enjoyed the privilege of voting in the town of Ayleſbury; but, in the laſt election, he had been deprived of that privilege by the conſtables, who made the return. Provoked at this injuſtice, he brought an action againſt the corporation of that town, at the aſſizes, and obtained a verdict. But, on a review of the caſe in the queen's-bench, three of the judges annulled the deciſion.

The lord chief juſtice Holt was of a very different opinion. But his opinion had no effect againſt that of the three other judges; and the order of the queen's bench was accordingly given in favour of the corporation.

Aſhby, diſappointed in this quarter, availed himſelf of a writ of error, and moved the matter into the houſe of lords, who gave judgment in his favour. The commons, declaring they had

* Hence it appears that in the beginning of the *eighteenth century* the coal-dealers were ſtrongly *ſuſpected* of unfair dealings; but, now we are entered upon the nineteenth century, thoſe nefarious practices reſpecting this black mineral, which were only *ſuſpected* by queen Anne, are made manifeſt by circumſtances as "ſtrong as proofs of holy "writ." Hardly a term paſſes wherein a jury does not ſolemnly aſſeſs heavy penalties upon ſeveral defrauders in the coal trade; to ſay nothing of the ſtings of conſcience, or the blemiſhes which reputation receives upon thoſe humiliating occaſions.

† A. D. 1701.

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the ſole right of determining the legality of an election, and the qualification of an elector, pronounced Aſhby guilty of a breach of privilege, for having applied to thoſe courts which had no juriſdiction in his caſe. But the peers condemned theſe votes as arbitrary and unjuſtifiable, deſtructive of the freedom of elections, and derogatory to the legal judicature of the realm.

About this time, her majeſty aboliſhed the tenths and firſt fruits, which tended much to endear her to her ſubjects, as this impoſition diſtreſſed the poorer clergy. They had been firſt levied by the Popes, in the time of the holy wars; and were allotted as a fund for the ſupport of the cruſades.

Her majeſty, taking this matter into conſideration, ſent a meſſage to the commons, (on the anniverſary of her birth day) importing, that ſhe had remitted the arrears of the tenths to the poor clergy; that ſhe would grant her whole revenue ariſing out of the firſt fruits and tenths, as far as it ſhould become free from incumbrances, towards an augmentation of their maintenance: and that if the houſe of commons could find any method, by which her ſalutary intentions to the inferior clergy could be rendered more effectual, it would be very acceptable to her majeſty.

The commons immediately brought in a bill, enabling her to alienate this branch of the revenue, and create a corporation by charter, to apply it to the uſe for which it was intended. After ſome debate, the bill was carried by a great majority, and was immediately paſſed into a law. The queen was pleaſed to declare, that this meaſure was firſt ſuggeſted to her by biſhop Burnet. Such an action in a Tory would have entitled him to the character of one of the warmeſt friends of the church. But Burnet was a Whig; he had a conſiderable ſhare in the Revolution; and his principles in church government were extremely moderate: theſe vices, as the Tories pronounced them, were ſufficient to diminiſh, if not to cancel, the merit of his good works. As no thanks, therefore, were ſuppoſed to be due, none were voted to him. Addreſſes of acknowledgment, however, were preſented to the queen by all the clergy of England for this inſtance of her gracious beneficence.

The Tories thought they had ſo completely engroſſed the confidence of their ſovereign, that they would not ſuffer any of the oppoſite party to ſhare with them in that diſtinction. The earl of Nottingham had long ſolicited the queen to diſmiſs the dukes of Somerſet and Devonſhire from the cabinet-council; or at leaſt to deſiſt from inviting them any more to that private meeting. The queen, though not without ſtrong prejudices, poſſeſſed a conſiderable ſhare of common ſenſe; and, attached as ſhe was to the Tories, ſhe began to perceive, that ſhe could not exclude the Whigs from her councils, and, at the ſame time, preſerve the affections of her ſubjects. She therefore deprived the earl of Jerſey of the office of lord chamberlain, and ſir Edward Seymour of that of comptroller, though both theſe perſons were of the Tory faction. Nottingham, chagrined at theſe tranſactions, carried the ſeals to her majeſty, and reſigned them in diſguſt. His office of ſecretary of ſtate was conferred upon Mr. Harley, ſpeaker of the houſe of commons: the earl of Kent was appointed chamberlain, and Henry St. John, ſecretary at war. The new miniſters, ſo far from being more zealous than their predeceſſors, ſeem to have been leſs diligent and attentive. They entirely neglected one captain Lacan, and a young Iriſh gentleman, both of whom had made conſiderable diſcoveries: and they even ordered them out of the kingdom, perhaps with a view of preventing their expoſure of the little regard which had been ſhewn them by the miniſtry. The queen herſelf did not eſcape ſuſpicion on this occaſion.

The emperor's affairs were now in a moſt deplorable ſituation. The elector of Bavaria was maſter of the Danube as far as Paſſau: the malcontents in Hungary had rendered themſelves formidable by their ſucceſs: Vienna was threatened with a ſiege on both ſides; and, had the Hungarians and Bavarians acted in concert, it muſt infallibly have been taken. In this lamentable ſituation, the emperor implored the aſſiſtance of her Britannic majeſty; and the duke of Marlborough repreſented the neceſſity of effecting his relief. This nobleman, about the middle of January, had viſited Holland, and concerted with the deputies of the States General, the operations of the enſuing

campaign. They reſolved, that, inſtead of ineffectual attempts in the Netherlands, general Overkirk ſhould lie upon the defenſive with a ſmall body of troops in that quarter, while the main army ſhould act upon the Rhine under the command of the duke of Marlborough.

Such was the pretence under which this accompliſhed general concealed the deſign of marching into the heart of the empire, and delivering the houſe of Auſtria from impending ruin; a ſcheme, which he imparted to a few only, in whoſe diſcretion he could perfectly confide. It was approved by the penſionary and deputy Geldermallen, who ſecured its reception with the States General, when it became neceſſary to communicate the ſecret to that aſſembly. In the mean time the preparations were made for the avowed pretence of carrying the war to the banks of the Moſelle.

On the nineteenth of April, the duke, accompanied by his brother, general Churchill, lieutenant-general Lumley, the earl of Orkney, and other officers of diſtinction, embarked for Holland; and, on his arrival at the Hague, had a long conference with a deputation of the States, reſpecting a propoſal of ſending a large army towards the Moſelle. This meaſure was warmly oppoſed by the deputies of Zealand, who repreſented the danger of ſending their troops to ſuch a conſiderable diſtance; but the duke, to prevent all farther objections, aſſured them, in deciſive terms, that he had orders to proceed thither with the Britiſh forces. He accordingly aſſembled his army at Maeſtricht; and, on the eighteenth of May, began his march into Germany. The French, though alarmed at this motion, were totally ignorant of his real intention. They ſuppoſed he meant to open the campaign with the ſiege of Traerbach, and penetrate into France along the Moſelle. In conſequence of which, they ſent a detachment of ſeven thouſand men to that river; and intimated that they intended to attack Huy: a pretence, ſo which the duke paid no attention. He continued his march by Bedburgh, Kerpenord, Kalſecken, and viſited the fortifications of Bonne, where he received advice, that the recruits and reinforcements for the French army in Bavaria, had joined the elector at Villingen.

Regardleſs of this junction, he was convinced, from other circumſtances, that the enemy were ſtill unacquainted with his deſign. He therefore advanced with rapidity, paſſed the Neckar on the third of June, and halted at Landenburg, whence he wrote a letter to the States General, informing them, that he had the queen's orders to march to the relief of the empire; and expreſſing his hope, that they would approve of the deſign, and permit their troops to ſhare in the honour of the expedition. The return of the courier conveyed to him their approbation of the project, and full power to take their forces with him. He then proceeded to Mildenheim, where on the following day he was viſited by prince Lewis of Baden.

The reſult of the conference between theſe great generals, was a junction of the allied army under Marlborough, with the Imperialiſts, commanded by the prince of Baden*. That junction being effected, Marlborough forced, though with the loſs of five thouſand men, the elector of Bavaria's entrenchments, near Donawert, and obliged him to quit the field. In conſequence of this victory, the allies got poſſeſſion of Donawert, and obtained a free paſſage over the Danube. But as they were incapable, for want of magazines, either to continue long on the banks of that river, or to penetrate into Bavaria, their ſituation was become extremely precarious, and they eagerly wiſhed to give battle; when the enemy being reinforced with thirty thouſand men, under mareſchal Tallard, reſolved to afford them the opportunity they deſired. Before the engagement, the duke of Marlborough was alſo joined by prince Eugene, with twenty thouſand men, from the Upper Rhine; and, wiſhing to avoid the timid or treacherous counſels of the prince of Baden, he prevailed on him to beſiege Ingolſtadt. The oppoſing armies were now nearly equal, each conſiſting of about eighty thouſand men. But the French generals Tallard and Marſin, though men of experience and abilities, were conſiderably inferior to thoſe of the allies; and the elector of Bavaria, though a brave prince, could not be conſidered as a commander.

The French and Bavarians were advantageouſly poſted on a hill, having the Danube and the village of Blenheim on their right: on their left an extenſive wood, from which a rivulet ran

* June 2.

rah along their front, into the Danube. This ſtream, in its courſe through the plain, formed a kind of moraſs, the paſſage of which might have been rendered very difficult, had it been properly guarded. Twenty-eight battalions, and twelve ſquadrons of dragoons, were thrown into the village of Blenheim: eight battalions were alſo placed in another village towards the centre; in order to fall, in conjunction with thoſe at Blenheim, upon the rear of the enemy, when they ſhould paſs the rivulet. Their line, which conſiſted chiefly of cavalry, was weakened by theſe detachments; and, by moſt unaccountable inattention, the allies were permitted not only to paſs the brook, but to form without oppoſition.

Marlborough, who commanded the left wing of the allies, having firſt paſſed the brook *, ordered the villages to be attacked by the infantry, while he himſelf led his cavalry againſt thoſe of Tallard. The attack on the villages proved unſucceſsful; the Engliſh and Heſſians being repulſed, after three ſucceſſive attempts. The French horſe, however, in ſpite of their utmoſt efforts, were obliged to give ground. They retired behind the fire of ten batallions, which Tallard had ordered to advance to their relief. But theſe alſo were broken by the Engliſh foot. Marlborough charged home with his horſe; and drove the French cavalry ſo precipitately from the field, that moſt of thoſe who eſcaped the ſword were drowned in the Danube. The ten advanced battalions of the enemy's foot were, at the ſame time, charged on all ſides, and cut in pieces. Tallard himſelf was taken priſoner, with many other officers of diſtinction. In the mean time, prince Eugene, who commanded the right wing of the confederates, after having been thrice repulſed, had broken the French and Bavarians, under the elector and Marſin; and though they were not abſolutely routed, as ſoon as they heard of Tallard's defeat, they quitted the field, with every mark of hurry and diſgrace. The twenty-eight battalions of foot, and twelve ſquadrons of dragoons, in the village of Blenheim, all veterans, and the beſt troops in France, were now abandoned to their fate. After a vigorous, but ineffectual ſally, they found themſelves obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. —Such was the famous battle of Blenheim, in which the French and Bavarians, including killed and taken, loſt near forty thouſand men. Their camp-equipage, baggage, artillery, and every trophy that can diſtinguiſh a complete victory, fell into the hands of the conquerors. Theſe trophies, however, were not acquired without conſiderable loſs of blood. The allies had five thouſand men killed, and about eight thouſand wounded.

The confederates being now maſters of the field of battle, ſurrounded the village of Blenheim, in which, as before related, twenty-eight battalions and twelve ſquadrons were poſted. Theſe troops, finding themſelves cut off from all communication with the reſt of their army, and deſpairing of being able to force their way through the allies, thought proper to capitulate; and accordingly, about eight in the evening, ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war, on condition the officers ſhould not be ſtripped †.

The emperor was no ſooner informed of this ſignal victory, which had preſerved his family from impending ruin, than he congratulated the duke on his ſplendid triumph, complimented him as the liberator, not only of Germany, but of Europe in general; and intimated to him that he had given directions for his being enrolled among the princes of the empire, in conſideration of his pre-eminent worth and ſignal ſervices. In England, the intelligence of the victory was received with great ſatisfaction; and the queen appointed a ſolemn thankſgiving for the glorious ſucceſs of her arms.

The victorious generals, having, by this deciſive ſtroke, changed the face of affairs in Germany, reſolved to improve the advantage they

* Auguſt 13.

† This is one of the completeſt victories that ever was obtained in any war or by any general. Ten thouſand French and Bavarians were killed upon the ſpot: the greater part of thirty ſquadrons of horſe and dragoons were drowned in the Danube: thirteen thouſand were made priſoners, including twelve hundred officers: one hundred pieces of cannon were taken, with twenty-four mortars, one hundred and twenty-nine colours, one hundred and ſeventy-one ſtandards, ſeventeen pair of kettle-drums, three thouſand ſix hundred tents, thirty-four coaches, three hundred laden mules, two bridges of boats, fifteen pontoons, twenty-four barrels and eight caſks of ſilver. The loſs of the allies amounted to four thouſand five hundred men killed, and about eight thouſand wounded or taken.

had gained. The duke of Marlborough ſent a meſſage to prince Lewis, importing that it would be for the intereſt of the common cauſe, to unite all their forces, and drive the French out of Germany, rather than loſe time at the ſiege of Ingoldſtadt, which, as well as the other fortreſſes of Bavaria, would ſurrender of courſe.

This opinion was juſtified by the conduct of the French garriſon at Augſburg, who abandoned that place on the ſixteenth of Auguſt. The magiſtrates, aſſembling, ſent a deputation to the duke of Marlborough, and implored his protection. That nobleman replied, that they had nothing to fear from the troops of her Britannic majeſty and the States General, who had come into Germany, with no other view than to defeat the deſigns of the enemies of the empire. He accordingly detached a body of troops, and ordered them to take poſſeſſion of that important city.

No modern victory, among diſciplined armies, was ever more deciſive than that of Blenheim; none could be followed by more ſudden or important conſequences. The emperor was relieved from his fears; the Hungarian malcontents were over-awed; and the dominions of the elector of Bavaria fell, at once, into the hands of Leopold, who revenged on the ſubjects of that prince, the exceſſes which had been committed on his own. An extent of ſeventy leagues of country became expoſed to all the ravages of war. Broken, ruined, and diſperſed, the forces of Lewis XIV. left a free and uninterrupted march to the confederates from the Danube to the Rhine; and the wretched remains of that army, which at the commencement of the ſeaſon had ſpread terror to the gates of Vienna, were obliged to repair for ſhelter within the frontiers of France. The victors croſſed the Rhine: they entered Alſace; and the important fortreſſes of Landau and Trierbach ſurrendered to them before the cloſe of the campaign.

But the ſucceſs which attended the arms of the confederates in Germany, did not extend to every ſcene of operations. In Flanders, during this ſummer, the war was wholly defenſive, and produced no event either brilliant or important. The ſucceſs of affairs in Portugal did not anſwer the expectation of the allies. On the Portugueſe ſide of Spain, the archduke, who had aſſumed the title of Charles III. could make no progreſs. On the contrary, Philip V. aſſiſted by the duke of Berwick, carried the war into Portugal, took ſeveral places, and defeated the attempts of the allies to invade Caſtile*. In Italy, the campaign proved favourable to the houſe of Bourbon. The caſtle of Suza, the city of Pignerol, Vercelli, Yvrea, and Saufano, were reduced by Vendome.

The operations at ſea, during this memorable year, were hardly leſs important than thoſe by land. The combined fleet of England and Holland, which conveyed the archduke to Liſbon, having failed in an attempt upon Barcelona, where a party was ſuppoſed to have been formed for the houſe of Auſtria, appeared before Gibraltar; and that ſtrong fortreſs was taken at the firſt aſſault. Aſtoniſhed at the intrepidity of the Engliſh ſailors, who aſcended the mole ſword in hand, the governor immediately ſurrendered the place; which was committed to the care of the prince of Heſſe Darmſtadt, for the queen of England†.

* Notwithſtanding theſe important ſervices, the duke of Berwick was recalled. Of this matter, he gives the following curious account: "The duke of Gramont, the "French miniſter at Madrid, had taken it into his head "that he was to govern there as deſpotically as the cardinals Richlieu and Mazarine had formerly done in "France. I had no objection to this with reſpect to the "civil department; but in the military, I was reſolved "that he ſhould not have the ſame ſway; thinking it reaſonable that I ſhould be conſulted in every thing, and "even that my plans ſhould be adopted, as I muſt be anſwerable for the ſucceſs of the whole. From theſe contrary humours it followed, that Gramont took upon him "to order every thing, without conſulting or communicating with me; and I, on the other hand, ſteady to my "principle, refuſed to execute any enterprize of which I "did not approve." The duke's recal was the conſequence of this commendable pride.

† It is ſaid, that after the admiral had bombarded the town to very little purpoſe, and with ſmall expectations of ſucceſs, ſome hardy ſailors ventured to land in a place where it was deemed impoſſible to climb up the rocks, which, however, they aſcended; and, when they had reached the ſummit, they obſerved a number of women, who had come out of the town, to a chapel in the neighbourhood, to implore the protection of the Virgin: the tars immediately ſeized the women; and the inhabitants, chooſing rather to loſe the town than their wives, importuned the governor to ſurrender.

Nor

The Defeat of the French Fle[illegible] by George Rodney [illegible]

Nor was the acquiſition of Gibraltar the only advantage reſulting from the enterpriſe. Part of the Spaniſh army employed in Portugal being withdrawn, for the purpoſe of retaking Gibraltar, impeded the progreſs of Philip V. who might otherwiſe have advanced to the gates of Liſbon; and the French fleet, conſiſting of fifty-two ſhips of the line, under the count de Thouloufe, coming to the aid of the beſiegers, was defeated off Malaga, by the combined fleet, commanded by ſir George Rooke and Calemberg, the Dutch admiral. The force on both ſides was nearly equal, and the battle was obſtinate and bloody, though not a ſingle ſhip was either ſunk or taken.

The action began about ten in the morning, when the rear and the van, commanded by Shovel and the Dutch admiral Callemburg, immediately preſſed forward to a cloſe engagement, and ſoon compelled the enemy to give way: but the center of the French being remarkably ſtrong, bore extremely hard upon Rooke's diviſion, ſeveral of whoſe ſhips, having expended their ſhot, were obliged to leave the line as totally uſeleſs. The conteſt, however, was maintained till night, when the French bore away to leeward. On the following morning, the Engliſh attempted to renew the engagement which the count de Thouloufe thought proper to decline. It appears, indeed, that the Engliſh were as little deſirous of a ſecond battle as the French; for excluſive of the deficiency of powder, moſt of the ſhips were ſo ſhattered, that they were wholly unable to ſuſtain a freſh ſhock. The loſs on both ſides was nearly equal; not a ſingle ſhip was taken or deſtroyed: but the honour of the day ſeemed to remain with the Engliſh. Lewis XIV. however affected to claim the victory. But it was obvious to all Europe, that the combined fleet kept the ſea; and that the French took refuge in their own ports, inſtead of affording any aſſiſtance to the Spaniards before Gibraltar*. Theſe fortunate events, but more eſpecially the memorable victory obtained at Blenheim, diffuſed a general joy throughout the nation. And this general exultation communicated itſelf to the repreſentatives of the people, who readily granted very liberal ſupplies for proſecuting the war. The whole buſineſs of parliament was not only conducted with harmony, but carried forward with zeal and expedition. Pleaſed with the humiliation of the houſe of Bourbon, the Whigs inſtead of oppoſing the miniſtry, ſtrove to engage the duke of Marlborough in their cauſe; and Godolphin, either from policy or principle, threw himſelf entirely into their hands.

The queen diſſolved the parliament; and the Whigs, whoſe principles recommended them to the independent part of the kingdom†, being countenanced by government, and ſupported by the monied intereſt, obtained a decided majority in the new houſe of commons. The elections went generally in their favour, in ſpite of the clamour raiſed by the Tories of the danger of the church, and the growth of Preſbyterianiſm. Both houſes paſſed a vote, that the church was in a ſafe and flouriſhing condition, and that whoever ſhould ſuggeſt that the eſtabliſhed religion was in danger, was an enemy to the queen, the church, and the kingdom. They alſo to the farther diſappointment of the Tories, repealed two rigid laws againſt the commerce and people of Scotland, in order to induce the parliament of that kingdom to ſettle the crown on the houſe of Hanover, as well as to hearken to propoſals for a treaty of union with England.

While the Engliſh parliament was purſuing theſe ſalutary meaſures for ſecuring the peace of the kingdom, as well as for proſecuting the war with vigour, France was depreſſed by external misfortunes, and diſtracted by internal commotions. Though the Hugonots were chiefly exterminated, or induced from motives of fear or intereſt, to conform to the eſtabliſhed religion, yet many of them had taken refuge in the Cevennes, a mountainous country in the ſouth of France, where they led a ſavage life among

* Philip, king of Spain, was no ſooner informed of the loſs of Gibraltar, than he ſent to the marquis de Villadarias with an army to retake it. The ſiege laſted four months, during which time the prince of Heſſe diſplayed many brilliant proofs of courage, conduct, and capacity.

The garriſon was ſupplied with men and proviſions by convoys from Liſbon, till monſieur de Pontis put a ſtop to that communication, by entering the bay with a ſtrong ſquadron: but he was obliged to retire on the approach of ſir John Leake and admiral Vanderdaſſon with a ſuperior ſquadron; and the marquis de Villadarias finding it impoſſible to make an impreſſion on the place, thought proper to abandon the enterprize.

† A. D. 1705.

the rude and uncultivated natives, under the name of Camiſards, and enjoyed their religion in a ſtate of barbarity. Like all zealots, when ignorant and perſecuted, they ſuppoſed themſelves the peculiar favourites of heaven, and claimed the higheſt gifts of inſpiration. They had their prophets and propheteſſes, who aſſumed abſolute authority over them, and are ſaid to have excited them to the moſt atrocious cruelties, not only againſt the Catholics, but alſo againſt the refractory part of their own ſect*.

At length, encouraged by theſe viſionaries, and by their encreaſing numbers, the Camiſards, on the commencement of the war, in 1701, began to mingle politics with religion. They demanded "liberty of conſcience, and an exemption from taxes!" They even took arms in ſupport of their pretenſions. Several generals were diſpatched againſt them with various ſucceſs, and among others the celebrated mareſchal Villars; who, after convincing them of his power, entered into treaty with them, in 1704. But, ſuſpecting the ſincerity of the court, they broke off the negociation, when it was in an advanced ſtate, and Villars being recalled, to enter on a more important ſcene of action, the duke of Berwick was ſent againſt them, on his return from Spain. Severity being now become neceſſary, the duke exerciſed it without reſerve, and ſpeedily reduced the Camiſards to obedience†.

Lewis XIV. though deſtitute of that ſuperior magnanimity which is never vainly elated, and which can calmly look down on the moſt exalted ſucceſs, poſſeſſed in an eminent degree that Chriſtian fortitude which enables the ſoul to bear misfortunes with compoſure and reſignation. Though accuſtomed to victory, he received the intelligence of the deſtruction of his army at Blenheim, without any marks of confuſion, and took the moſt vigorous ſteps to repair his loſs, and check the progreſs of his victorious enemy. At the end of the campaign, however, he found he had been ſtripped of a conſiderable part of his former conqueſts. But France, and even Flanders was ſtill entire; and as he ſuppoſed the duke of Marlborough intended, next campaign, to carry the war, by the Moſelle, into the heart of his dominions, he aſſembled, on that ſide, an army of ſeventy thouſand men, under mareſchal Villars. The Engliſh general having croſſed the Moſelle and the Saar, in the month of May, paſſed the defile of Taveren, and advanced to Delft. But not being joined by the prince of Baden, as he expected, he found it neceſſary to retreat: and ſo maſterly was the conduct of Villars, his antagoniſt, that he was not able to accompliſh any enterprize of conſequence during the campaign.

So violent was the animoſity between the Whigs and Tories, that they eagerly ſeized every opportunity of diſplaying their different ſentiments to the world. The duke of Marlborough, at his firſt appearance in the houſe after his return to England, was honoured with the thanks of the peers, in an elegant ſpeech pronounced by the lord keeper. And even the commons now began to be aſhamed of their inveteracy to this nobleman, and preſented him with a compliment of a ſimilar nature, though they had before affected to conſider the affair at Blenheim, as a drawn battle or a matter of no importance.

But what they were aſhamed to avow themſelves, the Univerſity of Oxford declared for

* Voltaire, in his *Siecle of Louis XIV.* ſays, "I have heard marſhal Villars relate, that, aſking Cavalier, the moſt conſiderable of their chiefs, how, at his years, being little above twenty, he could acquire ſo much authority over a headſtrong and undiſciplined rabble?" he replied, that whenever they refuſed to obey, his propheteſs (known among them by the name of the *Great Mary*) was inſtantly ſeized with a fit of inſpiration, and condemned the refractory to the puniſhment of death, without any form of a trial. And having myſelf," adds the hiſtorian, put the ſame queſtion to Cavalier, he returned the ſame anſwer." *Siecle*, chap. xxxii.

† For this ſeverity, the duke of Berwick thus apologiſes, "aſſiſted by the underſtanding and advice of M. de Baville, one of the moſt ſenſible men in France, I made it my buſineſs to prevent every thing that might tend to excite commotions; and declared, that I came neither as a perſecutor nor a miſſionary, but with a reſolution to do equal juſtice to every one, to protect all who ſhould behave themſelves as faithful ſubjects of the king, and to puniſh with the utmoſt rigour thoſe who ſhould dare to oppoſe his authority.—I know" adds he, "that attempts have been made in many countries, to blacken our proceedings againſt theſe people; but I can proteſt as a man of honour, that there is no ſort of crime of which the Camiſards had not been guilty. To rebellion, ſacrilege, murder, theft, and licentiouſneſs, they joined the moſt unheard of cruelties; ſo far even as to have prieſts broiled, to rip out the bowels of pregnant women, and to roaſt their children!" *Mem.* vol. i.

them.

The Duke of Queensbury

them. Dr Delaune, vice-chancellor, accompanied by the principal members of the univerſity, attended the queen with an addreſs of congratulation, in which, in imitation of the commons, they mentioned the ſignal victory of Blenheim, and the drawn battle in the Mediterranean, as events equally glorious and advantageous to the nation. The queen, however, though ſtrongly attached to the Tories, began at length to be diſguſted with their prejudices. She returned a civil but not a reſpectful anſwer to the addreſs, and added, that ſhe hoped the univerſity would inculcate thoſe principles, which alone could promote the welfare of the nation, and render her and all her ſubjects happy.

The commons perceiving they could not indulge their ſpleen againſt the duke of Marlborough, and at the ſame time enjoy the favour of their ſovereign, reſolved to alter their mode of behaviour towards that nobleman. Accordingly, having taken into conſideration the great ſervices performed by the duke, they preſented an addreſs to the queen, intreating her to conſider of ſome proper expedient to perpetuate the memory of ſuch noble actions. In a few days, the queen returned a gracious anſwer, importing, that ſhe was inclined to grant the intereſt of the crown in the manor of Woodſtock, to the duke of Marlborough and his heirs; and that, as the lieutenancy and rangerſhip of the parks, with the rents and profits, were already granted for two lives, ſhe thought it proper to remove that incumbrance. In conſequence of this intimation, a bill was prepared, enabling the queen to beſtow theſe manors on the duke of Marlborough and his heirs, and deſiring her to advance the money for clearing the incumbrances. She not only graciouſly complied with this addreſs, but ordered the comptroller of her works to erect, in Woodſtock-park, a magnificent palace for the duke, diſtinguiſhed by the name of Blenheim Houſe. The plan of this ſtructure was formed by ſir John Vanbrugh, who ſeems to have been more ſtudious of grandeur and ſtability, than propriety and elegance*.

Sir George Rooke was laid aſide, and the command of the fleet beſtowed upon ſir Cloudeſley Shovel, now declared rear admiral of England.

The remaining part of the ſeſſion was conſumed in diſputes and altercations about the Ayleſbury-election. The judgment which the lords gave in favour of Aſhby, had been carried into execution: and this had encouraged five others of the inhabitants to commence actions againſt the returning officers, for refuſing their votes. The commons conſidered theſe proceedings as a high contempt of their votes, and breach of their privileges, and immediately ordered the five proſecutors to be committed to Newgate. When term-time arrived, the priſoners petitioned for a *Habeas Corpus* in the queen's bench. The petition of the priſoners was, however, rejected, and they were ordered to remain in Newgate.

After long debates on this buſineſs, at different times, the lower houſe demanded a conference with the upper houſe; in which they inſiſted upon the ſole right of determining elections. The upper houſe, in their turn, demanded a free conference, which proved ineffectual. The queen was appealed to, but ſhe aſſured them, that it was neceſſary to put a period to the ſeſſion; knowing there could then be no farther proceedings in that matter. On that very day, ſhe repaired to the houſe of peers, and paſſed the bills that were ready for the royal aſſent. She thanked the parliament for having granted her ſuch ample ſupplies; exhorted them to avoid the dangerous effects of animoſity and diſſenſion; and ordered the lord-keeper to prorogue them to the firſt of May: but, in the beginning of April, they were diſſolved, and writs iſſued for convoking a new parliament.

Soon after the queen, accompanied by the prince of Denmark, made an excurſion to Newmarket, and dined by invitation with the univerſity of Cambridge, where ſhe conferred the honour of knighthood upon Dr. Ellis, the vice-chancellor, John Montague counſel for the univerſity, and the celebrated Iſaac Newton, mathematical profeſſor.

* Sir John Vanbrugh's ſtyle of building induced ſome of his contemporary artiſts to recommend the following epitaph for his tomb:—

Lie heavy on him earth, for he
Laid many a heavy load on thee.

The Tory intereſt was now much on the decline. The duke of Buckingham was deprived of the privy ſeal, and that office was conferred on the duke of Newcaſtle, a nobleman of conſiderable influence with the Whigs. The earl of Montague was created marquis of Mounthermer and duke of Montague: the earl of Peterborough and lord Cholmondeley were ſworn of the privy-council; and lord Cutts was appointed to command the forces in Ireland, under the duke of Ormond.

The duke of Marlborough received a letter from the ſtates general, repreſenting the neceſſity of making a powerful diverſion on the Moſelle, or of returning immediately to the defence of their frontier. His grace, after mature deliberation on the conſequences that might enſue, reſolved to abandon his deſign on the Moſelle, and return to the Netherlands.

Accordingly he decamped on the ſeventeenth of June, and advanced with ſuch expedition, that he paſſed the Maeſe on the ſecond of July. The enemy informed of his approach, relinquiſhed the attempt upon Liege, and retired to Tongeren, from whence they retreated within their lines. Marlborough, having joined Overkirk, ſent general Scholten with a detachment to beſiege Huy; and in three days the garriſon ſubmitted at diſcretion. Not ſatisfied with this ſucceſs, the duke reſolved to undertake ſome more important action; and as nothing appeared to be of greater conſequence than the forcing the enemy's lines, he determined to exert his utmoſt endeavours to execute that enterprize. He ſent general Hompſeck to propoſe the ſcheme to the States; and received their permiſſion to do whatever he ſhould judge proper for the good of the common cauſe. He then explained it in two ſucceſſive councils of war, by which it was approved and reſolved upon.

The enemy were poſted along their lines, to the number of one hundred battalions, and one hundred and forty-ſix ſquadrons; a force almoſt equal to that of the allies. To divide them, Overkirk made a deceptive motion, and paſſed the Mehaigne, feigning an intention, to attack the lines about Meſſelen; and the ſtratagem was attended with the deſired ſucceſs. The French weakened the other parts by ſtrengthening that on which they apprehended the greateſt danger.

The duke having made the neceſſary diſpoſitions, the army began to march in the night between the ſeventeenth and eighteenth of July, in order to force the French lines at Wagen, Elixheim, the caſtle of Wangh, and the villages of Wangh, Overheſpen, Neerheſpen, and Ooſtmallen. Theſe poſts were taken without much difficulty; but before the infantry could arrive, the enemy advanced with fifty ſquadrons and twenty battalions, and began to diſcharge a dreadful fire from eight pieces of cannon with triple barrels. Marlborough perceiving that they were continually reinforced from the other parts of the lines, commanded the horſe to attack their cavalry, which were ſoon broken and routed; but having rallied behind their infantry, and being interlined with foot, and joined by freſh ſquadrons, they advanced again towards the allies who were now ſupported by their infantry, and moved forward to receive them after a ſhort, but obſtinate diſpute, the enemy's horſe were put to flight and purſued to a conſiderable diſtance. The infantry, ſeeing themſelves abandoned in the plain, precipitately retreated between the villages of Heliſheim and Gerſhoven, where being joined by the reſt of their army, they formed again in order of battle. In the mean time, the duke of Marlborough cauſed all his troops to enter the lines: and extended his right towards the great Geete before Tirlemont, where the enemy had left the battalion of Montluc, which upon the firſt ſummons ſurrendered at diſcretion.

In this action the confederates took the marquis d'Alegre and the count de Horne, lieutenant-generals, one major-general, two brigadier-generals, with many other officers, and a great number of common ſoldiers, a large quantity of ſtandards, four colours, one pair of kettle-drums, and eight pieces of cannon. The duke of Marlborough behaved, during the whole engagement, with that courage and preſence of mind which were ſo peculiar to his character; being frequently expoſed to the moſt imminent danger. While he was advancing to the charge, at the head of ſeveral ſquadrons, a Bavarian officer rode up to attack him ſword in hand; but, in raiſing himſelf on his ſtirrups, to enable him to ſtrike with the greater advantage, he fell from his horſe, and was immediately ſlain.

The troops commanded by monſieur d'Alegre being thus driven from the lines, the elector of Bavaria and mareſchal de Villeroy paſſed the great Geete and the Deule with the utmoſt expedition, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the ſtrong camp of Park, their left extending to Rooſelaer, and their right to Wineſelen, againſt the height of Louvain.

The little town of Sant-Leuve, ſituated in the middle of a moraſs, and conſtituting the chief defence of the enemy's line, being taken by lieutenant-general Dedem, the duke of Marlborough cauſed the lines from this place to Waſſeigne to be levelled, and the town of Tirlemont to be diſmantled; and then, paſſing the Demer, encamped at Arſchot on the nineteenth of September. About the latter end of the month he marched to Herentals, and from thence repaired to the Hague, where he had ſeveral conferences with the penſionary. In a few days he returned to the army, which decamping from Herentals, proceeded to Brecht.

The emperor Leopold dying at Vienna on the fifth of May, was ſucceeded in the Imperial dignity by his eldeſt ſon Joſeph, king of the Romans, a prince who reſembled his father in mildneſs of temper, mediocrity of intellect, and attachment to the Romiſh ſuperſtition. In conſequence of an invitation from his imperial majeſty, the duke of Marlborough ſet out for Vienna, where he was treated with great reſpect, and concerted with the emperor the operations of the enſuing campaign. After viſiting the courts of Berlin and Hanover, he returned to the Hague, and perſuaded the ſtates-general to furniſh an additional number of ten thouſand men, as a reinforcement to the army of prince Eugene in Italy. In a few daye he ſet ſail for England, and arrived at St. James's on the thirteenth of December.

The campaign upon the Rhine did not produce any important event. The Imperialiſts were commanded by prince Eugene; the French, by the duke de Vendome. The former reduced Druſenheim and Hagenau, and forced the enemy's lines at the place laſt mentioned. The duke de Feuillade, who commanded a ſeparate army near Turin, reduced Chivas, and inveſted Nice, which, after an obſtinate defence, ſurrendered in December*

The campaign in Portugal began with a very promiſing appearance; but did not fatisfy the general expectation. The affairs of Hungary were ſtill involved in the utmoſt confuſion. In Poland the old cardinal primate acknowledged Staniſlaus, but died before his coronation, which was performed by the biſhop of Cujavia.

But the moſt remarkable achievement of this ſummer was the reduction of Barcelona by the celebrated earl of Peterborough and ſir Cloudeſley Shovel, who, in the latter end of May, ſailed from St. Helens with the Engliſh fleet, having on board a body of five thouſand land forces; and, on the twentieth of June, landed at Liſbon, where they were reinforced by ſir John Leake and the Dutch admiral, Allemonde. King Charles, having received aſſurances that the province of Catalonia and the kingdom of Valencia were attached to his intereſt, reſolved to repair into thoſe quarters, and undertake ſome action of importance. Accompanied by the earl of Peterborough, and other officers of diſtinction, he embarked on board the Ranelagh; and the fleet ſailed on the twenty-eighth of July, the earl of Galway having ſupplied them with two regiments of Engliſh dragoons. At Gibraltar they took on board the Engliſh guards, and three old regiments, in lieu of which they left two new-raiſed battalions. On the eleventh of Auguſt they put into the bay of Altea, when the earl of Peterborough publiſhed a manifeſto, importing, that he was not come to take poſſeſſion of any place, in the name of her Britannic majeſty, or of the ſtates-general, but to maintain the juſt right of the Auſtrian family to the crown of Spain, to defend the loyal ſubjects of the Spaniſh monarchy, and to exonerate them from the inſupportable government of foreigners. En-

* The duke of Savoy was now deprived of all the conſiderable places in his dominions, except Coni and Turin, and his army was reduced to twelve thouſand men, whom he found it difficult to ſupport. His ducheſs, his clergy, and his ſubjects in general, preſſed him to ſubmit to the neceſſity of the times; but he reſiſted their importunities, and adhered to the alliance with incredible fortitude. He enjoined his miniſters not to talk on the ſubject: he excluded all the biſhops and clergy from his councils: and when he had occaſion for a confeſſor, he choſe a prieſt indifferently either from the Dominicans or Franciſcans.

couraged

couraged by this declaration, the inhabitants flocked from all quarters, acknowledging king Charles as their lawful ſovereign.

Surpriſed at the appearance of ſuch a formidable force, the Spaniards, in general, declared for the houſe of Auſtria. The fortreſſes of Lerida and Tortoſa were yielded without a blow: Barcelona, though containing a garriſon of five thouſand men, under the duke de Popoli, was obliged to ſurrender, and almoſt the whole kingdom of Valencia, as well as the province of Catalonia, ſubmitted to Charles III*,

The earl having, by an ingenious artifice, relieved San Matheo, poſſeſſed himſelf of Nules; and purchaſing about eight hundred horſes at Caſtillon de la Plana, began to form a body of cavalry. Having aſſembled his little army, conſiſting of ten ſquadrons of horſe and dragoons, four battalions of regular troops, and about three thouſand militia, he advanced to Molviedro, the ancient Sanguntum, which was ſurrendered to him by the governor, brigadier Mahoni. At the ſame time he excited ſuch jealouſies and ſuſpicions between this officer and the Spaniſh general, that the latter was more anxious to guard againſt the ſuppoſed treachery of the former, than to interrupt the earl's march to Valencia, where he was received by the prieſts and friars in their reſpective habits, and by the inhabitants in general, with every demonſtration of joy.

About this time a moſt obſtinate battle took place at St. Iſtevan de Litera, where the chevalier d'Asfeldt, with nine ſquadrons of horſe and dragoons, and as many battalions, all of them French, attacked colonel Willes at the head of a ſmall party; but the latter being ſupported by lieutenant General Cunningham, who was mortally wounded in the action, repulſed the enemy, though eight times his number, with the loſs of four hundred men killed upon the ſpot.

The attention of the Engliſh was now wholly engroſſed by the election of members for the new parliament. The Tories, ſenſible of their own unpopularity, exerted themſelves with great vigour on the occaſion. They raiſed the cry of the church's being in danger: the high-churchmen ſounded the ſame alarm: the Jacobites joined in the general lamentation: even the Papiſts in the abundance of their philanthrophy, were affected with the general panic. But the deſigns of the Tories were become ſo notorious, and the falſity of their pretences was ſo univerſally known, that all their endeavours proved ineffectual; and the Whigs obtained a conſiderable majority.

The earl of Godolphin had hitherto maintained a neutrality between the parties; but now, obſerving the Whigs to predominate, he reſolutely declared in their favour. By his intereſt, joined to that of the duke of Marlborough, the great ſeal was taken from ſir Nathan Wright, who by his weak and avaricious conduct, had incurred the general contempt of the nation; and the office was conferred upon ſir William Cowper, with the title of lord-keeper. This was a lawyer of reputable extraction, diſtinguiſhed abilities, engaging manners, and emi-

* The particulars of the ſiege of Barcelona, are thus related by Voltaire. The earl of Peterborough, a man in every reſpect reſembling thoſe imaginary heroes which the Spaniards have repreſented in their romances, propoſed to the prince of Heſſe Darmſtadt to force, ſword in hand, the entrenchments that covered fort Mountjouy and the town. The enterprize was accordingly executed with ſucceſs; but with the loſs of the gallant prince of Heſſe, who was killed in the attack. The garriſon, however, ſtill held out; when a bomb directed at Mountjuoy, happening to enter the powder magazine, it blew up with a terrible exploſion, and the fort inſtantly ſurrendered. The town ſoon after propoſed to capitulate; and the duke de Popoli, the governor came to the gate, in order to adjuſt the articles with Peterborough. But before they were ſigned, tumultuous ſhouts were heard. "You betray us!" exclaimed Popoli, "Whilſt we, with "honour and ſincerity, are here treating with you, your "troops have entered the town by the ramparts, and are "murdering, plundering, and committing every ſpecies "of violence."

"You are miſtaken," replied Peterborough:—"Theſe "muſt be the troops of the Prince of Darmſtadt. There "is but one expedient left to ſave your town; allow me "freely to enter it with my Engliſhmen. I will ſoon "make all quiet, and come back to conclude the capitu-"lation." Theſe words were uttered with an air of dignity and truth, which joined to a ſenſe of preſent danger, induced the governor to comply. Attended by ſome of his officers, he haſtened into the ſtreets, where the licentious ſoldiery, but more eſpecially the Germans and Catalans, were pillaging the houſes of the principal inhabitants. He drove them from theſe plunder: he obliged them to reſtore the booty they had ſeized; and he happily reſcued from their hands the ducheſs de Popoli, when on the point of being diſhonoured, and reſtored her to her huſband. After having quelled every appearance of diſorder in the town, he returned to the gate, and finiſhed the capitulation with the governor, to the utter aſtoniſhment of the Spaniards, at finding ſo much honour and generoſity in a people, whom they had hitherto been accuſtomed to conſider only as mercileſs heretics.

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nence in his profeſſion. Mr. John Smith was elected ſpeaker of the houſe of commons by a very conſiderable majority.

The queen in her ſpeech to both houſes, ſaid, ſhe hoped they were met with a determined reſolution to proſecute, with vigour, the neceſſary war in which they were engaged; and ſhe flattered herſelf that the houſe of commons would grant her the neceſſary ſupplies for proſecuting it with ſucceſs; ſhe next adverted to the treaty in agitation for effecting an union between the two kingdoms.

This ſpeech, which was ſuppoſed to be compoſed by the new lord-keeper, was received with applauſe by the whole nation. The two houſes preſented addreſſes in the warmeſt terms of duty and affection.

The Tories, convinced that they had now forfeited the favour of their ſovereign as well as the eſteem of the people, ſought every opportunity of gratifying their malice, to diſturb the government, to effect the ruin of the oppoſite party. On the fifteenth of November, while the queen was in the upper houſe, lord Haverſham at the concluſion of a long ſpeech, in which he reflected on the conduct of the duke of Marlborough and the behaviour of the Dutch, moved, that an addreſs ſhould be preſented to her majeſty, deſiring her to invite the preſumptive heir to the crown of England, to come and reſide in the kingdom.

This motion was ſtrongly ſupported by the duke of Buckingham, the earls of Rocheſter, Nottingham, and Angleſey. They alledged, no method could be more effectual for ſecuring the ſucceſſion, than that of the ſucceſſor's reſiding upon the ſpot, ready to aſſume and ſupport his right againſt any pretender. The propoſal was warmly oppoſed by the Whigs, who knew it was diſagreeable to the queen. The queſtion being then propoſed to approve of the original motion, it was carried in the negative by a great majority. In the courſe of the debate the queen heard herſelf treated very illiberally by ſeveral of the Tories, who had formerly profeſſed the moſt inviolable attachment to her ſacred perſon. The duke of Buckingham, in particular to ſhew the neceſſity of inviting over the ſucceſſor, obſerved that the queen might live till ſhe was twice a child, and be as much enfeebled in her mind, as ſhe now was in her body.

The intention of the Tories in making the motion was to ruin the Whigs either with the queen or with the people. Had they approved of the motion, they would have given offence to their ſovereign; and, by oppoſing it, they were in danger of incurring the public odium, as enemies to the Proteſtant ſucceſſion: but the pretence of the Tories was ſo ſuperficial, that the nation ſaw through it; and the only effect which the motion produced was to expoſe that party to the reſentment of the queen and the averſion of the people*.

The Scottiſh parliament had lately tranſmitted an addreſs to her majeſty, proteſting againſt any further progreſs in the treaty of union, till the act by which they were declared aliens, ſhould be finally repealed. To remove this obſtruction, the two houſes now concurred in repealing that act, as well as in taking off the ſeveral prohibitions and reſtrictions, which had greatly injured and embarraſſed the reciprocal trade between the two nations.

An account arriving about this time of the ſucceſs of the allies in Catalonia, the queen communicated the agreeable intelligence in a ſpeech to the parliament, expreſſing her hope, that they would enable her to improve the advantage which her arms had acquired. The commons were ſo highly pleaſed with the intelligence, that they immediately granted two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds for her majeſty's proportion of the expence in proſecuting the ſucceſſes already gained by Charles the Third, for recovering the monarchy of Spain to the houſe of Auſtria. On the fifteenth of November the queen gave the royal aſſent to an act for exhibiting a bill to naturalize the princeſs Sophia, electreſs and ducheſs dowager of Hanover, and the iſſue of her body.

The Tories had always, when excluded from power, raiſed a violent clamour, that the church was expoſed to the moſt imminent danger; but never had they inſiſted upon that topic with

* In this ſeſſion the lords preſented a remonſtrance on the ſubject of the navy, in which department great miſmanagement prevailed; but the queen paid little regard to this addreſs, becauſe it not only affected admiral Churchill, the brother of her favourite duke, but alſo her huſband, the lord high admiral. *Boyer. Chandler's Debates.*

more earneſtneſs, than during their preſent diſgrace. It was therefore reſolved, that an enquiry ſhould be made into the real foundation of this clamour; and the ſixth of December was appointed for the purpoſe. On that day the queen repaired to the houſe of peers, to hear the reaſonings on this important ſubject.

The debate was carried on with intemperate warmth in both houſes. In the upper houſe it was cloſed by a diviſion, in which the Whigs prevailed by a majority of thirty-one voices; and it was voted (with a proteſt for the Tory peers) that the church of England, which William III. had reſcued from extreme danger, was at preſent in a ſafe and flouriſhing condition, and that whoever aſſerted to the contrary, was an enemy to the queen, the church, and the kingdom.

The commons, being ſolicited by the lords to concur in this vote, debated the ſubject with warmth. Bromley took the lead in behalf of the Tories; but he and his brethren were ably anſwered; and, after a long debate, it was reſolved, (by a majority of fifty) that the declaration of the peers ſhould be adopted. A joint addreſs being afterwards preſented, deſiring the queen to promulgate the deciſion of the two houſes on this ſubject, and threaten all thoſe with due puniſhment. who ſhould repreſent the church as inſecure, ſhe iſſued a proclamation to the deſired effect*.

At their next meeting†, a committee of the houſe preſented the thanks of the commons to the duke of Marlborough, for his eminent ſervices to her majeſty and the nation, and for his judicious negociation with her allies. To this compliment the duke replied, that he entertained the moſt grateful ſenſe of the diſtinguiſhed honour conferred on him by this meſſage, and that, while he had the ſatisfaction to find his faithful endeavours to ſerve the queen and the nation, ſo favourably accepted by the houſe of commons, he ſhould diſregard the reflections of envy, or of private malice.

So much in favour was this nobleman with the nation, that, when he propoſed a loan of five hundred thouſand pounds to the emperor, upon a branch of his revenue in Sileſia, the money was inſtantly advanced by the merchants of the metropolis. The kingdom enjoyed plenty: the people were ſatisfied with the government, and eager for the proſecution of the war: the forces were regularly paid: the treaſury was punctual: and, though vaſt quantities of coin were exported for the maintenance of the war, the paper-currency ſo perfectly ſupplied the deficiency, that no murmurs were heard, and the public credit flouriſhed more than in any former period. The Jacobites, indeed, attempted to depreciate the credit of the paper-money; but all their endeavours proved ineffectual, and redounded only to their own confuſion.

All the funds being eſtabliſhed, and all the bills having received the royal aſſent, the queen repaired to the houſe of peers on the nineteenth of March, where, having made a ſpeech to both houſes, expreſſing her perfect approbation of the unanimity and diſpatch, with which they had conducted the public buſineſs, and the zeal and affection they had manifeſted for her ſervice, ſhe prorogued the parliament to the twenty-firſt of May.

But the attention of the public was now directed to an object of infinitely greater importance, a treaty for eſtabliſhing an union between England and Scotland. After many ineffectual endeavours of ſeveral of our princes, this great and important work of effecting an union between the two kingdoms was reſerved for the reign of Anne; and the queen having lately, in conſequence of the power which had been granted her by parliament, appointed the commiſſioners on both ſides, they met at the council-chamber of the Cockpit, near Whitehall, on the ſixteenth of April.

During theſe tranſactions in Great Britain, the allies on the Continent were remarkably ſucceſsful. The French king had determined to exert his utmoſt efforts in the courſe of this campaign;

* Excluſive of the general purport of this proclamation, particular notice was taken, near the cloſe of it, of a violent pamphlet publiſhed by the Tories, entitled, "The Memorial of the Church of England," (which had already been burned as a libel), and orders were given to apprehend the printer (David Edwards), who, being examined by ſecretary Harley, declared that the manuſcript had been brought to him by two female ſtrangers, and that he had delivered the printed copies to four porters; but that, notwithſtanding this ſecrecy, he had reaſon to conſider ſir Humphrey Mackworth, and two other members of parliament, as the authors of the work. It appears, however, that it was principally, if not entirely, written by Dr. James Drake. † A. D. 1706.

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and, indeed, at the beginning of it his armies were extremely formidable. He expected he ſhould terminate the war in Italy and Catalonia. He knew that his forces on the Rhine were ſuperior to any number of troops which the prince of Baden could aſſemble; and he reſolved to reinforce his army in Flanders, to enable it to act offenſively againſt the duke of Marlborough.

That nobleman repaired to Holland in the latter end of April; and had ſeveral conferences with the ſtates-general. On the twenty-firſt of May he aſſembled the army between Borchloen and Groes-Waren; and found it amounted to ſeventy-four battalions of foot, and one hundred and twenty-three ſquadrons of horſe and dragoons, provided with an hundred pieces of cannon, twenty hawbitzers, and forty-two pontoons. The court of France, underſtanding that the confederates were not yet joined by the Daniſh and Pruſſian troops; diſpatched orders to the elector of Bavaria and the mareſchal Villeroy to attack them, before they could be ſtrengthened by theſe reinforcements. In conſequence of which, they paſſed the Deule on the nineteenth of May, and encamped at Tirlemont, behind the Gheet, being conſiderably ſuperior to the allies in number. There they were joined by the horſe of the army, commanded by mareſchal de Marſin, and took poſt between Tirlemont and Judoigne.

Elated with this acceſſion of ſtrength, they had, in imagination, already obtained a victory, and were only afraid that the duke of Marlborough ſhould decline an engagement. Their fears, however, were entirely groundleſs.

On Whitſunday, in the morning, he advanced with his army in eight columns towards the village of Ramillies, being by this time joined by the Danes: and here he was ſurpriſed with the agreeable news, that the enemy were in march to give him battle. No ſooner, however, did they perceive the approach of the confederate army, than their ardour began to cool; and, remembering what they had ſuffered on former occaſions, reſolved to avail themſelves of every advantage which the nature of the ground afforded. They accordingly took poſſeſſion of a ſtrong camp, their right extending to the tomb of Hautemont, on the ſide of the Mehaigne; their left to Anderkurk; while a conſiderable number of battalions were poſted in Offuz and Ramillies, which laſt was near their centre. If this precaution ſecured the enemy, it added freſh ſpirits to the confederate forces; as it was generally conſidered as an indication of fear. Though it rendered the attack more difficult and dangerous, it alſo gave reſolution to the aſſailants.

The allied army was drawn up in order of battle, with the right wing near Foltz, on the brook of Yauſe, and the left by the village of Franquenies, which the enemy had occupied. The duke ordered lieutenant-general Schultz, with twelve battalions, twenty pieces of cannon, and ſome hawbitzers, to begin the action, by aſſaulting the village of Ramillies, which was ſtrongly fortified with artillery. At the ſame time, veldt-mareſchal Overkirk, on the left, commanded colonel Wermuller, with four battalions and two pieces of cannon, to diſlodge the enemy's infantry, poſted among the hedges of Franquenies: and both theſe attempts were courageouſly and ſucceſsfully achieved.

The Dutch and Daniſh horſe of the left wing charged with great valour and intrepidity; but were ſo warmly received by the troops of the French king's houſehold, that they began to fall into confuſion, when the duke of Marlborough, ordered them to be ſupported with the body of reſerve, and twenty ſquadrons drawn from the right wing, where a moraſs prevented them from engaging the enemy. In the mean time, he perſonally rallied ſome of the broken ſquadrons, in order to renew the charge; and here he was expoſed to the moſt imminent danger. Having the misfortune while he was leaping a ditch, to fall from his horſe, he was inſtantly ſurrounded by the enemy, and muſt either have been killed or taken priſoner, had not a body of infantry come ſeaſonably to his aſſiſtance. In the act of remounting his horſe, the head of colonel Brienfield, his gentleman of the horſe, was carried off by a cannon ball, while he held the duke's ſtirrup. The reinforcement which the duke had ordered, had little occaſion to diſplay their bravery. Before their arrival the Dutch and Danes had returned to the charge, and the greater part of the French muſquetaires were cut in pieces.

All the forces poſted in Ramillies were either killed or taken. The reſt of the enemy's infantry

fantry began to retreat in ſome order, under cover of the cavalry on their left wing, which formed themſelves in three lines, between Oſſuz and Anderkirk; but the Engliſh cavalry, by croſſing a rivulet, which divided them from the enemy, attacked them with ſuch impetuoſity, that they abandoned their infantry, which were terribly ſlaughtered in the valley of Anderkirk. They now retreated on all ſides. The horſe fled three different ways; but were ſo cloſely purſued, that moſt of them were killed or taken priſoners.

The elector of Bavaria and the mareſchal de Villeroy eſcaped with the utmoſt difficulty. Several waggons of the enemy's vanguard falling down in a narrow paſs, obſtructed the road in ſuch a manner, that the baggage and artillery were unable to proceed; nor could their troops defile in good order. The victorious horſe perceiving this accident, purſued them ſo fiercely, that great numbers threw down their arms, and ſurrendered themſelves priſoners. The purſuit was continued through Judoigne, till two in the morning, five leagues from the field of battle, and within two of Louvaine.

In a word, never was a victory more complete. The confederates took all the enemy's baggage and artillery, about one hundred and twenty colours and ſtandards, ſeveral pairs of kettle drums, ſix hundred officers, ſix thouſand private ſoldiers; and about eight thouſand were left dead upon the ſpot. Prince Maximilian, the prince of Monbaſon, and many other perſons of diſtinction were killed. The loſs of the confederates did not exceed three thouſand men, including prince Lewis of Heſſe, and Mr. Bentinck, who were ſlain in the action.

After this diſcomfiture of the French army, the allies met with no further interruption in their conqueſts. They made themſelves maſters of Louvaine, Mechlin, Bruſſels, Antwerp, Ghent, Oudenarde, Bruges, and other places. Oſtend, though ſecured by a ſtrong garriſon, was ſurrendered, after a ſiege of ten days. Menin, fortified according to the moſt perfect rules of art, and defended by a garriſon of ſix thouſand men, ſurrendered in three weeks. The garriſon of Dendermonde ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war; and Aeth ſubmitted on the ſame terms.

The French troops were ruined and diſmayed; Paris was thrown into the utmoſt conſternation. Lewis affected to bear his misfortunes with calmneſs and compoſure; but the conſtraint had ſuch an effect upon his conſtitution, that his phyſicians thought it neceſſary to preſcribe frequent bleeding, to prevent more fatal conſequences. At his court no mention was made of military tranſactions: all was ſolemn, ſilent, and reſerved; and ſuch extreme care was taken to conceal the national diſgrace, that the ducheſs dowager of Orleans was obliged to write to her aunt, the electreſs of Hanover, to get ſatisfactory intelligence of the event.

The Engliſh fleet continued the whole ſummer in the Mediterranean, and confined the French navy in the harbour of Toulon. They ſecured Carthagena, which had declared for the archduke Charles, now proclaimed king of Spain, under the name of Charles III: they took Alicant by aſſault, and the caſtle by capitulation: and then ſailing out of the ſtreights, one ſquadron was diſpatched to the Weſt Indies, another ordered to lie at Liſbon, and the reſt returned to England.

The allies were no leſs ſucceſsful in Italy than in Flanders. The duke of Vendome having been called to command in Flanders after the battle of Ramillies, the duke of Orleans was placed at the head of the army in Piedmont, under the direction of the mareſchal de Marſin. They were ordered to beſiege Turin, which they accordingly inveſted on the thirtieth of May; and the operations continued to the ſeventh of September.

The duke de Fuillade, (a man of courage, but without much military knowledge) conducted the ſiege, and having finiſhed the lines of circumvallation and contravallation, ſent his quarter-maſter-general with a trumpet, to offer paſſports and a guard for the removal of the ducheſs and her children. The duke of Savoy replied, that he did not intend to remove his family; and the mareſchal might begin to execute his majeſty's orders when he ſhould think proper: but, when the ſiege began with violence, and the French fired red-hot balls which fell near the palace, the two ducheſſes, with the young prince and princeſſes, quitted Turin, and withdrew to Quiraſco, from whence they were conducted

conducted into the territories of Genoa. The duke of Vendome, before he left Italy, had ſecured all the fords of the Adige, the Mincio, and the Oglio, and drawn ſuch lines and intrenchments, as, he ſuppoſed, would effectually prevent the Imperial general from arriving in time to the relief of Turin. But the prince broke through all theſe obſtructions, paſſed four great rivers in ſpite of the enemy, and reached the neighbourhood of Turin on the thirteenth of Auguſt.

When prince Eugene approached Turin, the duke of Orleans propoſed to leave the intrenchments, and give him battle; and the propoſal was approved by all the general officers, except Marſin, who finding it difficult to eſtabliſh his opinion, produced an order from the French king, ſtrictly prohibiting ſuch a reſolution..

On the ſeventh of September, the confederates advanced towards the intrenchments of the French, in eight columns, through a terrible fire from forty pieces of artillery, and were drawn up in order of battle within half-cannon ſhot of the enemy. They marched forward to the charge with ſurpriſing reſolution, and met with ſuch a warm reception, as ſeemed greatly to impede their progreſs. Prince Eugene, obſerving this check, drew his ſword, and putting himſelf at the head of the battalions on the left, attacked the intrenchments, which he forced at the firſt aſſault. The duke of Savoy performed the ſame ſervice in the center, and on the right near Luſcingo. The horſe advanced through the intervals of the foot, left for that purpoſe; and ruſhing in with impetuoſity, completed the confuſion of the enemy, who were routed on all ſides, and fled with the utmoſt precipitation to the other ſide of the Po, while the duke of Savoy entered his capital in triumph.

The duke of Orleans behaved with great gallantry and courage; and received ſeveral wounds in the action. Mareſchal de Marſin was taken priſoner, his thigh being ſhattered with a ball, and died in a few hours after the amputation. Of the French army about ſeven thouſand were killed upon the ſpot: three hundred officers and about eight thouſand private men were taken, together with two hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, a hundred and eight mortars, five thouſand beaſts of burden, ten thouſand horſes belonging to thirteen regiments of dragoons, and the mules of the commiſſary-general ſo richly laden, that this part of the booty alone was eſtimated at three millions of livres*.

But the ſpirits of the French were a little elevated in conſequence of an advantage gained, about this time, by the count de Medavi, who commanded a body of their troops in the Mantuan territories. He ſurprized the prince of Heſſe in the neighbourhood of Caſtiglione, and obliged him to retreat to the Adige, with the loſs of two thouſand men.

The court of Verſailles magnified this inconſiderable victory to ſuch an exceſs, as to declare it ſufficient to balance their ſignal retreat before Turin. But the folly of theſe pretences was ſoon apparent: the duke of Orleans retired into Dauphiné, while the French garriſons were ſpeedily expelled from all the places they poſſeſſed in Piedmont and Italy, except Cremona, Valenza, and the caſtle of Milan, which were blocked up by the confederates.

On the Rhine, the military tranſactions of the year were of little importance. Though the French had aſſembled a numerous hoſt for the invaſion of Germany, the neceſſity of recalling a conſiderable part of it, for the augmentation of their diminiſhed force in the Netherlands, ſo weakened Villars, that, after he had retaken Druſſenheim and Haquenau, he remained inactive. The prince of Baden, at the ſame time, was too weak to take advantage of the reduction of the mareſchal's army. The prince did not long ſurvive the termination of the campaign; dying in the fifty-ſecond year of his age, with the character of an able general; though his reputation had not only been eclipſed by the fame of Marlborough and Eugene, but had been injured by the occaſional languor of his

* The loſs of the confederates did not amount to three thouſand men killed or diſabled in the action, beſides about two thouſand of the garriſon of Turin, who had fallen during the courſe of the ſiege. This was ſo terrible a blow to the intereſt of Lewis, that madame de Maintenon would not ſuffer him to be fully informed of the ſtate of his affairs. It was only intimated to him that the duke of Orleans had raiſed the ſiege of Turin at the approach of prince Eugene: but he knew that his own army had been defeated and deſtroyed.

operations, which his enemies maliciouſly imputed to treachery.

Lewis, now become wearv of the war, condeſcended to apply for a ceſſation of hoſtilities. He requeſted the elector of Bavaria to write letters in his name to the duke of Marlborough, and the deputies of the States General, containing propoſals for opening a congreſs. He had alreadv tampered with the Dutch in a formal memorial preſented by the marquis d'Allegre. He alſo ſolicited the Pope to interpoſe in his favour. He offered to cede either Spain and the Weſt Indies, or Milan, Naples, and Sicily to king Charles: to give up a barrier to the Dutch in the Netherlands, and to indemnify the duke of Savoy for the ravages, which had been committed in his country.

In theſe propoſals, however, his ſincerity was ſuſpected; beſides the confederates could not be ſuppoſed to be ſatisfied with only half of what was conſidered as the original object of the war; the recovery of the whole Spaniſh monarchy to the houſe of Auſtria. The propoſals, therefore, were rejected; and the allies reſolved to exert themſelves with redoubled vigour in the enſuing campaign. The duke of Marlborough, having had ſeveral conferences with the States General, and ſettled a plan for continuing the Heſſian troops in Italy, in purſuance of the requeſt of the duke of Savoy, embarked for England, and arrived at London on the eighteenth of November.

The Engliſh parliament aſſembled on the third of December, the queen, in her addreſs to both houſes, expreſſed her hopes that they were met with hearts impreſſed with a grateful ſenſe of the glorious ſucceſſes, with which it had pleaſed the Almighty to bleſs her arms, and thoſe of her allies in the courſe of this campaign; and with ſerious and ſteadv reſolutions to improve the advantages they had gained, till they ſhould reap the deſired fruit of them in an honourable and permanent peace: and that ſhe hoped they would grant her ſuch ſupplies as would enable her to proſecute the enſuing campaign with as much vigour as the former.

This ſpeech was received with applauſe by both houſes, who, in two days after, preſented to her majeſty addreſſes of thanks. They next proceeded to the conſideration of the ſupply, and, having examined their eſtimates, in leſs than a week, voted near ſix millions for the ſervice of the enſuing year. In reviewing the accounts, however, ſome difficulties aroſe. It appeared that the extraordinary ſupplies for the ſupport of king Charles of Spain, exceeded the ſums granted by parliament, by upwards of eight hundred thouſand pounds. It was alledged, that it might be attended with dangerous conſequences, if a miniſtry could thus contract a national debt, and expect the parliament to diſcharge it.

To this it was anſwered, that if any thing had been raiſed without neceſſity, or miſapplied, on pretence of ſerving the public, it was certainly reaſonable to inveſtigate the matter, and puniſh thoſe who ſhould appear to be guilty; but, as this expence was incurred to improve advantages, at a time when the cauſes could not be communicated to parliament, the miniſtry ought rather to be applauded for their zeal, than reprimanded for their liberality. The queſtion being called for, the majority voted, that thoſe ſums had been expended for the preſervation of the duke of Savoy, for the ſupport of king Charles againſt the common enemy, and for the ſafety and honour of the nation.

When the ſpeaker preſented the money-bills, he informed her majeſty, that, as the glorious victory obtained by the duke of Marlborough, was ſo ſurpriſing, that the battle occurred before the armies could be ſuppoſed to be in the field; ſo was it equally ſurpriſing, that the commons had granted ſupplies to her majeſty, before the enemy could well know that the parliament was ſitting. This nobleman was again honoured with the thanks of both houſes. The lords preſented an addreſs to the queen, beſeeching her to entail his honours on his poſterity. An act was paſſed for this purpoſe: and, in conſequence of another addreſs from the commons, a penſion of five thouſand pounds to be paid out of the poſt-office, was ſettled upon him and his deſcendants.

The lords and commons, having adjourned to the ſeventh of January, the queen cloſed the year with triumphal proceſſions. As the ſtandards and enſigns taken at Blenheim had been placed in Weſtminſter Hall, thoſe which had been brought from the field of Ramillies, were diſplayed

diſplayed in Guildhall as trophies of that victory. On the laſt day of December, which had been appointed for a general thankſgiving, the queen, attended by the two houſes of parliament, the great officers, of ſtate, the judges and other public officers, paſſed in proceſſion to St. Paul's cathedral, where ſhe heard a ſermon, preached by the biſhop of Saliſbury, who afterwards received the thanks of the commons, for his appropriate diſcourſe.

The union of England and Scotland, under one legiſlature, which had been ſo often attempted in vain, was at laſt accompliſhed, after long and intemperate debates between the commiſſioners of the two kingdoms; and, in conſequence of it, all diſputes concerning the Scottiſh crown were fortunately prevented,

The principal articles in that celebrated treaty are to the following purport: "that the TWO "kingdoms of ENGLAND and SCOTLAND ſhall "be *united* into ONE, by the name of GREAT "BRITAIN;

"That the SUCCESSION to the united kingdom, ſhall on the death of her majeſty, be veſted in the princeſs SOPHIA, ducheſs dowager of HANOVER, and the heirs of her body, being *Proteſtants*—And that all *Papiſts*, and *perſons marrying Papiſts*, ſhall be *excluded* from, and for ever *rendered incapable* of inheriting the CROWN of GREAT BRITAIN, or any part of the dominions thereunto belonging;

"That the *whole people* of GREAT BRITAIN ſhall be *repreſented* by ONE and the ſame parliament, in which *ſixteen* peers, and *forty-five* commoners, choſen for SCOTLAND, ſhall be empowered to *ſit* and *vote*.

"That the *ſubjects* of the united kingdom ſhall *enjoy* an *entire freedom* and *intercourſe* of *trade* and *navigation*, and *reciprocal communication* of all other *rights*, *privileges*, and *advantages*, belonging to the ſubjects of either kingdom; and be under the ſame prohibitions, reſtrictions, and regulations, with reſpect to commerce and cuſtoms.

"That the *laws* reſpecting *public right, policy, and civil government*, ſhall be *the ſame throughout the whole united kingdom*; but that *no alteration ſhall be made* in the *laws* reſpecting *private rights*, unleſs for the evident *utility* of the *ſubjects* reſiding in *Scotland*;

"That the *rights* and *privileges* of the ROYAL BOROUGHS in SCOTLAND ſhall not be affected by the UNION;

"That the COURT of SESSION, or COLLEGE of JUSTICE, with all the other *courts of judicature* in SCOTLAND, ſhall *remain* as *conſtituted* by the laws of *that* kingdom, and with the ſame *authority* and *privileges* as before the UNION; ſubject, however, to ſuch *regulations* as ſhould be made by the *parliament* of GREAT BRITAIN."

Beſides theſe general and permanent articles, it was particularly ſtipulated, that the ſum of three hundred ninety-eight thouſand and eighty-five pounds ten ſhillings, granted by the Engliſh parliament, ſhould be paid to Scotland, as an equivalent for that *augmentation* of the cuſtoms and exciſe, which was become neceſſary "for "preſerving an equality of trade throughout the "united kingdom," and which would be *applicable* towards the *payment* of the *public debt* of England, contracted before the UNION; this ſum to be applied, partly towards the *extinction* of the *national debt* of SCOTLAND, partly towards the *indemnification* of the *adventurers in the* AFRICAN, and INDIAN, or DARIEN COMPANY; and the reſidue, after the *reimburſement* of ſuch individuals as might ſuffer by the *reduction* (or rather elevation) of the *coin* of SCOTLAND to the *ſtandard* and value of the Engliſh coin, in encouraging fiſheries and manufactures in that kingdom*.

The firſt of May was appointed as a day of public

* Though this treaty, all circumſtances conſidered, was neither diſhonourable nor diſadvantageous to Scotland, yet it was zealouſly oppoſed, not only by the adherents of the excluded family, whoſe particular intereſt it was to obſtruct ſuch a meaſure but alſo by many independent members of the Scottiſh parliament, on principles of mere patriotiſm. Of thoſe, the moſt firm and reſolute was Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun; a man of a cultivated genius, of a warm temper, courage, eloquence, and incorruptible integrity. Finding all his efforts ineffectual, to prevent the paſſing of the Act of Union, and ſuppoſing it impoſſible that a majority of his countrymen could ever have been induced to conſent to the annihilation of their ancient monarchy without the influence of Engliſh gold, he reſolved to quit the kingdom, that he might not ſhare in their reproach, by condeſcending ſo far as to live among them.

public thankſgiving, and it was ſtrictly obſerved, with a decent ſolemnity, all over the kingdom. Congratulatory addreſſes were preſented by the different counties and corporations of England; but the univerſity of Oxford ſaid nothing upon the occaſion; and the Scots were equally ſilent. This omiſſion induced the inhabitants of Brackley in Northamptonſhire, to obſerve, in their addreſs, that they would willingly have refrained from diſturbing her majeſty amidſt her weighty concerns for the liberties of Europe, had they not been afraid, that the malice of the world might have unjuſtly confounded them with ſome of her miſtaken ſubjects; who, though enjoying an equal, if not a ſuperior ſhare of the benefits of the union, had, by their total ſilence, ſufficiently diſcovered their diſapprobation of what her majeſty had declared to be the greateſt glory of her reign*.

The Whigs imagined, that after the ſervices they had rendered to their country, and the aſſurances of ſupport they had received from her majeſty, they might reaſonably expect that one of the ſecretaries, at leaſt, ſhould be a man in whom they could confide. They therefore inſiſted that either Mr. Harley or ſir Charles Hedges, the two preſent ſecretaries, ſhould be diſmiſſed, and that his department ſhould be occupied by the earl of Sunderland. Hedges accordingly was deprived of his office, and the earl of Sunderland ſubſtituted in his place.

The allies had gained ſuch a manifeſt ſuperiority in the former campaign, that they had ſanguine hopes from the operations of the preſent: but, from a variety of diſaſtrous circumſtances, the event did not anſwer their expectation. Though the Engliſh and Dutch had rejected the offers which had been tendered them by the enemy, the emperor was ſo apprehenſive that they would engage in a ſeparate treaty, that he reſolved to attend to his own intereſt; and abſolutely concluded a capitulation with Lewis, by which the Milaneſe was evacuated, and that monarch was left at liberty to employ the forces, which guarded that Duchy, in oppoſing the allies in Spain and the Netherlands.

In the early part of the year the confederate generals in Catalonia, held a conſultation, to concert the operations of the enſuing campaign. The earl of Peterborough, who had retired to Italy, tranſmitted his opinion in writing, in which he adviſed them to continue on the defenſive, and ſecure the territories which they had already acquired. But it was the general opinion, that they ſhould undertake an offenſive war, purſue the enemy, and offer them battle whenever they ſhould appear.

Accordingly, the army was aſſembled at Caudeta, to the number of about fifteen thouſand men, under the command of the marquis das Minas, aſſiſted by the earl of Galway and other general officers. A few days afterwards they

them. On the day of his departure, his friends intreated him to ſtay, exclaiming, "Will you forſake your "country?" He ſarcaſtically replied, with a look of indignant contempt, "It is only fit for the ſlaves who ſold "it!" then leaped into his ſaddle, and put ſpurs to his horſe; leaving the whole company ſtruck with a momentary humiliation, and (blind to the extravagance of his conduct) at a loſs which moſt to admire, the pride of his virtue or the elevation of his ſpirit.

That ſome of the evils, prognoſticated by the Scottiſh patriots at the union, have ſince overtaken their countrymen, cannot be denied: particularly the accumulation of taxes, in conſequence of the growth of the Engliſh national debt, and the multiplication of the herd of inſolent revenue officers. Yet have the Scots, from that æra, enjoyed more happineſs, as a people, and riſen to more wealth and conſequence, as individuals, than they could poſſibly have attained in their diſunited ſtate.

Nor has England reaſon to complain of the union. Inſtead of turbulent neighbours, ſhe has gained, by communicating her privileges to the Scots, hardy ſoldiers to fight her battles, and induſtrious workmen in every branch of manufacture.

* Among other means adopted by the Tories to prevent the union, was that of employing a ſet of inflammatory writers to alarm the nation with apprehenſions of the church's danger, and to traduce the conduct of the miniſters; and this licentiouſneſs had been exercifed to ſo great a degree, that it became neceſſary to reſtrain it by ſome proper ſeverities. Dr. Joſeph Brown was thrice pilloried for ſome verſes entitled, "The Country Par-"ſon's Advice to the Lord Keeper," and a letter which he addreſſed to Mr. ſecretary Harley. William Stephens, rector of Sutton in Surry, was ſentenced to the ſame puniſhment, as author of a pamphlet, called, "A Letter to the "Author of the Memorial of the Church of England;" but, in conſideration of his being in holy orders, the execution of the ſentence was remitted. Edward Ward was exhibited in the pillory for having written a burleſque poem on the queen and the government, under the title of "Hudibras Redivivus," and the ſame puniſhment was inflicted on William Pitts, author of a performance, entitled, "The Caſe of the Church of Eng-"land's Memorial fairly ſtated." George Sawbridge too, the publiſher of the latter, was alſo fined ſix hundred pounds, and ordered to be brought by the marſhal of the queen's bench priſon to all the courts in Weſtminſter Hall, with a paper on his breaſt denoting his offence.

began

began their march towards Yecla, and laid ſiege to the caſtle of Villena; but receiving intelligence that the duke of Berwick was in the neighbourhood, they advanced in four columns towards the town of Almanza, where the enemy were drawn up in order of battle, their number being greatly ſuperior to that of the allies.

The battle commenced about two in the afternoon, and the whole front of each army was earneſtly engaged. The Engliſh and Dutch ſquadrons on the left, commanded by the earl of Galway, and ſupported by the Portugueſe of the ſecond line, were overpowered after a very gallant and obſtinate reſiſtance. The center commanded by general Erle, and compoſed chiefly of battalions from Great Britain and Holland, compelled the enemy to give way, and drove the firſt upon the ſecond line; but the Portugueſe cavalry on the right, conducted by the marquis das Minas, being broke at the firſt charge, their infantry fled with precipitation: the Engliſh and Dutch troops being left naked in the flanks, were inſtantly ſurrounded, and attacked on every ſide. In this dreadful ſituation they threw themſelves into a hollow ſquare, and retired from the field of battle. Had they been able to make good their retreat, the enemy would have had little reaſon to boaſt of the victory; for the loſs on both ſides was nearly equal. But their men were now exhauſted with fatigue, and all their ammunition was expended; they were ignorant of the country, abandoned by their horſe, deſtitute of proviſions, and cut off from all proſpects of ſupply. Influenced by theſe diſcouraging conſiderations, they capitulated and ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war, to the amount of thirteen battalions. The Portugueſe, and part of the Engliſh horſe, with the infantry that guarded the baggage, retreated to Alcira, where they were ſoon after joined by the earl of Galway, with ſome ſquadrons of dragoons, which he had brought from the field of battle*.

The enemy however did not improve the victory they had obtained. The duke of Berwick was ſuperſeded in command by the duke of Orleans, who arrived in the camp a few days after the engagement. This prince ſeemed to entertain ſome private views, and inſtead of haraſſing the diſpirited allies, began a ſecret negociation with the earl of Galway, during which the two armies lay inactive on the banks of the Cinea. He concluded the campaign with the ſiege of Lerida, which capitulated after a very brave reſiſtance. In the beginning of November the troops on both ſides were ordered into winter quarters.

The allies, though leſs unfortunate, were equally unſucceſsful in other quarters. A plan had been formed in the courſe of the winter, for the conqueſt of Toulon, by the troops of the emperor and the duke of Savoy, ſupplied with a large ſum of money by queen Anne, and aſſiſted by the combined fleets of England and Holland, under the command of ſir Cloudeſley Shovel. The ſcheme was concerted with great ſagacity, and might probably have ſucceeded, had not the emperor, regardleſs of the repeated remonſtrances of the maritime powers, divided his forces in Italy, by detaching a conſiderable body through the eccleſiaſtical ſtate towards Naples, of which he made himſelf maſter without difficulty. A conſiderable number of recruits which had been raiſed for the Imperial forces in Italy, were alſo detained in Germany, from an apprehenſion of the king of Sweden, who ſtill continued in Saxony, and ſeemed induſtriouſly to ſeek a pretence for coming to a rupture with the emperor.

Notwithſtanding theſe diſcouragements, the duke of Savoy and prince Eugene paſſed the Var on the eleventh of July, at the head of an army of thirty thouſand men, and advanced directly towards Toulon, whither the artillery and ammunition were tranſported on board the combined ſquadrons. They ſoon became maſters of the eminences which commanded the city, and, the ordnance being landed, erected their batteries. From theſe they began to cannonade

* Above two thouſand of the allied army were killed upon the ſpot; and among theſe brigadier Killigrew, the colonels Roper, Laurence, Dormer, Deloches, Green, Auſtin, Mac-Neal, Woolet, Withers, Ramſey, and Erſkine. The earl of Galway, who charged in perſon at the head of Guiſcard's dragoons, received a deep cut in his face, having before loſt his right hand with which he might otherwiſe have parried the blow. The marquis das Minas was run through the arm, and ſaw his favourite lady, who fought in the habit of an Amazon ſlain by his ſide: lord Mark Ker, Mr. O'Hara, ſon of lord Tyrawley, and the colonels Clayton and Pierce were wounded.

and bombard, while the fleet attacked and reduced two forts at the entrance of the Mole; and co-operated in the ſiege with their great guns and bomb-ketches. The garriſon was numerous, and defended the place with great bravery. Having ſunk ſhips in the entrance to the Mole, they continued a moſt furious fire from the ramparts, and made frequent and deſperate ſallies: they even drove the beſiegers from one of their poſts with conſiderable loſs: and in this laſt attack, a prince of Saxe-Gotha, who commanded the poſt, was unfortunately killed.

The French king, alarmed at the progreſs of his enemies, made aſtoniſhing efforts to raiſe the ſiege. He cauſed troops to advance towards Toulon, from every part of his dominions. He countermanded the forces that were on their march to improve the victory of Almanza: he recalled a conſiderable number of battalions from the army commanded by Villars on the Rhine; and he declared the duke of Burgundy ſhould be ſent at the head of a powerful army to the relief of Toulon. The duke of Savoy hearing of theſe preparations, and fearing his paſſage ſhould be intereepted, reſolved at laſt to abandon the enterprize. He therefore retreated to his own country without moleſtation. Soon after he undertook the ſiege of Suza, the garriſon of which ſubmitted at diſcretion. By this conqueſt he not only ſecured the avenue into his own dominions, but alſo opened to himſelf a free paſſage into Dauphiné.

The attempt upon Toulon, though unſucceſsful, contributed much to diſtreſs the enemy. Eight of their ſhips of the line were burned in the harbour: twenty were ſunk in the entrance to the Mole, few of which could ever be recovered: ſeveral magazines, and upwards of one hundred and ſixty houſes were demoliſhed in the city: and the devaſtations committed in Provence were eſtimated at thirty millions of livres: the French in general were ſeized with greater terror than they had ever experienced ſince the commencement of the preſent reign.

The expedition, however, was attended with a moſt lamentable diſaſter to great Britain, as well in the loſs of ſeveral ſhips of war, as in the unhappy fate of ſir Cloudeſley Shovel, who was drowned in his return. That gentleman having left a ſquadron with ſir Thomas Dilkes for the Mediteranean ſervice, ſet ſail for England with the reſt of the fleet, and was in ſoundings on the twenty ſecond of October.

About eight o'clock at night, his own ſhip, the Aſſociation, ſtruck upon the rocks of Scilly, called The Biſhop and his Clerks, and periſhed with every perſon on board. This was alſo the fate of the Eagle and the Romney: the Firebrand was daſhed in pieces on the rocks; but the captain and twenty-four men ſaved themſelves in the boat: the Phœnix was driven aſhore, and happily all the crew preſerved: the Royal Anne was ſaved by the preſence of mind and uncommon dexterity of ſir George Byng and his men, who ſet their top-ſails, when they were almoſt within a ſhip's length of the rocks; the St. George, commanded by lord Durſley, was driven on the ſame rock which had proved ſo fatal to the admiral: and the ſame wave which beat out the Aſſociation's lights, ſet the St. George afloat.

The admiral's body being caſt aſhore, was ſtripped by the country people, and buried in the ſand; but was afterwards diſcovered and conveyed to Plymouth, when it was conveyed to London, and interred in Weſtminſter Abbey; where a noble monument was erected to the memory of this gallant officer, as a mark of gratitude for the ſignal ſervices which he had rendered to his country. Though of humble origin in the county of Suffolk, by the force of his perſonal merit alone, without any particular patron, he raiſed himſelf to the higheſt ſtation in the navy*.

On the Upper Rhine the allies were unſucceſsful. The prince of Baden was dead, and the German army ſo inconſiderable, that it could not defend the lines of Buhl againſt the mareſchal de Villars, who at the head of forty ſquadrons and ten battalions, broke through a work which was eſteemed the rampart of Germany, defeated a body of horſe, reduced Raſtadt, raiſed

* The death of the admiral was particularly lamented. His virtues as a man, were equal to his profeſſional merits. The queen teſtified her regret for his catastrophe, and her deſire of ſtimulating others to an imitation of his example, by ordering a monument to be erected over his remains, which, having been found on the coaſt, were conveyed to the metropolis, and interred in the abbey of Weſtminſter.

contributions in the duchy of Wirtemberg and the city of Etlingen to the amount of three millions and nine hundred thouſand livres, took Stutgard and Schorndorf, and routed three thouſand Germans, intrenched at Lorch, under the command of general Janus, who was taken priſoner in the action. The Imperial army retired to Hailbron, and the command of it, at the preſſing inſtances of the allies, was aſſumed by the elector of Hanover.

The king of Sweden ſtill continued in Germany; and his intentions were ſo ſucceſsfully concealed, that the allies began to be alarmed at his preſence. It was therefore thought neceſſary to ſend ſome perſon of penetration, to dive into his real intentions; and the duke of Marlborough was fixed upon for that purpoſe. Accordingly, in the month of April, the duke ſet out from the Hague for Leipſick, with a letter from the queen to Charles; and, being admitted to an audience*, is ſaid to have addreſſed him in the following terms: "Sire, I preſent to your "majeſty a letter, not from the chancery, but "the heart of the queen, my miſtreſs, and writ-"ten with her own hand. Had not her ſex "prevented her from taking ſo long a journey, "ſhe would have croſſed the ſea, to behold a "prince admired by the whole univerſe. I "eſteem myſelf happy in having the honour of "aſſuring your majeſty of my regard; and I "ſhould rejoice, if my affairs would permit me "to learn, under ſo great a general as your ma-"jeſty, what I am yet a ſtranger to, of the art "of war†."

To this ſtudied compliment, the king is ſaid to have anſwered, that the queen of Great Britain's letter and the perſon of her ambaſſador were both very acceptable to him: that he ſhould always have the utmoſt regard for the interpoſition of her Britannic majeſty, and the intereſts of the grand alliance: that it was with extreme reluctance he had been obliged to give the leaſt offence to any of the powers engaged in the confederacy; but that his excellency muſt be ſenſible, that he had juſt reaſon for bringing his troops into that country: that, nevertheleſs, his grace might aſſure the queen, that he intended to depart from it as ſoon as he had obtained the ſatisfaction he demanded: and that, in the mean-time, he ſhould carefully avoid every thing that might tend to the prejudice of the common cauſe in general, or the Proteſtant religion in particular, of which he ſhould always glory to be a zealous protector. The ſincerity, however, of this declaration has been called in queſtion. The French court is ſaid to have gained over his miniſter, count Piper, to their intereſt. It is certain, that he induſtriouſly ſought for a ground of quarrel with the emperor, and treated him with great haughtineſs, till he had compelled him to comply with the whole of his demand. The duke of Marlborough repaired to Frankfort, where he had a conference with the electors of Hanover, Mentz, and Palatine, reſpecting the operations of the enſuing campaign: he then returned to the Hague, and, having ſettled the neceſſary meaſures with the deputies of the States General, ſet ſail for England, where he arrived on the ſecond of November.

The attention of the public was now engroſſed by domeſtic tranſactions. The Whigs had, for ſome time, engroſſed much of the favour and confidence of the queen, and poſſeſſed the principal ſhare of the adminiſtration; and indeed, the ſervices they had rendered to their country were ſo great, and the attachment they had diſcovered to the government was ſo ſincere, that they well merited this honourable diſtinction. The Tories, however, were chagrined at being thus eclipſed by their political rivals, and exerted all their efforts to undermine them. The perſon under whoſe auſpices they principally acted, was Mr. Harley, ſecretary of ſtate, who had been exalted to that important dignity by the intereſt of the duke of Marlborough and lord Godolphin, who, being deſcended of a Preſbyterian family, ſuppoſed him to be a ſteady

* Monſieur de la Motraye mentions the following remarkable incident, relating to this affair. The duke having demanded an audience of count Piper, and arriving at the quarters of that nobleman preciſely at the time appointed, was informed, that the count was buſy, and was therefore obliged to wait half an hour before the Swediſh miniſter came down to receive him: that, when he appeared at laſt, the duke alighted from his coach, put on his hat, paſſed the count without ſaluting him, and went aſide to the wall, where, having continued ſome time, he returned, and accoſted him with the moſt polite addreſs.

† Lamberti, vol. iv.

Whig,

Whig, and were not convinced of the fatal miſtake till after long experience. This man was aſſiſted in his inſidious deſigns by one Mrs. Maſham, a bed-chamber-woman to the queen, and a near relation of the ducheſs of Marlborough, who had reſcued her from indigence and obſcurity, ſupported her for ſome time in her own family, recommended her to the ſervice of her majeſty; and who now met with the return, which the generous too frequently receive from the ungrateful, to be undermined and ſupplanted by the perſon, whom ſhe had thus raiſed from indigence.

Theſe ſycophants were perpetually endeavouring to perſuade her majeſty, that ſhe was held in a ſlaviſh ſubjection by the Whigs, and was, in effect, but a cypher in the government: that the Tories were her only ſincere friends: that they were all attached to her perſon and government: that there was not a Jacobite in the nation; and that ſhe could never reign with comfort and independence till ſhe delivered herſelf from the hands of the Whigs, and entruſted her important affairs to the management of the Tories.

The Tories, though they thought themſelves ſecure of the queen's regard, were notwithſtanding afraid of a powerful oppoſition from the preſent parliament, which was principally compoſed of Whigs; and therefore reſolved to bring it to a period with all poſſible expedition. The parliament had already ſat two years; and, according to the triennial inſtitution, it had only another year to ſit. But as it had been revived, on account of its being the firſt parliament of Great Britain, it was generally ſuppoſed to be a new parliament. The Tories maintained the former aſſertion, the Whigs the latter. The Whigs poſſeſſing ſuperior intereſt, were able to accompliſh their point.

On the twenty-third of October, the firſt parliament of Great Britain aſſembled at Weſtminſter, when the queen particularly mentioned the preſent ſtate of affairs, and enumerated our ſucceſſes and diſappointments: and that ſhe hoped a faithful application of the ſums granted her by former parliaments, the apparent neceſſity of continuing the war, the reaſonable proſpect of bringing it to a ſpeedy and happy concluſion, and the honour of the parliament of Great Britain, would be fully ſufficient to induce them to grant the ſupplies neceſſary for the enſuing campaign.

The commons cheerfully granted the ſupplies for the ſervice of the enſuing year, amounting to about ſix millions. They alſo introduced a bill for repealing the Scottiſh act of ſecurity, and that reſpecting peace and war, which had excited much jealouſy in the Engliſh nation. They likewiſe reſolved, that there ſhould be but one privy council in the kingdom of Great Britain: and that the militia of Scotland ſhould be put upon the ſame footing with that of England.

The Tories were now become jealous of the duke of Marlborough, whom they conſidered as one of the ſtrong pillars of the Whig miniſtry; they reſolved therefore to prevent him, if poſſible, from acquiring any addition to his fame. The earl of Rocheſter ſaid, he remembered a maxim of the old duke of Schomberg, "that attacking "France in the Netherlands, was like taking a "bull by the horns." He therefore propoſed that the allies ſhould ſtand on the defenſive in Flanders, and detach from thence fifteen or twenty thouſand men into Catalonia.

In anſwer to this inſidious propoſal, the duke of Marlborough obſerved, that moſt of the forts in the Spaniſh dominions might be eaſily defended by a ſingle battalion; but the great towns in Brabant, which he had conquered, could not be preſerved without twenty times the force: and that, if the French, from their ſuperiority in point of numbers, ſhould gain any advantage in Flanders, the diſcontented party in Holland, which was very conſiderable, and already complained of the war, would not fail to cry aloud for peace. The lords, fully ſatisfied with the conduct of the duke, terminated the debate.

About this time a diſcovery was made of ſome inſtances of treachery, which reflected ſeverely on the character of Mr. Harley. William Gregg, an inferior clerk in the ſecretary's office, was detected in a correſpondence with monſieur de Chamillard, the French king's miniſter. He was immediately committed to Newgate; together with John Bara and Alexander Valiere, who had been employed by Harley to bring intelligence from France; but, inſtead of performing that ſervice to their country, had betrayed

trayed the intentions of the Engliſh to the enemy. Soon after Claude Baude, ſecretary to the duke of Savoy's miniſter, was, at the requeſt of his maſter, taken into cuſtody, for traiterous practices againſt her majeſty and her government*.

A committee of ſeven lords being appointed to examine theſe delinquents, made a report to the houſe, which was preſented to the queen in an addreſs, importing that Gregg had diſcovered ſecrets of ſtate to the French miniſter: that Valiere and Bara were in the intereſt of France, and ought not to be relied on or employed by any perſons in her majeſty's ſervice: that, notwithſtanding the great importance, and even indiſpenſible neceſſity, of keeping the intentions of the government a profound ſecret, all the papers in Mr. ſecretary Harley's office, had, for a long time, been expoſed to the view of the meaneſt clerks; and the peruſal of all the letters to and from the French priſoners chiefly entruſted to William Gregg, a perſon of a very ſuſpicious character, and known to be extremely indigent: and that they were confident her majeſty, being now fully informed of the facts, would take effectual meaſures for preventing any dangers of a ſimilar nature for the future.

Gregg was ſoon after tried, convicted, and executed, and, with his dying breath, acquitted Mr. Harley of any knowledge or concern in his treaſonable practices; though it was ſtrongly ſuſpected, that he was induced to make this declaration, by the alluring hopes of a pardon, with which, it is alledged, he was flattered to the very laſt moment of his exiſtence. On the other hand the Tories did not ſcruple to inſinuate, that the committee of lords had endeavoured to engage the criminal in an accuſation of the ſecretary; and had even aſſured him, that he ſhould obtain forgiveneſs, as the reward of his compliance.

The ſhock, which Harley's credit had ſuſtained from the execution of Gregg, and the examination of Valiere and Bara, was ſo far from humiliating that miniſter, that it only induced him to redouble his efforts, in conjunction with Mrs. Maſham, to eſtabliſh his intereſt upon a more permanent foundation. The duke of Marlborough and the earl of Godolphin being informed of his ſecret practices with that deſpicable favourite, wrote a letter to the queen importing that they could no longer ſerve her, if Mr. Harley ſhould continue ſecretary. Being ſummoned to the cabinet council, they attended her in perſon, and repeated their former reſolutions. She endeavoured to ſooth their reſentment by gentle means; but they remained firm to their purpoſe; and immediately retired from court to the aſtoniſhment of all who were preſent. The queen however repaired to the council, where Mr. Harley ſtated the cauſe of their meeting, which was ſome circumſtance relating to foreign affairs.

Symptoms of diſguſt appeared through the whole board. The duke of Somerſet declared with ſome warmth, that he did not ſee how they could deliberate on ſuch matters, while the general was abſent; the other members obſerved a ſullen ſilence: the council therefore broke up, and the queen ſaw herſelf in danger of being abandoned by all her miniſters. To prevent this calamity, ſhe ſent the next day for the duke of Marlborough, and informed him that Harley ſhould immediately reſign his office; which was beſtowed on Mr. Henry Boyle, chancellor of the exchequer: but ſhe ſeemed ſtrongly to reſent the behaviour of the duke and the earl of Godolphin, from whom ſhe entirely withdrew her confidence. Harley was accompanied in his diſgrace by ſir Simon Harcourt, attorney-general, ſir Thomas Manſel, comptroller of the houſehold, and Mr. St. John, ſecretary at war, all of whom relinquiſhed their offices.

The nation was at this time alarmed with the news of an invaſion from France. Lewis adopted the reſolution of exciting a rebellion in Britain; hoping to prevent the Engliſh from contributing their proportion towards the proſecution of the war. With this view he began to make preparations at Dunkirk, where a fleet was aſſembled under the command of the chevalier de Fourbin; and a body of land forces were embarked with Monſieur de Gace, afterwards known by the appellation of mareſchal de Matignon. The pretender, who had aſſumed the name of chevalier de St. George, was furniſhed with ſervices of gold and ſilver plate, ſumptuous tents, ſplendid apparel for his life guards, pompous liveries for his ſervants, and all other neceſſaries and ſuperfluities in great abundance.

* A. D. 1708.

Lewis, at parting, preſented him with a ſword ſet with diamonds of conſiderable value, and deſired him always to remember that it was a French ſword. The chevalier aſſured him, that, if it ſhould be his good fortune to get poſſeſſion of the throne of his anceſtors, he would not only return him thanks by letters and ambaſſadors, but would come in perſon to acknowledge his majeſty's protection and aſſiſtance. Lewis wiſhed him all manner of ſucceſs, and jocularly expreſſed his hope that he ſhould never behold him again. The Pope contributed largely towards the expence of this expedition, and accommodated him with religious mottos, which were interwoven in his colours and ſtandards.

The Dutch were do ſooner informed of theſe preparations at Dunkirk, then they tranſmitted an account of them to the Britiſh court. The queen communicated the intelligence to the parliament; and both houſes declared they would aſſiſt her with their lives and fortunes againſt the pretended prince of Wales, and all her other enemies.

The admiralty exerted itſelf with incredible diligence, and a fleet of twenty-ſix ſhips of the line, was in a few days equipped and ſailed from Deal towards Dunkirk, under the conduct of ſir George Byng, and lord Durſley.

The Britiſh fleet being forced from their ſtation by ſevere weather, on the twelfth of March, the French took advantage of that circumſtance, and, on the ſeventeenth, ſailed from the road of Dunkirk: but the wind ſhifting, they anchored in Newport Pits, till the nineteenth in the evening, when they again ſet ſail with a fair breeze, directing their courſe towards Scotland. Sir George Byng, informed of their departure by an Oſtend veſſel ſent out for that purpoſe by major-general Cadogan, and, being now reinforced to the number of forty ſhips of the line, detached a ſquadron under admiral Baker, to convoy the troops from Oſtend to England, and, with the reſt of the fleet, began to give chace to the enemy.

On the tenth of March, the queen came to the houſe of peers, where, in a ſpeech to both houſes, ſhe informed them, that the French fleet had ſailed from Dunkirk: that ſir George Byng was in purſuit of them: that ten battalions of her troops were embarked at Oſtend, and were daily expected in England: and that nothing ſhould be wanting on her part, to render the deſigns of the enemy ineffectual.

Both houſes preſented warm addreſſes to the queen, which ſhe received with great cordiality; and, in her preſent ſituation, ſhe ſeemed to careſs the Whigs with ſuch a devoted attachment, that it is ſurpriſing ſhe could ever afterwards withdraw her confidence from them.

In the mean time, ſhe exerted herſelf with uncommon diligence, in defeating the deſigns of her enemies. Several regiments of foot, with ſome ſquadrons of cavalry, were detached into Scotland; while the earl of Leven, commander in chief of the forces in that country, and governor of the caſtle of Edinburgh, haſtened thither to put that fortreſs in a poſture of defence, and to make diſpoſitions for oppoſing the pretender, at his landing.

But all theſe precautions were rendered unneceſſary, by the vigilance and ſucceſs of ſir George Byng. That officer ſailed directly to the frith of Edinburgh, where he arrived but one day later than the enemy, who were ſo much alarmed at his ſudden appearance, that they hoiſted ſail, and ſtood off to ſea. The Engliſh admiral gave chace: and the Saliſbury, one of their ſhips, was boarded and taken. At night monſieur Fourbin altered his courſe; and the next day, they were at a conſiderable diſtance from the Engliſh ſquadron. The pretender propoſed that they ſhould proceed northwards, and attempt to land in the neighbourhood of Inverneſs, and Fourbin ſeemed willing to adopt that meaſure; but the wind changing, and blowing in their teeth with great violence, he repreſented the danger of proſecuting the voyage, and, with the conſent of the pretender, and his general, returned to Dunkirk, after having been toſſed about for upwards of a month, in very tempeſtuous weather: and thus were deſtroyed all the hopes of the pretender and his adherents, both in France and Great Britain*. The French, Dutch,

* What might have been the conſequence of this invaſion, had it actually taken effect, can only be a matter of conjecture; but, as it was happily ſuppreſſed in embryo, the only inconvenience it produced, was, that it occaſioned

Dutch, and Jewiſh merchants exerted themſelves with great vigour, for the ſupport of the bank; and the directors having called in twenty per cent. upon their capital ſtock, were enabled to anſwer the demands of the timid, envious, and diſaffected.

All the noblemen and perſons of diſtinction in Scotland, ſuſpected of diſaffection to the government, were apprehended, and either impriſoned in the caſtle of Edinburgh, or conducted to London, to be confined in the Tower, or in Newgate. Among theſe was the duke of Hamilton, who found means to make his peace with the miniſtry; and, in a little time, moſt of the other priſoners were admitted to bail.

On the firſt of April, the queen came to the houſe of lords, where, after having thanked the parliament for the zeal and attachment they had ſhewn to her government, ſhe prorogued them to the thirteenth.

After the diſſolution of the parliament, lord Griffin, two ſons of the earl of Middleton, and colonel Wauchop, who had been taken on board the Saliſbury, were brought to London, and impriſoned in the Tower. Lord Griffin, being attainted by outlawry for high treaſon committed in the reign of king William, was brought to the bar of the queen's bench, and a rule made for his ſuffering the penalties of the law: but, though the queen was perſuaded to ſign a warrant for his execution, ſhe granted him a reprieve from month to month, till his life was terminated by a natural death in the Tower.

The privy council of Scotland, being limited to the firſt of May, was now diſſolved, and the firſt privy council of Great Britain was appointed. The duke of Queenſberry was created baron of Rippon, marquis of Beverley, and duke of Dover; and the office of ſecretary at war, vacant by the reſignation of Henry St. John, was conferred upon Robert Walpole, a man of eminent talents, great elocution, and one who ſhone conſpicuouſly in the two ſucceeding reigns.

No apprehenſions of invaſion being now entertained, the duke of Marlborough, the great pillar of the nation, and the principal ſupport of the grand alliance, repaired to Flanders, in order to command the confederate army, in conjunction with prince Eugene, who had been ſent thither by the emperor, after having headed a ſeparate army upon the Rhine. The French army, commanded by the duke de Vendome, in the name of the duke of Burgundy, though more numerous than that of the confederates, ſedulouſly avoided an action, or any hoſtile attempt; till by treachery, under the appearance of ſurpriſe, they got poſſeſſion of Ghent and Bruges. The duke of Marlborough, accuſed of being privy to this treachery, manifeſted, by his conduct, the injuſtice of the aſperſion. though not yet joined by prince Eugene's army, but aſſiſted by his advice, he paſſed the Scheldt, by a forced march, and came up with the enemy near Oudenarde. They could no longer decline a battle; and their ſituation and ſuperiority in numbers ſeemed to afford them a proſpect of ſucceſs.

The Scheldt, and ſeveral incloſures, covered the left wing of the French army. A moraſs extended along the hoſtile front; and on a riſing ground, on their right, the cavalry were placed, interlined with parties of foot. The infantry of the allies, advancing acroſs the moraſs, were received with great firmneſs by the French infantry. But the Britiſh cavalry broke the French horſe at the firſt ſhock, and the foot intermixed with the ſquadrons were cut in pieces on the ſpot. In the mean time the French infantry behind the moraſs had maintained their ground, againſt all the efforts of the confederates. But to avoid being flanked by the Britiſh cavalry, now triumphant, they ſheltered themſelves in the incloſures on the banks of the Scheldt; and, though the approach of night prevented a general defeat, the fears of the enemy yielded to the allies all the advantage which a complete victory would have given. So great was their terror and confuſion, that while the confederates fully expected a renewal of the action the next morning, the vanquiſhed retreated by five different routes in the night: and that diſgraceful and diſorderly flight, by breaking the ſpirit of

ſioned a conſiderable demand upon the bank of England, and ſeemed to have affected the credit of the nation. To prevent this public calamity, the commons reſolved, that, whoever intentionally endeavoured to deſtroy or leſſen the public credit, eſpecially at a time when the kingdom was threatened with an invaſion, was guilty of a high crime and miſdemeanor, and an enemy to her majeſty and the kingdom.

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the ſoldiers, rendered all the operations of the French languid and timid, during the reſt of the campaign. Though they preſerved their cannon and baggage, they loſt by this defeat about twenty thouſand men: they had five thouſand killed, nine thouſand taken priſoners, and near ſix thouſand deſerted.

In this attack, the electoral prince of Hanover gave early proofs of his martial diſpoſition. He charged at the head of his father's dragoons with great intrepidity: his horſe was ſhot under him; and colonel Luſchy was killed by his ſide. Several French regiments were entirely broken, and a conſiderable number of officers and ſtandards fell into the hands of the Hanoverians.

Immediately after the battle of Oudenarde, the French were reinforced by a detachment, under the duke of Berwick, from the Rhine; and the confederates were joined by prince Eugene's army, which eſcorted a grand convoy. The duke of Berwick, whoſe troops arrived firſt, propoſed to attack the convoy; but that propoſal, either from jealouſy or timidity, was rejected by the duke de Vendome*. In conſequence of the ſafe arrival of the convoy, and the troops that guarded it, the ſiege of Liſle, the principal city in French Flanders, fortified with all the art of Vauban, was undertaken by prince Eugene; while Marlborough lay encamped in the neighbourhood, to prevent interruptions from the enemy, and to forward the neceſſary ſupplies to the beſiegers.

No town was ever, perhaps, more vigorouſly attacked or defended than that of Liſle; into which the mareſchal de Boufflers, an old experienced officer had thrown himſelf, with ſome of the beſt troops of France. The garriſon conſiſted of about twelve thouſand men, the beſiegers amounted to near thirty thouſand. None of the works were carried without an obſtinate ſtruggle; and no ſooner were the aſſailants maſters of one place, than they were driven from another, and in danger of loſing all the advantage they had gained at a prodigious expence of blood and valour. Yet ſtill they perſevered, and by perſeverance advanced their progreſs. In the mean time Vendome endeavoured to diſtreſs them by cutting off their convoys. But in that ſervice he moſt unaccountably failed, as well as in all his attempts to relieve the place: and Boufflers, after a gallant defence of two months, was obliged to ſurrender Liſle. He retired into the citadel which was alſo obliged to capitulate; and Ghent and Bruges were recovered before the cloſe of the campaign†.

No event of any importance happened in Germany during the ſummer. The electors of Hanover and Bavaria, who were oppoſed to each other on the Upper Rhine not being in a condition to act with effect in the field, employed themſelves chiefly in fortifying their lines; a precaution ſuggeſted by a conſciouſneſs of their reſpective weakneſs.

In their operations by ſea, the confederates were attended with a very conſiderable ſucceſs. Sir John Leake having conducted to Catalonia the princeſs of Wolfenbuttle, whom Charles III. had eſpouſed, took on board ſome troops, and directed his courſe to Cagliari, the capital of Sardinia. No ſooner did the Engliſh Fleet appear than the monks, inſtructed by cardinal Grimani, who was in the intereſt of the houſe of Auſtria, ran in bodies to the ſtreets and public places, holding the crucifix in their hands, and aſſured the inhabitants who flocked around them, that God had made uſe of heretics to give them a better maſter. This made ſuch an impreſſion on the populace, that the viceroy was obliged to accept of ſuch terms as the invaders thought proper to grant; and the whole iſland inſtantly

* As neither this, nor any of the propoſals were embraced, it is impoſſible to ſay what ſucceſs might have attended them; but military men, in general, ſeem to imagine, that moſt of the meaſures ſuggeſted were highly worthy of being adopted.—*Duke of Berwick's Memoirs*, vol. i.

† The duke of Berwick particularly inveſtigates the cauſes of the capture of Liſle. And it appears, if his advice had been attended to, that the convoys of the confederates would have been effectually cut off, and perhaps prince Eugene, and even the duke of Marlborough, defeated, by the aſſiſtance of troops which might have been drawn out of the neighbouring garriſons, without their knowledge, to reinforce an army already ſtrong, by which they were ſurrounded: and which could, with ſuch reinforcements, have amuſed the one, while it gave battle to the other. It alſo appears, on the ſame authority, that Marlborough, on one occaſion, would have totally defeated Vendome, if he had not been prevented from hazarding a battle by the field-deputies of the States. See the *Duke of Berwick's Mem.* vol. i. and the *Letters* at the end of the volume, which contain many curious particulars in the military line, and fully illuſtrate the principal events of the campaign in Flanders in 1708.

ſubmitted, without drawing a ſword. The ſame admiral, aſſiſted by major-general Stanhope, alſo took the iſland of Minorca; a conqueſt, in itſelf leſs valuable than Sardinia, but of more importance to England when at war with Spain, on account of the excellent harbour of Mahon, and the ſtrong caſtle of St. Philip, by which it is defended.

The reduction of thoſe iſlands, which, in conjunction with the fortreſs of Gibraltar, gave the maritime powers the abſolute command of the Mediterranean, induced the Italian ſtates to ſubmit to certain antiquated claims of the emperor Joſeph, that they would otherwiſe have rejected with diſdain. Even the pope, who had hitherto adhered to the intereſts of Philip V. and who had raiſed an army for the defence of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate was no ſooner informed of the ſurrender of Bologna to the Imperialiſts, and that an Engliſh fleet was ready to bombard Civita Vecchia, than he promiſed to acknowledge Charles III. as lawful king of Spain, in order to prevent Rome itſelf from being ſacked by the barbarians of the north; for as ſuch the Italians ſtill conſidered the Engliſh and the Germans.

In Hungary, the diſputes, between the emperor and the malcontents continued to prevail. Poland was at length relieved from the preſence of the Swediſh monarch, who advanced into the Ukrine againſt the czar of Muſcovy, notwithſtanding the great conceſſions, which that prince offered in order to ſooth his reſentment.

On the twenty-eighth of October prince George of Denmark departed this life in the fifty-ſixth year of his age, after a matrimonial union which had exceeded the duration of twenty-five years. He was a prince poſſeſſed of many amiable and engaging qualities, brave, generous, modeſt, and humane, but deſtitute of great talents. The queen attended him in his illneſs with anxious aſſiduity, and hailed every appearance of hope with all the eagerneſs of joy, till her wiſhes were fruſtrated by the certain approaches of death. At the time of his deceaſe he was duke of Cumberland, lord high-admiral of Great Britain, generaliſſimo of all her majeſty's forces by ſea and land, and warden of the cinque-ports.

This event occaſioned ſome changes in the miniſtry; and both houſes having preſented addreſſes of condolence on the death of prince George, and of congratulation on the ſucceſs of her majeſty's arms; the commons took cognizance of controverted elections, which were, without the leaſt apparent neceſſity, decided in favour of the Whigs, with the moſt glaring partiality. They next proceeded to examine the different branches of the ſupply; reſolved the forces ſhould be augmented with the additional number of ten thouſand men: and voted upward of ſeven millions for the ſervice of the enſuing year.

The principal affair that came before the parliament during this ſeſſion, was a bill for the naturalization of foreign Proteſtants. This point was debated with great warmth in both houſes, and many forcible arguments were advanced on both ſides the queſtion. The Whigs ſpoke in favour of his bill: the Tories argued againſt it*.

The Tories, unable to defeat this meaſure entirely, reſolved, in ſome degree, to limit its effects, by obliging all foreigners to receive the ſacrament, according to the inſtitution of the Engliſh church. But it was judged proper to make the terms as comprehenſive as poſſible; and, accordingly, no other condition was required, than that thoſe who were naturalized, ſhould take the oaths to the government, and receive the ſacrament in *ſome* Proteſtant church. In this form the bill was, after ſome oppoſition, carried through both houſes, and, at laſt, received the royal aſſent, though not without a number of Proteſtations from thoſe of the Tory faction.

The lords next proceeded to enquire into the intended invaſion of Scotland, and the Tories exclaimed againſt the conduct of the miniſtry with great virulence, in that critical affair. They accuſed them of neglect, in not providing a ſufficient number of troops to defeat the deſigns of the enemy; and of ſeverity, in apprehending ſuch a number of innocent perſons barely on

* In this ſeſſion the lower houſe expelled John Aſgill a profeſſor of the law, for a publication in which he had aſſerted the poſſibility of being tranſlated into eternal life, without paſſing through death; an inſtance of profanity for which the commons of Ireland had puniſhed him with expulſion.

ſuſpicion. But all the arguments they advanced on the ſubject, were ſo frivolous and abſurd, that they were not entitled to the leaſt regard. It was, therefore, reſolved, by a conſiderable majority, that the miniſtry had behaved with all the care and fidelity which could reaſonably be expected from men in their ſtation*.

But, in order to conſole them for this diſappointment, the queen conſented to grant an act of grace, by which all treaſons were pardoned, except thoſe committed on the high ſeas: an exception evidently levelled againſt thoſe who had embarked with the pretender.

The next addreſs preſented to her majeſty, created ſome mirth among her ſubjects. An order had paſſed the privy-council, in purſuance of her majeſty's pleaſure, that, in the form of a prayer uſed on her acceſſion, the following words ſhould be omitted, "that theſe bleſſings may be "continued to after ages, make the queen, we pray "thee, a happy mother of children, who being "educated in thy faith and fear, may happily ſuc-"ceed in the government of theſe kingdoms." This order implying an intimation that the queen intended to paſs the reſt of her days in widowhood; Mr. Watſon, ſon of lord Rockingham, moved, that her majeſty ſhould be humbly requeſted not to ſuffer her juſt grief ſo far to prevail, but that ſhe would, in compliance with the earneſt wiſhes of her ſubjects, entertain thoughts of a ſecond marriage. This motion was ſtrongly ſupported by all the young members; and an addreſs was accordingly preſented to her majeſty to that effect. The queen replied that the proviſion ſhe had made for the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, would always be a proof of her hearty concern for the happineſs of the nation; but that the ſubject of their addreſs was of ſuch a nature, that ſhe was perſuaded they did not expect a particular anſwer.

The extreme reduction of the French finances, and the clamours of a burthened people, had operated ſo ſtrongly on the mind of Lewis, that he had renewed his overtures for a pacification. Full of this idea, he diſpatched the preſident Rouillé privately to Holland, with general propoſals of peace to the ſtates general. The ſtates, unwilling to take any ſteps in an affair of this conſequence, without the participation of their allies, communicated the propoſals of France to the courts of Vienna and Great Britain. Lewis, the better to carry on the deception, ſent the marquis de Torcy, his ſecretary, to the Hague with freſh offers, to which the ſtates would give no anſwer, till they ſhould know the ſentiments of the queen of Great Britain. The duke of Marlborough once more repaired to Holland, accompanied by lord Townſend, joint plenipotentiary; and prince Eugene being likewiſe at the Hague, the conferences were immediately opened.

Torcy now began to perform his part in the political drama. He declared that his maſter would conſent to the demolition of Dunkirk: that he would abandon the pretender, and diſmiſs him from his dominions: that he would acknowledge the queen's title, and the ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover: that he would renounce all pretenſions to the Spaniſh monarchy: and yield the places in the Netherlands, which the Dutch demanded for their barrier: and that with regard to the empire, he would reſtore all things as they were ſettled by the treaty of Ryſwick, and demoliſh the fortifications of Straſburg.

But theſe terms ſo honourable and advantageous to the allies, and humiliating to the houſe of Bourbon, were rejected by the plenipotentiaries of the confederates, the duke of Marlborough, prince Eugene, and the penſionary Heinſius. Lewis was not permitted to form the moſt diſtant hopes of peace, without ſurrendering the ſtrongeſt towns in his dominions, as pledges for the entire evacuation of the Spaniſh monarchy by his grandſon. The marquis de Torcy, who was employed in the negociation, exceeded his powers in making conceſſions; but without effect: in proportion as he yielded, the plenipotentaries of the confederates grew more exorbitant in their demands. Conference followed conference in vain. At laſt the penſionary Heinſius framed forty preliminaries, as the ultimatum of the allies; and though every one of theſe unreaſonable articles was expreſſed in the moſt dictatorial language, France agreed to thirty-five of them. The other five were rejected by Lewis, with diſdain, notwithſtanding the diſtreſſed ſtate of his kingdom, and the evils to be naturally apprehended from the continuance of the war. He threw himſelf upon his people, explained his own ample conceſſions, and the inſolent

* A. D. 1702.

inſolent terms propoſed by the allies. The pride of the French nation was roufed. They reſolved to make new efforts in ſupport of their humbled monarch; and the very famine, which had been productive of ſo much miſery, proved of advantage to the ſtate in this neceſſity; many young men diſtreſſed for want of bread, chooſing to become ſoldiers.

The conferences for the re-eſtabliſhment of peace being broken off, the army of the allies, amounting to upwards of an hundred thouſand men, commanded by prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough, was formed on the plains of Liſle. Mareſchal Villars, eſteemed the moſt fortunate general in France, who had been called to the command of the French forces in Flanders, as the laſt ſupport of his ſinking country, occupied a ſtrong poſt between Couriere and the town of Bethune. Thoſe places covered his two wings, and he was defended in front by the villages of la Baſſée and Pont Avendin. By this poſition of his army, he covered the cities of Douay and Arras, the reduction of which would have opened a paſſage for the allies into the heart of France. After advancing within two leagues of his camp, and reconnoitring his ſituation, the generals of the confederates, not deeming it prudent to attack him, ſuddenly drew off their troops, and ſat down before Tournay, one of the ſtrongeſt and moſt ancient cities in Flanders. The citadel, conſtructed by Vauban, was even ſtronger than the town. But with ſo much vigour and addreſs were both attacked, that the place itſelf was taken in twenty-one days; and the citadel, into which the governor had retired with the remains of his garriſon, was forced to ſurrender at the end of a month.

The confederates no ſooner found themſelves maſters of Tournay, which they had reduced without any annoyance from the enemy, formed the deſign of beſieging Mons. They accordingly purſued the neceſſary ſteps for that purpoſe; while Villars having adopted the reſolution of protecting or relieving the place, paſſed the Scarpe, and encamped between that river and the Scheldt. Diſappointed in his hopes of arriving at Mons, before the main army of the allies, under prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough, the French general took poſſeſſion of a ſtrong camp within a league of the inveſted city, determined to interrupt the operations of the beſiegers. His right extended to the village of Malplaquet, which lay behind the large impenetrable wood of Saart: his left was covered by another thick wood; and his centre defended by three lines of trenches, drawn along a narrow plain; the whole being ſecured by a fortification of trees, which had been taken from the neighbouring woods, ſurrounded with all their branches.

The generals of the confederates, elated with paſt ſucceſs, or ſuppoſing that Mons could not be taken without diſlodging the enemy, reſolved to attack Villars in that ſtrong poſition, though his army was hardly inferior to theirs, each amounting to about one hundred and twenty thouſand combatants. They advanced to the charge early in the morning, both armies having prepared themſelves for action during the preceding night. The Britiſh troops were oppoſed to the left, the Dutch to the right, and the Germans to the centre of the French army. Mareſchal Villars placed himſelf at the head of his left wing, and committed the charge of his right to Boufflers; who though a ſenior officer, condeſcended to act under him, that he might have an opportunity of ſaving his country. After an awful pauſe of two hours, the engagement was begun; and the firing inſtantly extended from wing to wing. Few battles, in any age, have been ſo fierce and bloody, and none had been ſo long conteſted, ſince the improvement of the art of war in conſequence of the invention of gunpowder. The Britiſh troops, led by the duke of Argyle, having paſſed a dangerous moraſs, attacked with ſuch fury the left of the enemy ſtationed in the wood, that they were obliged to retire into the plain behind it; where they again formed and renewed their efforts. In the mean time the Dutch, under count Tilly and the prince of Orange, were engaged with the right of the French army: and advancing in three lines to the entrenchments, gave and received a terrible fire for the ſpace of an hour.—Some French battallions having been thrown into diſorder, were rallied and confirmed in their ſtation, by the vigilance and courage of mareſchal Boufflers; and the Dutch alſo yielding, in their turn, were brought back to the charge by the activity and perſeverance of the prince of Orange.

Enraged at this unexpected obſtinacy of the French in both wings, and perceiving that Villars had weakened his centre, in order to ſupport his left, prince Eugene determined to attack in perſon, the entrenchments in front. He accordingly led on a body of freſh troops; entered the enemy's line, flanked a regiment of French guards, and obliged them to fly. Mareſchal Villars, in haſtening to ſupport his centre, was ſeverely wounded and carried off the field. But Bouffiers continued obſtinately to maintain the fight; and when he could no longer ſuſtain the united efforts of prince Eugene, and the duke of Marlborough, who ſhewed a diſpoſition to conquer or periſh, he made an excellent retreat.

The confederates, after all their exertions, gained little more than the field of battle; which they purchaſed with the lives of twenty thouſand men. The French did not loſe above half the number. But ſo faſcinating is the name of victory, that the allies were ſuffered to inveſt Mons, and to carry on their operations without the ſmalleſt diſturbance. The ſurrender of that important place terminated the buſineſs of the campaign in Flanders*.

The confederates were leſs ſucceſsful in other quarters. The elector of Brunſwick, who commanded the army on the Upper Rhine, formed ſome important ſchemes, but found the Imperial troops in no condition to aſſiſt him; and the count de Merci, whom he had detached with a conſiderable body of forces into Upper Alſace, was defeated by the count de Bourg, and forced to repaſs the Rhine. Diſputes between the emperor and the duke of Savoy, relating to ſome territories in Milan, rendered the campaign inactive on the ſide of Dauphiny.

The allies were not ſo ſucceſsful in Spain as in Flanders. On the ſeventh of May, the Engliſh and Portugueſe were defeated at Caya, by the Spaniards under the command of the mareſchal de Bay. The caſtle of Alicant, garriſoned by two Engliſh regiments, had been beſieged, and held out during the whole winter. At length, the chevalier D'Aſfelt, who conducted the ſiege, cauſed the rock to be undermined, and, having lodged fifteen hundred barrels of gunpowder, informed the governor, Syburgh, that two of his officers might come out, and ſee the condition of the works.

This offer being accepted, D'Aſfeldt in perſon accompanied them to the mine; declaring that he could not bear the thoughts of ſeeing ſo many brave fellows periſh in the ruins of a place they had ſo gallantly defended; and granted them twenty-four hours to conſider of the choice they ſhould embrace. Syburgh continued deaf to his remonſtrances; and, with an obſtinacy which ſurpriſed the enemy, and alarmed the garriſon, reſolved to ſtand the exploſion. The beſiegers, finding him immoveable, ſet fire to the mine, at the time appointed; and, when the centinels gave notice of this circumſtance, by a pre concerted ſignal, the governor ordered the guard to retire, and walked out to the parade, attended by ſeveral officers. The mine being ſprung, the rock opened under their feet, and, after receiving them into the chaſm, it inſtantly cloſed and cruſhed them all to atoms.

Notwithſtanding this dreadful incident, colonel D'Albon, who ſucceeded to the command, reſolved to hold out to the laſt extremity. Sir Edward Whitaker ſailed from Barcelona to the relief of the place; but the enemy, informed of his intention, had erected ſuch works as effectually hindered the troops from landing. General Stanhope, who commanded the forces, at length capitulated with the Spaniſh general for the garriſon, and marched out with all the honours of war, and was conveyed to Minorca, where the men were put into quarters of refreſhment.

On the frontiers of Catalonia, general Staremberg, who commanded the forces of Charles III. maintained his ground, and even annoyed the enemy. He paſſed the Segra without reſiſtance, reduced Balaguer without oppoſition, where he took nine hundred priſoners; and, having ſecured the place with a ſtrong garriſon, he repaſſed the river, and ſent his forces into winter-quarters.

At the concluſion of the campaign, the French king endeavoured to renew the negociation for a peace; though he ſtill acted with the ſame inſincerity as formerly. His miniſter, Torcy, maintained a correſpondence with Mr. Petkum, the reſident of the duke of Holſtein, at the Hague, to whom he propoſed, that conferences for a treaty ſhould be once more opened.

A memorial from Verſailles had been brought by Petkum, but the ſtates-general plainly perceived

* The confederates took ſixteen pieces of cannon, twenty colours, and twenty-ſix ſtandards.

ceived that the French king was not ſincere in his profeſſions; and that he only intended to amuſe the confederates with deluſive hopes, in order, if poſſible, to retard their preparations. They therefore rejected his propoſal, and reſolved to proſecute the war with the utmoſt vigour.

The parliament being aſſembled on the fifteenth of November, the queen in a ſpeech to both houſes, obſerved, that the enemy had endeavoured, by deceitful inſinuations of a deſire for peace to create jealouſies and diviſions among the allies; but they had been diſappointed in their expectations; that the Almighty had been pleaſed to bleſs the arms of the confederates with a moſt remarkable victory: that the deplorable dearth and ſcarcity, which afflicted the other nations of Europe, began, in ſome meaſure to affect Great Britain: that this calamity was ſtill farther encreaſed by the exportation of corn; a traffic to which the merchants were tempted by the immenſe profits they acquired by that practice; and that ſhe hoped the parliament would adopt ſome method to prevent this growing evil.

Both houſes preſented warm addreſſes to her majeſty, and congratulated her on the ſucceſs of her arms and thoſe of her allies. The commons granted upwards of ſix millions for the ſervices of the enſuing year. And at the ſame time both houſes thanked the duke of Marlborough for the late victory he had obtained, and for the many other eminent ſervices which he had rendered to the nation.

The affair which principally engaged the attention of the parliament, during this ſeſſion, was in appearance of a very inſignificant nature, but it was attended with conſequences of the utmoſt importance to the public. It occaſioned a total change in the miniſtry; and, in the end, had almoſt proved fatal to the very liberties of the nation. A ſermon preached by Dr. Henry Sacheverel, rector of St. Saviour's, Southwark, excited a general commotion. This parochial divine, though poſſeſſed of little learning, ſenſe, or genius, was raſh, headſtrong, furious, and bigotted, and had long diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the moſt violent declamations againſt low churchmen and diſſenters, againſt the union and toleration, and againſt every thing which tended to preſerve the peace, or promote the welfare of the kingdom.

He was firſt preſented to a ſmall living in Staffordſhire, when, like all other enthuſiaſts, he ſoon drew about him a large croud of admirers. Being afterwards preferred by a popular election to the rectory of St. Saviour's, Southwark, the number of his followers conſiderably increaſed; and he was univerſally regarded by the populace, as the principal champion and defender of the church. In a furious declamation, on the 5th of November, he defended the doctrine of paſſive obedience and non reſiſtance; exclaimed againſt the toleration and diſſenters; declared the church was dangerouſly attacked by her enemies, and feebly defended by her falſe friends: "he ſounded," as he himſelf expreſſed it, "the "trumpet for the church, and exhorted the peo- "ple to put on the whole armour of God."— This harangue was countenanced by ſir Samuel Garrard, the lord mayor, and publiſhed under his protection: it was extolled by the Tories, as a moſt excellent performance, and circulated with great induſtry all over the nation.

On the thirteenth of December, Mr. Dolben, (a warm partizan of the miniſtry,) ſon of the late archbiſhop of York, and a member of the preſent parliament, complained to the houſe of this ſermon of Sacheverel's, and of another in the ſame ſtrain, which he had preached at the Derby aſſizes, as containing poſitions contrary to the principles of the Revolution, to the preſent government, to the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, and conſequently tending to cheriſh factions and excite inſurrections in the kingdom. This charge being ſupported by ſir Peter King and other members, and no perſon attempting to ſpeak in the doctor's defence, the moſt offenſive paragraphs were read; and the ſermons were voted ſcandalous and ſeditious libels.

Sacheverel being brought to the bar of the houſe, acknowledged himſelf author of both, and mentioned the encouragement he had received from the lord mayor to print and publiſh that which was entitled, "The perils of Falſe "Brethren." Sir Samuel, who was a member, denied that he had ever given him ſuch encouragement. Sacheverel offered to prove the contrary; but, though the houſe in general were

convinced of the mayor's imprudence, they did not wiſh to engage him in a conteſt with a man of the doctor's character; eſpecially as the conſequence could not, in the leaſt, have affected the preſent queſtion. The doctor being ordered to withdraw, the houſe reſolved, that he ſhould be impeached of high crimes and miſdemeanors, and Mr. Dolben was directed to impeach him at the bar of the houſe of lords in the name of all the commons of Great Britain. A committee was appointed to prepare the articles, and Sacheverel was taken into cuſtody.

At the ſame time in order to diſcountenance theſe doctrines, and encourage the ſpirit of liberty, they reſolved that Mr. Benjamin Hoadly, rector of St. Peter le Poor, for having been a literary advocate for the principles on which her majeſty and the nation proceeded in the late happy Revolution, had juſtly merited the favour and recommendation of the houſe: and they preſented an addreſs to the queen, beſeeching her to beſtow ſome dignity in the church on Mr. Hoadly, for his eminent ſervices to the church and ſtate. The queen promiſed to comply with their requeſt; but ſuch unhappily was the force of her prejudices, that ſhe could never be prevailed on to perform her promiſe.

The articles againſt Dr. Sacheverel being exhibited, he was committed to the deputy uſher of the black rod; and the lords admitted him to bail. Being now at liberty, he conſulted ſome eminent lawyers and divines, and, with their aſſiſtance, drew up an anſwer to the charge, in which, after denying ſome articles, he endeavoured to juſtify or extenuate others. The commons having ſent up a replication, declaring they were ready to prove the charge, the lords appointed the twenty-ſeventh of February * for the trial, in Weſtminſter-hall †.

The invectives contained in the ſermons, againſt the Revolution, the toleration, the union, the diſſenters and the adminiſtration, were ſo explicit, and the doctor ſo ingenuouſly acknowledged himſelf to be the author of theſe ſermons, that no farther evidence was neceſſary ‡.

The queen iſſued a proclamation for ſuppreſſing theſe tumults, and ſeveral perſons being apprehended, were afterwards tried for high treaſon. Two of them were convicted and condemned; but neither of them ſuffered.

When the doctor's counſel had finiſhed their pleadings in his defence, he himſelf addreſſed the court. He juſtified his intentions towards the queen and the government; and ſpoke in the moſt reſpectful terms of the Revolution, and the Proteſtant ſucceſſion. He maintained, indeed, the doctrine of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance, as a maxim of the church in which he was educated; and, by many pathetic expreſſions endeavoured to work upon the feelings of the audience. This compoſition was ſo much ſuperior, both in diction and ſentiment, to the doctor's publications, that it was univerſally believed to have been manufactured for him, and

* A. D. 1710.

† The eyes of the whole nation were fixed upon this extraordinary trial. It continued three weeks, during which time all other buſineſs was ſuſpended; and the queen herſelf attended every day, though in the character of a private ſpectator. The managers for the commons were ſir John Holland, comptroller of her majeſty's houſehold, Mr. ſecretary Boyle, Mr. Smith, chancellor of the exchequer, ſir James Montague, attorney-general, Mr. Robert Eyre, ſolicitor-general, Mr. Walpole, treaſurer of the navy, lieutenant general Stanhope, ſir Peter King, recorder of the city of London, ſir Joſeph Jekyl, ſir Thomas Parker, ſir David Dalrymple, and others.—The doctor was defended by ſir Simon Harcourt, Mr. Dodd, Mr. Phipps, Mr. Dee, and Dr. Henchman.

‡ A vaſt multitude attended the doctor every day, to and from Weſtminſter-hall, endeavouring to approach him ſo as to kiſs his hand, and praying for his deliverance, as if he had been a martyr and confeſſor. The queen's ſedan was beſet by the rabble, exclaiming, "God bleſs "your majeſty and the church; We hope your majeſty "is for Dr. Sacheverel." They obliged all perſons to uncover and bow to the doctor, as he paſſed in his coach to the Temple, where he reſided; and, among theſe, ſeveral members of parliament, whom they inſulted in a moſt outrageous manner.

Not ſatisfied with theſe inſtances of violence, they proceeded to greater enormities, and even to overt acts of rebellion. They forced open meeting houſes, demoliſhed the pulpits, pews, and benches, and, carrying them into the fields and ſquares, committed them to the flames, with repeated huzzas of "high church and Sacheverel!" They plundered the dwelling-houſes of many eminent diſſenters, and threatened to eraſe thoſe of the lord chancellor, the earl of Wharton, and the biſhop of Saliſbury. They even propoſed to attack the bank; in conſequence of which the directors were obliged to ſend to Whitehall for aſſiſtance. The horſe and foot guards were immediately ordered to diſperſe the mob, who fled at their approach. On the following day the guards were doubled at Whitehall and the trained bands of Weſtminſter were kept in arms during the continuance of the trial.

was

was generally ſuppoſed to have been the joint production of Dr. Atterbury, Dr. Smalridge, Dr. Friend, ſir Simon Harcourt, and Mr. Phipps.

When the queſtion was put, ſixty-nine of the nobles pronounced Sacheverel guilty, and fifty-two declared him innocent. He was prohibited from preaching for three years, and his two ſermons were ordered to be burned by the hands of the common hangman, in the preſence of the lord mayor and the two ſheriffs of London*.

The negociation which had taken place for effecting a peace, did not retard the operations of the campaign. On the fifteenth of April, prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough ſet out from the Hague for Tournay, in order to aſſemble the forces, which were quartered on the Maeſe, in Flanders, and in Brabant. On the twentieth, they ſuddenly advanced to Pont-a-Vendin, in order to attack the lines, which the French had been forming during the winter; hoping, by theſe, to cover Doway, and other frontier towns, which were moſt expoſed to the confederate arms. The troops left for the defence of the lines, retired at the firſt appearance of the allies, who, having thrown bridges over the Scarpe, the duke of Marlborough, with his diviſion, paſſed the river and encamped at Vitri. Prince Eugene remained on the other ſide, and laid ſiege to Doway, the enemy retreating towards Cambray. Mareſchal Villars continued to command the French forces, which were extremely numerous, and in good condition, conſidering the wretched ſituation of that kingdom. The number, indeed, was increaſed by this circumſtance, that many fled to the army to preſerve themſelves from the dreadful proſpect of periſhing by famine. The mareſchal having aſſembled all his forces, croſſed the Schelde, and encamped at Bouchain, declaring he would give battle to the confederates. The duke of Marlborough altered the diſpoſition of his troops, and took proper precautions to give the enemy a powerful reception.

Villars advanced in order of battle; but, upon perceiving the ſituation of the allies, he returned to the heights of St. Laurence, where he eſtabliſhed his camp. His intention was, by continual alarms, to interrupt the ſiege of Doway, which was reſolutely defended by a numerous garriſon, under monſieur Albergotti, who made a number of deſperate ſallies, in which the beſiegers loſt many lives. They were alſo repulſed in ſeveral aſſaults; but ſtill proceeded with indefatigable perſeverance, till the garriſon, reduced to the laſt extremity, were obliged to ſurrender on the twenty-ſixth of June.

The generals, finding the enemy ſo ſtrongly entrenched between Arras and Miramont, that they could not be attacked without great danger, reſolved to beſiege Bethune, which was inveſted on the fifteenth of July, and ſurrendered on the twenty-ninth of Auguſt. Villars quitted his intrenchments, and intended to raiſe the ſiege; but, upon viewing the ſituation of the allies, he thought proper to alter his reſolution, and again returned to his camp. Soon after, the confederates reduced the towns of Aire and St. Vincent; after which, the armies on both ſides repaired into winter quarters.

The campaign on the Rhine was entirely inactive, nor was any thing of moment tranſacted in Piedmont. The duke of Savoy being indiſpoſed, the command of the forces ſtill remained veſted in count Thaun, who attempted to croſs the Alps, and force his way into Dauphiné, but the duke of Berwick had taken ſuch precautions to defend them, that he defeated the deſigns of the Imperial general.

Conſiderable achievements were performed in Spain, where both parties were conquerors and conquered by turns; in the courſe of which general Stanhope particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf.

In England, the Tories began to execute the ſcheme they had formed for effecting the ruin of the Whig miniſtry. By the intrigues of Harley and Mrs. Maſham they had entirely ſecured the confidence of their ſovereign: by the trial of Dr. Sacheverel, they had poſſeſſed themſelves of the favour of the populace. From all

* The lords alſo ordered, that the executioner ſhould commit to the ſame flames the famous decree of the univerſity of Oxford, as containing poſitions contrary to the conſtitution of the kingdom, and deſtructive of the proteſtant ſucceſſion. A like ſentence was paſſed upon a book, entitled, "A collection of Paſſages referred to by "Dr. Sacheverel, in his Anſwer to the Articles of im-"peachments." Theſe he had ſelected from impious books, lately publiſhed, and they were read by his council as proofs that the church was in danger.

parts

parts of the kingdom they procured addreſſes to the queen, aſſerting, in the ſtrongeſt terms, her hereditary right, and reprobating all reſiſtance as a rebellious doctrine, founded upon antimonarchial and republican principles.

The queen began to diſplay her partiality to this party, by mortifying the duke of Marlborough. On the death of the earl of Eſſex, ſhe wrote to the general, requeſting that the regiment commanded by that nobleman ſhould be given to Mr. Hill, brother to Mrs. Maſham. The duke repreſented to her majeſty in perſon, the injury which would be ſuſtained in the ſervice from the promotion of ſo young an officer, over the heads of ſo many experienced men, who had given repeated proofs of their courage and capacity. He added, that he could not avoid conſidering this extraordinary mark of regard to the brother of Mrs. Maſham, as a diſapprobation of himſelf and his family, who had ſo much reaſon to complain of that lady's malice and ingratitude.

To this remonſtrance the queen made no other anſwer, than that he would do well to adviſe with his friends. The earl of Godolphin enforced the duke's arguments, though without effect; and his grace retired in diſguſt to Windſor. The queen appeared at council without noticing his abſence. The whole miniſtry were aſtoniſhed at this alteration in her ſentiments. Several noblemen ventured to ſpeak to her on the ſubject, expreſſing their fears of the conſequences of diſobliging a man who had performed ſuch eminent ſervices to the nation. She replied, that his ſervices were ſtill alive on her memory; and that ſhe retained all her former kindneſs for his perſon. Hearing, however, that her conduct was cenſured by the public, and that the houſe of commons intended to paſs ſome votes which would be diſagreeable to her and her new counſellors, ſhe ordered the earl of Godolphin to write to the duke, to deſire he would diſpoſe of the regiment as he ſhould think proper, and return to town immediately. But before he received this intimation, he had diſpatched a letter to the queen, complaining of the intrigues which had been carried on againſt him, lamenting the loſs of her majeſty's confidence, and deſiring, as the laſt favour, that ſhe would permit him to retire from public buſineſs. The queen ſent him a reply, importing, that his ſuſpicions were entirely groundleſs, and inſiſted on his coming to council.

It afterwards appeared, however, that his apprehenſions were but too well founded, and that her majeſty's regard was alienated, not only from him, but alſo from the whole Whig party. As a proof of this, the office of lord-chamberlain was transferred from the duke of Kent to the duke of Shrewſbury, who had lately ſided with the Tories, and maintained an intimate correſpondence with Mr. Harley*. Even the earl of Sunderland, though ſon-in-law to the duke of Marlborough, was deprived of the office of ſecretary of ſtate, in which he was ſucceeded by lord Dartmouth. The Tories exulted in the victory they had gained. They extolled the queen for thus bravely aſſerting, as they expreſſed it, her juſt prerogative, and ſetting herſelf free from an arbitrary cabal, by which ſhe had been ſo long held in abſolute dependence. The duke of Beaufort repaired to court upon this occaſion, and aſſured her majeſty, he was extremely happy that he could now ſalute her queen in reality†.

So ſudden and entire a change in the miniſtry

* Harley's talents, if not of the higheſt order, were reſpectable; and he employed them with dexterity. Obſervant of the diſpoſitions of individuals, he exerciſed with effect the arts of inſinuation; and, at the ſame time, he ſtudiouſly diſſembled his own views. Though he laviſhed his declarations of attachment, he was little affected by the feelings of real friendſhip. While Godolphin was, in general, open and ſincere, and declined the promiſe of what he could not perform, his adverſary, by plauſible profeſſions, cheriſhed, in the minds of thoſe who courted his favour, ſuch hopes as he did not mean to gratify. In his principles he did not entirely coaleſce with either of the contending parties; but ſeemed to obſerve a medium between them. His ambition was great; but it was not accompanied with rapacity. He was well acquainted with the hiſtory and conſtitution of his country, and not unſkilled in finance. In polite literature he was converſant; and was a liberal patron of the learned.

† On the eighth of Auguſt, the earl of Godolphin was deprived of his office, and the treaſury put in commiſſion, ſubjected to the direction of Mr. Harley, appointed chancellor of the exchequer and under-treaſurer*. The earl of Rocheſter was declared preſident of the council, inſtead of lord Somers: the ſtaff of lord ſteward being taken from the duke of Devonſhire was given to the duke of Buckingham: and Mr. Boyle being diveſted of the office of ſecretary of ſtate, Henry St. John was advanced

* *The commiſſioners were earl Poulet, Harley, Paget, Manſel, and Benſon.*

niſtry is not to be found in the Engliſh hiſtory; eſpecially at a time, when men of diſtinguiſhed abilities and unqueſtionable integrity had performed ſuch eminent ſervices to their country. The next ſtep was to transfer the lieutenancy of London into the hands of the Tories, and this point was effectually ſecured by the intereſt of the court, though they could not prevent ſir Gilbert Heathcote, a ſtaunch Whig, from being choſen lord mayor. The new adminiſtration in England was introduced with a new parliament.

The attention of the public was engroſſed by the new elections, which generally terminated in favour of the Tories; chiefly by means of the popular frenzy, raiſed by the trial of Sacheverel, who was uſed as an inſtrument to fluctuate the paſſions of the vulgar*.

The queen, in her ſpeech to both houſes (ſuppoſed to have been the production of Mr. Harley) adopted an expreſſion very different from what had commonly been uſed on ſimilar occaſions, and was not favourably received by the public. Inſtead of promiſing to ſupport the toleration, the uſual phraſe, her majeſty declared, in the language of Sacheverel, that ſhe would maintain the "indulgence" by law allowed to ſcrupulous conſciences. This was conſidered as a tacit approbation of the conduct of that incendiary, and of all the effects with which it had been attended.

The lords preſented an addreſs, importing, that they would concur in all reaſonable meaſures towards procuring an honourable peace. The addreſs of the commons diſcovered the ſpirit by which they were actuated. They exhorted her majeſty to diſcountenance all ſuch principles and meaſures as had lately threatened her royal crown and dignity; meaſures, they ſaid, which, whenever they might prevail, would prove fatal to the conſtitution both in church and ſtate.

In the houſe of peers, the earl of Scarborough having moved, that the thanks of the houſe ſhould be given to the duke of Marlborough, the duke of Argyle ſtarted ſome objections; and the general's friends, apprehending that the queſtion might be carried againſt them, wiſhed to defer the conſideration of the propoſal till the duke ſhould return to England. The earl of Peterborough was appointed ambaſſador-extraordinary to the Imperial court; the earl of Rivers was diſpatched in the ſame character to Hanover; and Mr. Richard Hill nominated envoy-extraordinary to the United Provinces, as well as to the council of ſtate appointed for the government of the Spaniſh Netherlands, inſtead of lieutenant general Cadogan, who was recalled. The duke of Marlborough arrived in England on the twenty-eighth of December. As he was no ſtranger to the late revolution, he thought it prudent to avoid the leaſt ſhow of popularity. Inſtead of driving, as uſual, to St. James's, he paſſed quietly to Montague Houſe, whence, after having reſted a few hours, he ſlipped out at a private door, and repaired to court. He had a ſhort conference with the queen, who informed him, that he muſt not expect the thanks of the parliament as formerly; but that ſhe hoped he would live on good terms with her miniſters. The duke, with a moderation truly admirable, expreſſed

vanced to that office. The lord chancellor having reſigned the great ſeal, it was firſt put in commiſſion, and afterwards given to Simon Harcourt. The earl of Warton ſurrendered his commiſſion of lord lieutenant of Ireland, which the queen conferred upon the duke of Ormond. The earl of Orford retired from the board of admiralty: Mr. George Granville was appointed ſecretary of war in the room of Mr. Walpole: the command of the forces in Portugal was conferred on the earl of Portmore: and the duke of Hamilton was declared lord lieutenant of the county Palatine of Lancaſter. There was not even one Whig left in any department of ſtate, except the duke of Marlborough: and even he would have reſigned his command, had he not been perſuaded by his particular friends to decline ſuch a ſtep, which muſt have proved injurious to his country. In order to complete the triumph of the Tories, the queen diſſolved the Whig parliament, and iſſued writs for calling a new one.

* At Bridgenorth, Dr. Sacheverel was met by Mr. Creſſwel, a profeſſed Jacobite, and a candidate for the enſuing parliament, at the head of five thouſand horſe and three thouſand foot, wearing white knots edged with gold, and three leaves of gilt laurel in their hats. The hedges were for two miles decorated with garlands and flowers; and the ſteeples covered with flags, and ſtreamers. Nothing was heard but the cry of "The "church and Dr. Sacheverel!" The clergy were tranſported with ſpirit of enthuſiaſm; and, by their ſermons and declarations, excited ſuch a ferment among the people, that few were returned for the new parliament, but ſuch as diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their frantic zeal againſt the Whig adminiſtration.

no reſentment at her new regulations: but, from a ſincere regard to the intereſt of his country, reſolved to retain the command of the army; and as a proof of his ſubmiſſion, he aſſiſted the next morning at a committee of the privy council. Nevertheleſs as the queen's regard was utterly alienated from the ducheſs, he delivered in a formal reſignation of all his ducheſs's appointments; which were thoſe of groom of the ſtole, miſtreſs of the robes, and keeper of the privy-purſe. The two firſt were given to the ducheſs of Somerſet; the laſt to the new favourite Mrs Maſham.

On the third of January *, the queen ſent a meſſage to both houſes, importing, that there had been an action in Spain to the diſadvantage of king Charles; that the injury having fallen chiefly on the Engliſh forces, ſhe had given directions for ſending and procuring troops to repair the loſs: and that ſhe hoped the parliament would approve of her conduct. The lords, in their anſwer to this meſſage, declared, that as the misfortune in Spain might have been occaſioned by ſome preceding miſmanagement, they would uſe their utmoſt endeavours to diſcover it, ſo as to prevent a ſimilar calamity. They accordingly began an enquiry into the affairs of Spain.

After proceeding in the enquiry, the lords paſſed a vote, intimating, that the late miniſter had been negligent in managing the Spaniſh war, to the great prejudice of the nation. To this the commons, who were chiefly Tories, complied by a ſmall majority of votes.

The lords concurred ſo entirely with the commons, that the latter had no occaſion to agitate the affairs of Spain. They therefore proceeded to point out the pretended articles of mal-adminiſtration. They examined into the management of the navy; and paſſed ſome cenſures upon certain perſons concerned in contracts for victualling the ſeamen.

A violent party in the lower houſe began to conſider Harley as a moderate, inſtead of violent Tory, becauſe he would not precipitately engage in all their furious meaſures; they even began to doubt his influence, when his credit was confirmed by a very uncommon incident †.

Though the attempt upon the life of Harley was merely the effect of private reſentment, the Tories reſolved to convert it into a proof of his political principles. The two houſes of parliament, in an addreſs to the queen, declared their belief, that Mr Harley's fidelity to her majeſty, and zeal for her ſervice, had drawn upon him the averſion of all the ſupporters of Popery and faction. They entreated her to take all poſſible

* A. D. 1711.

† Guiſcard, the French partizan, who had planned the project of invading Provence, thought himſelf but ill rewarded with a precarious penſion of four hundred pounds, which he enjoyed from the queen's bounty. He had been abandoned by St. John, the former companion of his pleaſures; he had in vain endeavoured to obtain an audience of the queen, to ſolicit a more conſiderable allowance. Harley was his enemy, and all acceſs to her majeſty was denied him. Provoked at theſe diſappointments, he reſolved to make his peace with the court of France, and offered his ſervices in a letter to one Moreau, a banker at Paris. His packet, which he attempted to tranſmit by the way of Portugal, was intercepted, and a warrant iſſued to apprehend him of high-treaſon. When he was apprehended in St. James's Park, he diſcovered ſigns of guilty confuſion and deſpair, and entreated the meſſenger to deprive him inſtantly of life. Being conducted to the cockpit in a fort of frenzy, he obſerved a penknife lying on the table, and took it up without being noticed by the meſſengers. A committee of council was immediately ſummoned, and Guiſcard brought before them to be examined. Finding his correſpondence with Moreau was diſcovered, and deſpairing of a pardon, he reſolved to make his ruin deſtructive to his enemies. He deſired to ſpeak in private with ſecretary St. John, whom he had probably determined to aſſaſſinate. This requeſt being refuſed, he exclaimed, "*Voila qui eſt dur! pas "un mot!* That's hard! not one word!" St. John being out of his reach, he advanced to Mr. Harley; and crying out, "*J'en veux donc a toi!* Have at thee, then!" ſtabbed him in the breaſt with the penknife which he had concealed.

The inſtrument broke upon the bone, without penetrating into the cavity: but he repeated the blow with ſuch violence, that Harley immediately fell to the ground. St. John ſeeing him fall, exclaimed, "The villain has "killed Mr. Harley," and drew his ſword. His example was followed by the duke of Newcaſtle and others, who wounded Guiſcard in ſeveral places. Some of the members ſecured themſelves with chairs againſt the rage of the aſſaſſin, who ſeemed to threaten the whole aſſembly: others ran out to implore aſſiſtance. The ſervants and door-keepers ruſhed into the room and attacked the ruffian, who continued to defend himſelf with great obſtinacy, till at laſt he was overpowered by Wilcox, one of the queen's meſſengers. His wounds, though dangerous, were not mortal; but he died of a gangrene, occaſioned by the bruiſes he had received in the ſtruggle.

care

care of her ſacred perſon; and to cauſe all Papiſts to be removed from the cities of London and Weſtminſter. In compliance with this requeſt, a proclamation was publiſhed, ordering the laws to be ſtrictly enforced againſt Papiſts. When Harley came firſt to the houſe of commons after his recovery, he was congratulated upon it by the ſpeaker in a florid fulſome harangue, fabricated for the occaſion*.

To prevent ſuch deſperate deſigns in future, an act paſſed, making an attempt upon the life of a privy-counſellor felony, without benefit of clergy. The death of the earl of Rocheſter happening about this time, Harley had no competitor in the royal favour: he ſoon became ſole miniſter, was created baron of Wigmore, and elevated to the rank of earl by the ancient and noble titles of Oxford and Mortimer. To complete the meaſure of his greatneſs, he was appointed lord-treaſurer, and entruſted with the ſupreme direction of public affairs.

Happily for the Engliſh miniſtry, as well as for the houſe of Bourbon, an unexpected event gave a new turn to the politics of Europe. This was the ſudden death of the emperor Joſeph, whoſe reign had been one continued ſeries of ſucceſs. He was ſucceeded, not only in all his hereditary honours and dominions, but alſo in the Imperial throne, by his brother the archduke Charles; and as it was contrary to the ſpirit of the grand alliance, that the ſame perſon ſhould poſſeſs Spain and the empire, Harley and his aſſociates ventured to avow their pacific ſentiments. The fears of mankind were in a moment changed; the liberties of Europe ſeemed now to be in greater danger from the power of the houſe of Auſtria, than that of Bourbon.

In the mean time hoſtilities were carried on in every quarter. Diſpoſitions had been made by the allies, for taking the field early in Flanders; but the rigour of the ſeaſon, and the unexpected delay of ſome reinforcements, prevented the duke of Marlborough from forming his army before the beginning of May. His plan was, to open the campaign with the ſiege of Arras and Cambray; the taking of which two important places would have left Picardy naked to the banks of the Somme. And the army originally deſtined for the ſervice of the confederates, would, probably, have been ſufficient to enable him to accompliſh this great deſign. But the death of the emperor, while it opened a proſpect of peace, obſtructed the operations of war. Prince Eugene being obliged to march toward the banks of the Rhine, with the greater part of the German troops, to prevent the French and their partizans from taking advantage of that event, by diſturbing the deliberations of the electors aſſembled at Frankfort, the duke of Marlborough ſaw the neceſſity of limiting his views. But his vigour and activity were not diminiſhed. Though now inferior in numbers to the enemy, he earneſtly ſought a battle, hoping to vanquiſh his political adverſaries, or leaſt to cloſe his military exploits with a ſplendid victory. But the caution of mareſchal Villars, who was ſtrongly poſted near Arleux, deprived the Engliſh commander of any opportunity of acquiring this ſatisfaction. By the moſt maſterly movements, however, Marlborough eluded the vigilance of that able general, and got within the French lines, without the loſs of a man. He ſat down before Bouchain in the ſight of the enemy; and concluded the campaign, with the taking of that important place.

Nothing memorable in the military line, was tranſacted in Germany: prince Eugene having defeated the hoſtile deſigns of the French, the electors proceeded coolly to the choice of a new chief; and the archduke, who had ſo long contended for the crown of Spain, and even aſſumed the title of Charles III. was unanimouſly raiſed to the Imperial dignity, by the name of Charles VI.

On the ſide of Piedmont, the duke of Ber-

* Amidſt the diſputes which agitated the convocation about this time, the Anti-Trinitarian notions of Whiſton came under conſideration. The biſhops, being doubtful of the power of the aſſembly to proceed againſt a heretic in the firſt inſtance, deſired the opinions of the judges, of whom the major part aſſerted the competency of the convocation in this reſpect. Having ſtill ſome doubts, the prelates would only cenſure the obnoxious doctrines which Whiſton had propagated; and the lower houſe followed their example.

In the ſubſequent ſynods, to the death of the queen, nothing memorable happened. Want of unanimity ſtill prevailed; and a warmth of zeal ſtill influenced a great proportion of the clerical repreſentatives. *Ch. Hiſt.*

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wick, as formerly, ſucceſsfully defended France againſt the forces of the duke of Savoy. In Spain, the taking of Gironne, by the duke of Noailles, and the raiſing of the ſiege of Cardona, by Staremberg, in defiance of a greatly ſuperior army, under Vendome, were the only events of any conſequence. No action happened at ſea, nor any event of importance, except the failure of an expedition, from Old and New England, againſt Quebec, the capital of Canada. This enterpriſe is ſaid to have miſcarried from the lateneſs of the ſeaſon at which it was undertaken, as well as from an ignorance of the navigation of the river St. Lawrence, where ten tranſports, and two thouſand five hundred men were loſt.

The general languor of the campaign, together with the elevation of the archduke Charles to the head of the empire, created in the Britiſh miniſtry and the houſe of Bourbon, the moſt ſanguine hopes of peace. They had even negociated ſecretly during the ſummer: and preliminaries were privately ſigned at London, on the twenty-ſeventh of September, By Menager, the French agent, and St. John, the Engliſh ſecretary. This inſidious tranſaction being accidentally made known, all the other allies were alarmed. They ſaw themſelves ready to be deſerted by a power, which had been the principal ſupport of the war. And though not averſe to peace, they placed, no dependence in the negociations of men capable of ſuch diſingenuous conduct; whoſe ſole object ſeemed to be the ſecuring to themſelves and their adherents the emoluments of office, by terminating hoſtilities, inſtead of endeavouring to procure for their country and the confederates the fruits of ſo many glorious victories, acquired at an enormous expence of blood and treaſure*.

The preliminaries, when communicated to the miniſters of the confederate ſtates, ſerved only to increaſe their jealouſies and fears. The reſignation of Philip V. was no longer inſiſted on. At this omiſſion the emperor was particularly offended: and count de Galas, the Imperial ambaſſador at the court of London, having in the height of his zeal for his maſter's intereſt, publiſhed a copy of the articles in a news-paper, as an appeal to the public, all England was thrown into a ferment. The people were highly enraged at the new miniſtry, for negociating ſecretly with France; a power, whoſe ambition had ſo long alarmed her neighbours, and whoſe humiliation had been the declared object of the Grand Alliance. They juſtly ſuſpected the court of miniſter deſigns; eſpecially as the ſtipulations in the preliminaries fell infinitely below their expectations, after ſo ſucceſsful a war. The more moderate Tories, aſhamed of their leaders, alſo took part with the offended allies: and the Whigs, though they admitted the ſeaſon for negociation to be arrived, execrated the mode, and attempted to vilify the men by whom the negociation was conducted.

The Engliſh miniſtry, however, were not without their advocates. The pens of the moſt celebrated writers of the age were engaged in vindication of their meaſures, and to render deſpicable their political enemies. Defended by ſuch powerful advocates, and encouraged by the favour of their ſovereign, they were reſolutely determined to ſupport the preliminaries. The queen therefore informed the parliament, on its meeting, in a ſpeech from the throne, that, *notwithſtanding the arts of thoſe that delight in war*, both time and place were appointed for opening the treaty of a general peace, that ſhe was reſolved to improve and enlarge the intereſt of her ſubjects in trade and commerce; and that ſhe would not only endeavour to procure ample ſatisfaction to her allies, but to unite them in the ſtricteſt engagements, in order to render permanent the public tranquillity. She added, that the moſt effectual method of treating for peace, was to make an early proviſion for proſecuting the war; ſhe therefore demanded the uſual ſupplies, and recommended unanimity.

* This accuſation is even, in a great degree, admitted by St. John himſelf, who was deeply concerned in theſe ſecret negociations. "I am afraid," ſays he, "that the "principal ſpring of our actions was to have the govern-"ment of the ſtate in our hands; that our principal "views were the conſervation of this power, great em-"ployments to ourſelves, and great opportunities of re-"warding thoſe who had helped to raiſe us; to break 'the body of the Whigs," adds he; "to render their 'ſupports (the Dutch and the other allies) uſeleſs to 'them, and to fill the employments of the kingdom, 'down to the meaneſt, with Tories." (*Letter to ſir William Wyndham.*) "Peace," continues he, "had been 'judged, with reaſon, to be the only ſolid foundation 'whereupon we could erect a Tory ſyſtem." *Ibid.*

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The ſupplies were cheerfully granted by the commons, who replied to the queen's ſpeech in an affectionate addreſs. The lords were not ſo courteous. They encumbered their addreſs with a clauſe, "That no peace could be ſafe or honourable, if Spain and the Indies ſhould be permitted to remain with any branch of the houſe of Bourbon:" and this addition was carried, by a majority of the houſe, though the miniſtry oppoſed it with all the influence of government. The queen returned an ambiguous anſwer to an addreſs ſo ſubverſive of her meaſures; and as the vote for the obnoxious clauſe was known to have been in a great meaſure procured by the intrigues of the duke of Marlborough, ſhe ſaw the neceſſity of depriving him of his employments, or of diſmiſſing her miniſter, and impeding the progreſs of the treaty of peace. Chooſing the former of thoſe alternatives, ſhe ſent the duke a letter, informing him that ſhe had no more occaſion for his ſervice; and in order to ſecure a majority in the houſe of lords, twelve gentlemen devoted to the court, were created peers. The new peers were: lord Compton and lord Bruce, ſons of the earls of Northampton and Aylesbury: lord Dupplin, of the kingdom of Scotland, created baron Hay, of Bedwardin, in the county of Hereford; lord viſcount Windſor, of Ireland, made baron Mountjoy in the Iſle of Wight; Henry Paget, ſon of lord Paget, created baron Burton in the county of Stafford: ſir Thomas Manſel, baron Manſel, of Margam, in the county of Glamorgan: ſir Thomas Willoughby, baron Middleton, of Middleton, in the county of Warwick: ſir Thomas Trevor, baron Trevor of Bromham in the county of Bedford: George Granville, baron Lanſdowne, of Biddeford in the county of Devon: Samuel Maſham, baron Maſham of Oates in the county of Eſſex: Thomas Foley, lord Foley of Kidderminſter in the county of Worceſter: Allen Bathurſt, baron Bathurſt of Battleſden in the county of Bedford*.

This was an extraordinary ſtretch of prerogative, and excited great alarm in the independent part of the nobility; as it was evident, that the ſovereign, by ſuch an arbitrary exertion of royalty, could at any time over-rule their reſolutions. But as law was on the ſide of the crown, they found it neceſſary to ſubmit to the indignity. The Whigs were filled with conſternation at theſe bold meaſures; and as their leaders now deſpaired of being able to reinſtate themſelves in the adminiſtration by more gentle means, they are ſuppoſed to have planned a new revolution. It is however certain, that the heads of the party held frequent cabals with the Dutch and Imperial ambaſſadors, and with the baron de Bothmar, envoy from the elector of Hanover, who preſented, in the name of his maſter, a ſtrong memorial againſt the projected peace: declaring, that the fruits of a glorious war would be loſt, ſhould Spain and the Indies be abandoned to the duke of Anjou. And every method was taken, particularly by the earl of Sunderland and lord Halifax, to impreſs the people with a belief, that the chief view of the preſent miniſtry was the reſtoration of the excluded family. They therefore affirmed, that the Proteſtant ſucceſſion was in danger, and urged the neceſſity of ſending for the elector of Hanover or his ſon.

It has already been obſerved, that the emperor had refuſed to agree to the negociation, which had for ſome time been carrying on between the courts of London and Verſailles†; and had employed his utmoſt endeavours to render it ineffectual. Failing, however, in his attempts, he now ſent over prince Eugene to England with a letter to the queen, and inſtructions to propoſe a new ſcheme for proſecuting the war with freſh vigour. The prince arrived at London in the beginning of January; and was treated by the queen, the miniſters, the nobility, and the foreign ambaſſadors, with that diſtinguiſhed reſpect to which he was entitled by his high quality and eminent talents.

Her majeſty informed him in a private audience, that ſhe was ſorry her health did not permit her to ſpeak with his highneſs as often as ſhe could wiſh; but that ſhe had ordered the treaſurer and ſecretary St. John to receive his propoſals, and confer with him as frequently as

* Sir Miles Wharton was alſo propoſed to be added to the peerage; but, when he reflected on the obvious purpoſe of theſe new creations, he declined an offer which he conſidered as diſgraceful.

† A. D. 1712.

he ſhould think proper. He expreſſed an uncommon regard for the duke of Marlborough, notwithſtanding his diſgrace. The lord treaſurer, while he entertained him at dinner, declared, "that he looked upon that day as the "happieſt in the whole courſe of his life, ſince "he had the honour to ſee in his houſe the "greateſt general of his age." The prince inſtantly replied, "If I am, your lordſhip has the "honour of it:" alluding to the earl's intrigues, which had deprived the duke of Marlborough of all his employments, and thus removed the prince from a rival in military fame.

The Tories ſeemed at firſt to concur with the Whigs in manifeſting their reſpect for this illuſtrious ſtranger; but it ſoon appeared, that all their complaiſance proceeded from hypocriſy and diſſimulation. They knew the prince was a friend to the Whig party; and they were ſenſible, that he held private conferences with the duke of Marlborough, the earl of Sunderland, the lords Somers, Hallifax, and others; and they were apprehenſive, that by his influence with theſe noblemen, he might confirm them in a more violent oppoſition to the treaty of peace which was agitating. They reſolved, therefore, to make his reſidence in the kingdom as diſagreeable to him as poſſible. With this view they excited party-riots in order to inſult his perſon: they had even the inſolence to inſert in one of the public papers, ſome ſcandalous reflections on the counteſs of Soiſſons, his mother. The prince received theſe inſults with his uſual magnanimity: and finding it impoſſible to make any impreſſion on the queen or her miniſters, retired, to the continent, as much diſpleaſed with the court, as he had reaſon to be ſatisfied with the people of England. By this time the parliament was re-aſſembled; and the queen being confined with the gout, diſpatched a meſſage to both houſes, importing, that the plenipotentiaries were arrived at Utrecht, and were employed in concerting meaſures for procuring ſatisfaction to all her allies: that the terms of peace ſhould be communicated to the parliament before they were finally concluded.

The duke of Devonſhire having, in conſequence of a motion which he had formerly made, prepared a bill for giving precedence to the elector of Hanover, as duke of Cambridge, before the reſt of the Engliſh nobility: the treaſurer, ſenſible of the popularity of ſuch a meaſure, reſolved to take the merit of it to himſelf. In conſequence of which, he introduced a bill for giving precedence to the whole electoral family, as children and nephews of the crown; and when it had paſſed into an act, he ſent it over to Hanover by Mr. Thomas Harley, a relative of the prime miniſter. He ſuppoſed by this ſtep, to convince the elector, of the ſincere attachment of the preſent miniſtry to the intereſt of his family; but that prince was too ſagacious to be thus amuſed, reſolving to repoſe his confidence in thoſe, on whom he could more firmly depend.

The Tories had ſo long been triumphant over the Whigs, that they were now become impatient of the leaſt contradiction; and as ſome members, though they could not form any conſiderable oppoſition, ſtill took the liberty of expoſing their conduct with equal ſpirit and ability, they reſolved to be revenged on all thoſe who dared to be guilty of this preſumption.

The firſt torrent of their vengeance was directed againſt Mr. Robert Walpole, who had for ſome time enjoyed the office of ſecretary at war. This gentleman, finding the contractors for the forage in Scotland derived great profits from this branch of buſineſs, recommended a friend of his own to be admitted as a partner. The contractors, rather than diſcover the ſecret of their trade, agreed to preſent the perſon recommended, with the ſum of five hundred pounds. But being ignorant of his addreſs, they directed the bill to Mr. Robert Walpole, who indorſed it, and the gentleman received the money. Both he and the contractors who remitted it, ſolemnly declared, that Mr. Walpole had never received a ſingle farthing of the preſent. The commons, regardleſs of theſe declarations, conſtrued this tranſaction into a bribe. They voted Mr. Walpole guilty of corruption, committed him to the Tower, and expelled him the houſe; and when he was afterwards rechoſen for Lynn Regis, which he had before repreſented, they procured a petition to be preferred againſt him, and voted him incapable to be elected a member to ſerve in the preſent parliament.

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The commons were not met merely to examine arguments; or even to enquire into facts; their ſole intention was to blacken and degrade the characters of their enemies: they therefore voted, that the duke of Marlborough's practices were unwarrantable and illegal; and that the annual deduction from the pay of the foreign troops, which he had regularly claimed and received for his private uſe, as commander in chief, was to be accounted for as public money. Theſe reſolutions were laid before the queen, who ordered the attorney general to proſecute the duke for the money he had received by virtue of her own warrant.

By this time the conferences for peace were begun at Utrecht*. The Britiſh plenipotentiaries were Robinſon biſhop of Briſtol, lord privy-ſeal, and the earl of Straſford: the chief of the Dutch deputies were Buys and Vanderduſſen; and the French king granted his powers to the mareſchal D'Uxelles, the abbot de Polignac, and monſieur Menager, who had been in England. The miniſters of the emperor and Savoy alſo aſſiſted at the congreſs; to which the empire and the other allies afterwards ſent their plenipotentiaries, though not without reluctance. The only intention, however, of this congreſs appears to have been to amuſe and cajole the confederates, till the ſecret treaty which had ſo long been negociating between the courts of London and Verſailles, ſhould be finally completed.

In the beginning of April, the duke of Ormond, who was now inveſted with the ſupreme command of the Britiſh forces, repaired to the Hague, and aſſured the States, that he had her majeſty's expreſs orders to act vigorouſly in the proſecution of the war. He was joined by prince Eugene at Tournay; and on the twenty-firſt of May, the allied army, paſſing the Schelde, encamped at Solemnes and Neufville. The Imperial general propoſed that they ſhould attack the French army under Villars, or inveſt the town of Queſnoy; but by this time the duke had received freſh orders, by which he was reſtrained from hazarding either a ſiege or a battle: a circumſtance well known to the French commander, who thenceforth continued to correſpond with his grace. It could not be long concealed from prince Eugene and the deputies, who inſtantly diſpatched an expreſs to their principals on the ſubject, and afterwards delivered a long memorial to the duke, repreſenting the danger which muſt reſult to the grand alliance, by his obedience to ſuch an order. He ſeemed to be extremely diſſatisfied with his ſituation; and, in a letter to ſecretary St. John, expreſſed a deſire, that the queen would permit him to return to England.

Notwithſtanding the queen's order, which Ormond had not yet openly declared, prince Eugene laid ſiege to the town of Queſnoy: and the duke furniſhed, towards this enterprize, ſeven battalions and nine ſquadrons of the foreign troops maintained at the joint expence of Great Britain and Holland. The Dutch deputies at Utrecht, expoſtulating with the biſhop of Briſtol, on the duke's refuſing to cooperate with the allies, that prelate informed them, that he had lately received an expreſs with a letter from her majeſty, intimating, that, as the States General had not properly anſwered her advances, they ought not to be ſurpriſed, if ſhe now thought herſelf at liberty to enter into a ſeparate negociation, in order to procure a peace for her own convenience. The deputies remonſtrating againſt ſuch a conduct, as contrary to all the alliances between the queen and the States General, the biſhop ſaid, his inſtructions further imported, that, conſidering the conduct of the States towards her majeſty, ſhe thought herſelf diſengaged from all alliances and engagements with their High Mightineſſes.

Such a diſengenuous proceeding could not fail to alarm the States General. They inſtantly concerted meaſures with the elector of Hanover, the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, and ſome other princes of the empire, for maintaining the troops, that were in the joint pay of England and Holland. They wrote a long letter to the queen, and ordered their envoy at London to deliver it into her own hand. Count Zinzendorf, the emperor's plenipotentiary, diſpatched expreſſes to his maſter, to prince Eugene, and to the Imperial ambaſſador at London. The queen and her miniſters ſeemed to be ſtartled at the violence of their own meaſures. A council was immediately held at Kenſington; and freſh orders were diſpatched to the duke of Ormond, commanding him to concur with the general of the allies in a ſiege.

* The firſt conference took place on the 18th of January, according to the old ſtyle.

The duke's conduct was no ſooner known in England, than the whole nation manifeſted their aſtoniſhment and indignation. In the houſe of peers, lord Hallifax repreſented the ill conſequences of the duke's refuſing to co-operate with prince Eugene; and moved for an addreſs, entreating her majeſty to be pleaſed to order her general to act offenſively, in concert with her allies. The treaſurer alledged, that it was imprudent to hazard a battle on the eve of a peace, eſpecially in tranſacting buſineſs with an enemy, who was not remarkable for adhering to his word. The earl of Wharton replied, that he was extremely glad to hear his lordſhip acknowledge the inſincerity of the French king; but that, in his opinion, this was a ſtrong argument for keeping no meaſures with ſuch an enemy, but rather for puſhing him to the utmoſt extremity, till at laſt he ſhould be compelled to act with ſincerity and juſtice.

When Oxford declared, that the duke of Ormond had received inſtructions to join the allies in a ſiege, the duke of Marlborough obſerved, that he could not reconcile to the rules of war, orders to join in a ſiege, and not to hazard a battle; as a ſiege could not be conducted without riſking a battle, if the enemy ſhould endeavour to relieve the place. The earl of Nottingham ſaid, he could not comprehend the meaning of giving orders to an Engliſh general to avoid an engagement, unleſs ſome perſons were apprehenſive of weakening the French to ſuch a degree, as to render them incapable of contributing towards the accompliſhment of deſigns, which they were afraid to own.

The duke of Devonſhire added, that he was, by proximity of blood, more nearly concerned than any other perſon, in the reputation of the duke of Ormond; and therefore could not avoid expreſſing his ſurprize, that any one ſhould preſume to make a nobleman of the firſt rank, and of ſo diſtinguiſhed a character, the inſtrument of ſuch proceedings. Earl Pawlet replied, that no perſon could entertain a doubt of the duke of Ormond's courage; but he was not like a certain general, who conducted troops to the ſlaughter, to cauſe a great number of officers to be ſlain, that he might enrich himſelf by diſpoſing of their commiſſions.

This reflection was ſo evidently pointed at the duke of Marlborough, that his meaning could not poſſibly be miſunderſtood. His grace had the temper to diſſemble his reſentment for the preſent; but as ſoon as the houſe was diſmiſſed, he ſent lord Mohun to the earl with a meſſage, importing, that he ſhould be glad to come to an explanation with his lordſhip about ſome expreſſions which he had uſed in that day's debate: and deſiring his company to take the air in the country*.

The miniſtry were no leſs powerful in the lower, than in the upper houſe. Mr. Pulteney moved for an addreſs to her majeſty, acquainting her, that her faithful commons were alarmed at the intelligence they had received from abroad, that her general in Flanders, had declined acting offenſively againſt France, in concurrence with her allies, and requeſting her to diſpatch ſpeedy orders to proſecute the war with vigour; but the motion was rejected by a very conſiderable majority.

A certain member, having affirmed, that the preſent negociation had been conducted in a clandeſtine and treacherous manner, Mr. ſecretary St. John ſaid, he hoped it would not be deemed treachery to act for the advantage of Great Britain: that he gloried in the ſmall ſhare he had in the tranſaction; and whatever cenſure he might incur for it, the ſatisfaction of acting in that view, would be a ſufficient recompence. After ſome debate, the houſe reſolved, that the commons repoſed entire confidence in her majeſty's promiſe, to communicate to her parliament, the terms of peace, before it ſhould be concluded: and that they would ſupport her againſt all thoſe who ſhou'd endeavour to obſtruct it. The queen thanked them for this reſolution, as being dutiful to her majeſty, honeſt to their country, and very ſeaſonable at that

* Pawlet's inſolence was only exceeded by his timidity. He was inſtantly ſeized with an univerſal trepidation; and his lady perceiving his emotion, enquired the cauſe of his tremor. Hearing the tremendous intelligence from her conſort, ſhe communicated the particulars to the earl of Dartmouth, ſecretary of ſtate. Two centinels were immediately placed at his lordſhip's gate: the queen, by the medium of lord Dartmouth, deſired the duke of Marlborough to proceed no farther in the quarrel: and he aſſured her that he would punctually obey her majeſty's commands.

juncture, when ſo many artifices were practiſed to prevent an advantageous peace, or procure an injurious one to Britain.

On the fifth of June, her majeſty came to the houſe of peers and communicated the plan of peace to the parliament, according to the promiſe ſhe had made. She declared, that though the making of peace and war was the unqueſtionable prerogative of the crown, ſhe had ſuch confidence in her faithful parliament, that ſhe now thought proper to acquaint them with the terms, upon which a ſolid peace might be finally concluded.

Theſe terms, however, were ſo generally diſapproved, that the public funds, which upon the proſpect of a proper peace, had, that very morning, riſen about five *per cent.* immediately ſunk to their former value. A majority, however, was already ſecured in both houſes of parliament; and this ſeems to have been the only circumſtance to which the miniſtry were attentive. An addreſs of thanks and approbation was inſtantly voted, prepared and preſented by the commons in a body. When the houſe of lords took the ſpeech into conſideration, the duke of Marlborough affirmed, that the meaſures purſued for a year paſt were in direct oppoſition to her majeſty's engagement with her allies: that they ſullied the triumphs and glories of her reign, and would render the Engliſh name odious to all nations. The earl of Stafford declared, that ſome of the allies would not have ſhewn ſuch backwardneſs to a peace, had they not been perſuaded and encouraged to proſecute the war by a member of that illuſtrious aſſembly, who maintained a ſecret correſpondence with them, and fed them with hopes that they would be ſupported by a ſtrong party in England.

To this inſinuation againſt the duke of Marlborough, lord Cowper replied, that the nobleman who ſpoke laſt, had reſided ſo long abroad, that he ſeemed to have forgot the conſtitution of his country: that according to our laws, it could never be ſuggeſted as a crime in the meaneſt ſubject, much leſs in any member of that auguſt aſſembly, to correſpond with the allies of the nation; ſuch allies eſpecially, whoſe intereſt her majeſty had declared to be inſeparable from her own, in her ſpeech at the opening of the ſeſſion: but it would be difficult to reconcile either with our laws, or with the laws of honour and juſtice, the conduct of ſome perſons, in treating clandeſtinely with the common enemy, without the participation of the allies.

The Tories, however were leſs anxious about anſwering objections than finiſhing the debate, as they were certain of a conſiderable majority. The houſe accordingly agreed to an addreſs, in which they thanked the queen for her great condeſcenſion, in communicating the conditions of peace to her parliament; and declared themſelves perfectly ſatisfied with her conduct. A motion was made for a clauſe in the addreſs, deſiring her majeſty, to take ſuch meaſures, in concert with her allies, as might induce them to join with her in a mutual guaranty. Strong arguments were uſed in favour of this motion, but the queſtion being put, the clauſe was rejected.

The commons, to demonſtrate their attachment to the court, reſolved to expreſs their diſpleaſure againſt biſhop Fleetwood, who, in a preface to four ſermons, which he had publiſhed, took occaſion to extol the late miniſtry, at the expence of the preſent adminiſtration.

Complaint being made of this performance in the houſe, the commons voted it factious and malicious, tending to create diſcord and ſedition among her majeſty's ſubjects, and condemned it to be burned by the hands of the common executioner. At the ſame time, they preſented an addreſs to the queen, aſſuring her of the juſt ſenſe they entertained of the indignity offered her by printing and publiſhing a letter from the ſtates-general; and deſiring ſhe would ſo far reſent ſuch inſults as to give no anſwer, for the future, to any letters or memorials, that ſhould be uſhered into the world in that irregular manner.

Notwithſtanding the complaiſance of the parliament, the nation was violently enraged at the terms of the pacification, and were not ſcrupulous of avowing their ſentiments. The miniſtry, however, found means to procure addreſſes, approving their conduct, from the city of London, and from moſt of the corporations and counties in the kingdom, and theſe they very ſeriouſly interpreted into a certain proof of the ſatisfaction of the public.

During the altercation and ſuſpence occaſioned by the inactivity of the duke of Ormond,

prince Eugene laid ſiege to Queſnoy; and, in order to encourage the confederates, and aſtoniſh the enemy, by a bold enterpriſe, he privately detached major-general Groveſtein, with fifteen hundred cavalry, to penetrate into the heart of France. This officer, having entered Champagne, paſſed ſucceſſively the Noire, the Maeſe, the Moſelle, and the Saar; levied contributions as far as the gates of Metz; ſpread conſternation even to Verſailles; and after ravaging the country, and carrying off a rich booty, retired leiſurely towards Trerbach. In the mean time the ſiege of Queſnoy was conducted with ſuch vigour, that the place was taken almoſt by aſſault, and the garriſon ſurrendered priſoners of war. Theſe ſucceſſes greatly elevated the ſpirits of the Dutch and Imperialiſts, which had been depreſſed by the inactivity of Ormond; but when, inſtead of an order to co-operate with them againſt the common enemy which they daily expected, he informed them of a ceſſation of arms between France and England, their dejection was renewed. They were, however, in ſome degree conſoled on hearing that the *foreign troops* in the *pay* of Great Britain *refuſed* to *obey* his *command*. This refuſal reduced the duke to a ſtate of great perplexity, and threw the Britiſh miniſtry into no ſmall conſternation. They had loſt the confidence of the allies, and had even fallen under the diſtraſt of the court of Verſailles. The king of France therefore thought proper to ſuſpend his mandate for the delivery of Dunkirk, "till *all* the *troops* "in the *pay* of Great Britain ſhould *quit* the "army of the confederates." But on poſitive orders being diſpatched to the duke of Ormond, to "*ſeparate* the *Britiſh forces* from thoſe of "the allies," and aſſurances given to the French monarch, by the expreſs command of queen Anne, that the confederates ſhould receive no more of her *money*, the ſcruples of Lewis were removed. Ormond complying with his inſtructions, retired towards Ghent with the Britiſh troops, and Dunkirk was delivered to brigadier Hill.

The Britiſh forces had eminently diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the courſe of this celebrated war. Their example was as effectual as their efforts, though theſe were tranſcendently heroic. Prince Eugene, however, to ſhew the allies that he was ſtill able to purſue his conqueſts, notwithſtanding the withdrawing of ſo gallant a body of men, laid ſiege to Landrecy. Villars received orders to attempt its relief. The French general accordingly put his army in motion, as if he intended to give battle to the main body of the confederates; but after making a feint of proceeding towards their right, he turned ſuddenly off to the left, and marching all night, attacked unexpectedly a detachment of fourteen thouſand men, which had been placed at Denain, under the earl of Albemarle, in order to favour the paſſage of the convoys from Marchiennes. This detachment was expeditiouſly routed, and almoſt deſtroyed. Four thouſand fugitives only eſcaped to the principal army. Excluſive of the loſs ſuſtained in the action, fifteen hundred men were drowned in the Scheldt, and two thouſand fell into the hands of the victors; among whom was the earl of Albemarle, with many other officers of diſtinction. Prince Eugene, marching to the aſſiſtance of Albemarle, in order to prevent this diſaſter, arrived when his aid was become uſeleſs. In a fit of deſpair, he ordered the bridges on the Scheldt, near Denain, to be attacked, and wantonly threw away the lives of a thouſand men; for had the bridges been abandoned to him, he would not have been able to croſs the river, in the face of the French army. He failed, however, in the attempt. Yet would he have continued the ſiege of Landrecy, and might perhaps have become maſter of the place, notwithſtanding this check; but the field deputies of the States obliged him to relinquiſh the enterpriſe, and retire to Mons. Villars in the mean time, having taken Marchiennes, where the principal magazines of the confederates were depoſited; and being now maſter of the field, reduced ſucceſſively Doway, Queſnoy, and Bouchain. Theſe conqueſts cloſed the operations in Flanders. No important enterpriſe was undertaken, during the campaign, in any other quarter.

The court of Verſailles was highly delighted with a ſucceſs ſo unexpected and extraordinary. Nor was the joy of the Britiſh miniſtry, at the change of affairs in Flanders, leſs ſincere, though leſs public. They knew that the body of the confederates, unleſs loſt to all ſenſe of prudence would no longer attempt to continue the war,

ſhould Great Britain deſert the Grand Alliance; and conſequently the Whigs, their political enemies, already humbled, would now become leſs formidable. In this conjecture they were not deceived*. The eyes of the Dutch were firſt open to their own perilous ſituation, and to the neceſſity of renewing the conferences at Utrecht, which had been for ſome time interrupted. Inſtead of preſcribing terms to the houſe of Bourbon, they now acceded to the plan of pacification ſettled between Great Britain and France. Their example was followed by the duke of Savoy and the king of Portugal. And the emperor, though anxious to continue the war, being unable to ſupport any military operations in Spain, agreed to the evacuation of Catalonia; by which he indirectly acknowledged the title of Philip V.

During theſe approaches towards a general pacification, queen Anne was ſtrongly ſolicited by the Jacobites, to adopt ſome meaſure in favour of the Pretender. To remove the fears of the Engliſh nation, excited by his connexion with France, he had quitted St. Germains the preceding ſummer, and now reſided at Bar, in the territories of the duke of Lorraine And though the queen's timidity, aided by the inſinuations of Oxford, made her decline all propoſals for calling her brother into the kingdom, or repealing the act of Settlement, ſhe was extremely anxious to concert with Lewis XIV. ſome plan for his acceſſion to the throne, after her deceaſe.

Oxford continued to promote the negociation for peace, as neceſſary to the ſecurity of his own power, which he hoped to poſſeſs during the exiſtence of his miſtreſs; and as the declining health of the queen ſeemed to predict that her death could be no very diſtant event, the lord treaſurer perhaps imagined, that in ſecretly ſupporting the parliamentary ſettlement of the crown, he might open to himſelf a proſpect of extending his adminiſtration even into the reign of her ſucceſſor. From theſe, or other motives, he defeated the intrigues of the Jacobites, while he haſtened the reſtoration of tranquillity to Europe. And the treaties between the different powers, ſo long negociated, were at laſt ſigned at Utrecht, on the thirty-firſt of March, in one thouſand ſeven hundred and thirteen, by the plenipotentiaries of France, England, Portugal, Pruſſia, Savoy, and the United Provinces; the emperor determining to continue the war, and the king of Spain refuſing to ſign the ſtipulations till a principality ſhould be provided, in the Low Countries, for the princeſs Orſini, the queen's favourite.

The treaties of peace and commerce between Great Britain and France being ratified by the queen, the parliament was aſſembled on the ninth of April. Her majeſty, in her ſpeech to both houſes, obſerved, that the inſtrument was ſigned, and the ratifications would in a few days be exchanged: that ſhe hoped what ſhe had done for the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, and the perfect friendſhip ſubſiſting between her and the houſe of Hanover, would convince thoſe who wiſhed well to both, and deſired the quiet and ſafety of their country, how vain all their attempts were to divide them: that ſhe left it entirely to the houſe of commons, to determine what force might be neceſſary for the ſecurity of trade by ſea, and for the purpoſe of guards and garriſons: that ſhe conjured them to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to appeaſe the minds of men at home, that the arts of peace might be cultivated: and that groundleſs jealouſies, contrived by a faction, and fomented by a party-rage, might not effect that, which their foreign enemies were unable to accompliſh. Addreſſes of thanks and congratulation were immediately preſented by both houſes of parliament. The ratifications of the treaty being exchanged, the peace was proclaimed on the fifth of May with the uſual ceremonies; and it was about this time, that the pretender tranſmitted a printed remonſtrance to the plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, ſolemnly proteſting againſt whatever might be ſtipulated to his prejudice. The commons had preſented a ſecond addreſs, entreating her majeſty to communicate to the houſe, in due time, the treaties of peace and commerce with France; and theſe accordingly were now delivered by Mr. Benſon, chancellor of the exchequer.

The treaty being concluded by a Tory miniſtry, the commons were determined to ſupport it at all events. Accordingly it was reſolved by a great majority, that a bill ſhould be brought in to defend the conteſted articles. The Portugueſe miniſter, alarmed at this reſolution, preſented

* A. D. 1713.

preſented a memorial declaring that, ſhould the duties on French wines be reduced to a level with thoſe which were impoſed on the wines of Portugal, his maſter would renew the prohibition of the woollen manufactures, and other products of Great Britain. The whole commercial part of the nation exclaimed againſt the treaty of commerce, which was generally allowed by all who underſtood the ſubject, to be the moſt ignorant diſplay of politics that ever was concerted.

The miniſtry, apprehenſive that the eyes of the public might begin to be opened, reſolved, if poſſible, to continue that deluſion in which they had hitherto held the majority of the people; and for this purpoſe employed a ſet of hireling ſcribblers to vindicate the treaty in a periodical paper, entitled, the Mercator; but the attempts of theſe mercenaries were effectually defeated by a ſociety of merchants, who, in another weekly paper, called, The Britiſh Merchant, expoſed the futility of their arguments, and demonſtrated the pernicious tendency of the treaty, to the entire conviction of all intelligent men.

The commons, having granted an aid of two ſhillings in the pound, proceeded to renew the duty on malt for another year, and extended this tax over the whole iſland, regardleſs of the earneſt remonſtrances of the Scottiſh members, who endeavoured to ſecure their own country; and repreſented it as a burden which Scotland could not bear. It alſo appeared, from the very words of the act, that this duty was to be employed in defraying the debts contracted during the war; from which the Scots, by an expreſs article of the union, were totally exempted. During the adjournment of parliament, on account of the Whitſuntide holidays, the Scots, laying aſide all party-diſtinctions, met and deliberated on this important ſubject. They deputed the duke of Argyle, the earl of Mar, Mr. Lockhart, and Mr. Cockburn, to lay their grievances before the queen. They repreſented that their countrymen were aggrieved by the violation of ſome articles of the union; and that the impoſition of ſuch an inſupportable burden as the malt-tax, would probably provoke them to ſuch a degree as to induce them to conſider the union as diſſolved. To this unexpected remonſtrance the queen replied, that ſhe wiſhed they might not have cauſe to repent of ſuch a precipitate reſolution, but ſhe would endeavour to give them perfect ſatisfaction.

The Scots, finding they had little to expect from her majeſty's indulgence, reſolved to prefer their complaints to the houſe of peers. Accordingly on the firſt of June, the earl of Findlater repreſented to their lordſhips, that the Scottiſh nation was aggrieved in many inſtances: that they were deprived of a privy council; ſubjected to the Engliſh laws in caſes of treaſon: that their nobles were rendered incapable of being created Britiſh peers; and that they were now oppreſſed with the inſupportable burden of a malt tax, when they had reaſon to hope they ſhould enjoy the benefit of peace. He therefore moved, that, ſince the union had not been found to be attended with thoſe happy effects, which it was expected to produce, leave might be given to bring in a bill for diſſolving that treaty, ſecuring the Proteſtant ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover, maintaining the queen's prerogative through the whole iſland, and preſerving an entire amity and good correſpondence between the two kingdoms.

The motion was oppoſed by the lord North and Grey, who affirmed, that the complaints of the Scots were groundleſs; and that the diſſolution of the union was impracticable: and he threw out ſome ſarcaſtic reflections on the poverty of that nation. The earl of Eglington acknowledged the Scots were poor, and therefore unable to pay the malt tax. The earl of Ilay, among other judicious remarks upon the union, obſerved, that, when the treaty was entered into, the Scots concluded, that the parliament of Great Britain would never load them with any impoſition that they had reaſon to think intolerable.

The earl of Peterborough ſaid, he had often heard the union compared to a marriage; and, on that principle, ſince it was made, it could not be diſſolved by any power upon earth: that, though England, who muſt be ſuppoſed the huſband, might, in ſome inſtances, prove unkind to the lady, ſhe ought not immediately to ſue for a divorce; eſpecially, as ſhe had greatly improved her fortune by the match.

To theſe animadverſions, the duke of Argyle replied,

replied, "I have been reflected on by ſome peo-
"ple, as if I was diſguſted, and had changed
"ſides; but I deſpiſe their perſons, as much as
"I condemn their judgments." He acknowledged that he had a conſiderable ſhare in bringing forward the union, with a view to ſecure the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, but he was ſatisfied that end might be as effectually anſwered, if the union was diſſolved; and if this ſtep ſhould not be taken, he did not expect long to have either property left in Scotland, or liberty in England.

The Tories, however, though they had not ſucceeded in their principal purpoſe, had yet obtained one part of their project. Though they had not been able to provoke the Scots to diſſolve the union by force of arms, yet, by the introduction of the malt-tax into Scotland, they had excited ſuch a ſpirit of diſcontent among the people, as could not readily be allayed; and, perhaps it may be ſafely affirmed, that the diſſatisfaction occaſioned by this meaſure, which, however ſeemingly reaſonable, was certainly very ſevere, was one chief cauſe of all the rebellions which followed in that kingdom.

The commons beſought her majeſty not to evacuate the towns in Flanders, which were in her poſſeſſion, till thoſe who were entitled to the ſovereignty of the Spaniſh Netherlands, ſhould agree to ſuch articles for regulating trade, as might place the ſubjects of Great Britain upon an equal footing with thoſe of other nations. The queen made a favourable anſwer to all their addreſſes. Such were the meaſures taken by the parliament during this ſeſſion, reſpecting the famous treaty of Utrecht, which has generally been conſidered as the ſource of many of the troubles in Europe.

On the twenty-fifth of June, the queen diſpatch-a meſſage to the lower houſe, importing, that the civil liſt was burdened with ſome debts incurred by ſeveral articles of extraordinary expence: and that ſhe hoped they would empower her to raiſe ſuch a ſum on the funds allotted for this proviſion, as would be ſufficient to diſcharge the incumbrances, amounting to five hundred thouſand pounds. A bill was immediately prepared for producing this ſum on the civil liſt revenue; but it was generally known that the funds eſtabliſhed for that purpoſe yielded annually above eight hundred thouſand pounds, and, as the queen practiſed great œconomy, it was generally ſuppoſed, that ſhe had no debts, and that the preſent ſum was intended for ſecuring to the miniſtry the next elections. Strong oppoſition was therefore made to the bill, which, nevertheleſs, paſſed both houſes by a great majority.

Both lords and commons addreſſed the queen, reſpecting the chevalier de St. George, who had retired into Lorraine. They deſired, that ſhe would earneſtly requeſt the duke of that territory, and all princes and ſtates in amity with her, to exclude, from their dominions, the pretender to the imperial crown of Great Britain.

On the ſixteenth of July, her majeſty cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, which was deemed extremely exceptionable in many particulars. She ſeemed to condemn the conduct of the parliament, in not having rendered the treaty of commerce effectual. She included all thoſe who diſapproved of the peace, and oppoſed the meaſures of the court, under the general denomination of malevolent or deluded perſons. She enlarged with great aſperity on the ſpirit of faction which prevailed in the kingdom: but not a ſyllable eſcaped her either of the pretender or the Proteſtant ſucceſſion.

The commons had now an opportunity of giving freſh proofs of their principles and prejudices. The time of Sacheverel's ſuſpenſion being expired, they requeſted him to preach before them, and thanked him heartily for his excellent ſermon. This however was no more than they were bound in common gratitude to ſubmit to. Moſt of them were indebted for their ſeats to the doctor's influence; and, to hear one of his harangues was the leaſt compliment they could return. The queen gave him more ſubſtantial proof of her favour; ſhe promoted him to the rich benefice of St. Andrew's, Holborn*.

The

* The magiſtracy of Dunkirk preſented a memorial to the queen, imploring her to ſpare the port and harbour of that town, and repreſenting, that they might become extremely uſeful, and even abſolutely neceſſary for the execution of her own political views. What theſe political views were, the French memorialiſts, and, perhaps,

The duke of Shrewſbury, being conſtituted lord-lieutenant of Ireland, convoked the parliament of that kingdom on the twenty-fifth of November. The commons having made choice of Allan Broderick, for their ſpeaker, ordered a bill to be brought in to attaint the pretender and all his adherents. They proſecuted Edward Lloyd, for publiſhing a book, entitled, Memoirs of the chevalier de St. George. They alſo drew up an addreſs to the queen, requeſting her to remove, from the chancellorſhip, ſir Conſtantine Phipps, who had countenanced the Tories of that kingdom. The lords, however, reſolved, that chancellor Phipps had, in his ſeveral ſtations, acquitted himſelf with honour and integrity. The two houſes of convocation preſented an addreſs for the ſame purpoſe. The duke of Shrewſbury, perceiving that the commons would not comply with the meaſures of the court, thought proper to prorogue the parliament. He then obtained permiſſion to return to England, leaving the chancellor Phipps, with the archbiſhops of Armagh and Tuam, juſtices of the kingdom.

The parliament of England had been diſſolved; and the elections were ſo managed as to return a majority of Tory members: but the meeting of the parliament was protracted by repeated prorogations to the tenth of December; partly on account of the queen's indiſpoſition, and partly on account of conteſts which prevailed among her miniſters.

Oxford and Bolingbroke were competitors for power, and rivals in reputation for ability. The treaſurer's talents were eſteemed the more ſolid; the ſecretary's more brilliant: but both the miniſters were active and ambitious. The firſt was intent upon maintaining the chief place in the adminiſtration, which he had enjoyed ſince the introduction of the Tories: the other diſdained to act in a ſubordinate capacity, to a man whom he ſuppoſed he equalled in influence, and excelled in genius. They began to form ſeparate cabals, and eſpouſed different intereſts.

Bolingbroke inſinuated himſelf into the confidence of lady Maſham, to whom Oxford had given ſome cauſe of diſguſt. By the intrigues of this favourite, he daily gained ground in the good opinion of his ſovereign, while the treaſurer loſt it in the ſame proportion. Thus ſhe, who had been the worthy author of his advancement, was now employed as the inſtrument of his diſgrace. The queen was extremely uneaſy at theſe diſſentions among the miniſters, and endeavoured to effect a reconciliation; but their ſecret animoſity continued to rankle under an exterior accomodation. Bolingbroke was powerfully ſupported by ſir Simon Harcourt the chancellor, ſir William Wyndham, and Mr. ſecretary Bromley. Oxford perceived the decline of his own influence, and began to think of retirement. The public was appriſed of this approaching revolution by the Examiner, a periodical work, written by Dr. Swift, who, in one of his papers publiſhed about this time, took occaſion to lament the inſtability of miniſterial power, eſpecially in a government formed like that of England.

The earl of Peterborough was appointed ambaſſador to the king of Sicily; and ſet out on his journey for Turin. The queen retired to Windſor, where ſhe was ſeized with a dangerous inflammatory fever. The Jacobites entertained the moſt ſanguine hopes: the public funds were conſiderably affected: a great demand was made upon the bank, the directors of which were ſtruck with conſternation. The alarm was ſtill further encreaſed by the report of an armament equipped in the ports of France. They ſent four of their members to repreſent to the treaſurer the danger that threatened the public credit, and to deſire his aſſiſtance in this critical emergence.

The queen, informed of this circumſtance, ſigned a letter to ſir Samuel Stanier, lord mayor of London, importing, that, though an aguiſh indiſpoſition, ſucceeded by a fit of the gout, had detained her longer at Windſor than ſhe intended; yet, as her health was now almoſt reeſtabliſhed, ſhe would return to the place of her uſual reſidence, and open the parliament on the fixteenth of February. This intimation, together

haps, the Engliſh miniſtry, were the beſt judges. The memorial was publiſhed, and the arguments it contained were anſwered and refuted, by Addiſon, Steele, and Maynwaring. Commiſſioners were ſent to ſee the fortifications of Dunkirk demoliſhed. They were accordingly razed to the ground, and the harbour filled up.

gether with certain intelligence that the report of the armament was groundleſs, and the pretender ſtill in Lorraine, contributed to allay the ferment of the nation.

The Jacobites were ſo elated on this occaſion, that they employed one Bedford, a non-juring clergyman to publiſh a volume, aſſerting the hereditary rights of the crown of England, in order to pave the way for the pretender's acceſſion. To prevent the pernicious effects which this eſſay might produce, Mr Richard Steele iſſued a performance, entitled the Criſis, in defence of the revolution and the Proteſtant eſtabliſhment, and enlarging upon the danger of the Popiſh ſucceſſor. At the ſame time the author of the former treatiſe was apprehended, tried, convicted and puniſhed; though the moſt ignominious part of his ſentence, that of being conducted to the courts of Weſtminſter Hall, with a paper on his breaſt, denoting his offence, was remitted by order of the miniſtry.

While Great Britain was diſtracted by theſe inteſtine commotions, the emperor, rejecting the propoſals of France, reſolved to continue the war at his own expence; but the enemy having reduced the two important fortreſſes of Landau and Friburg, and threatened to penetrate into the heart of the empire, he thought proper to hearken to overtures of peace, which were made by the electors of Cologne and Palatine. Conferences were immediately opened at Raſtadt, between prince Eugene and the mareſchal Villars; and all the articles being expeditiouſly adjuſted, the treaty was ſigned on the fourth of March. By this accommodation, which was leſs favourable to the emperor, than that offered at Utrecht, the French king ceded to the emperor Old Briſac, with all its dependencies, Friburg, the forts in the Briſgau and Black Foreſt, together with fort Kehl. He engaged to demoliſh the fortifications oppoſite to Hunningen, the fort of Sellingen, and all between that and fort Louis. The town and fortreſs of Landau were yielded to the king of France, who acknowledged the elector of Hanover. The electors of Bavaria and Cologne were fully re-eſtabliſhed in their dignities and dominions. The emperor to have immediate poſſeſſion of the Spaniſh Netherlands; and the king of Pruſſia to retain the high quarter of Gueldres. In concluſion, the contracting parties agreed, that a congreſs ſhould be held in the month of May at Baden in Switzerland, for terminating all differences; and prince Eugene and mareſchal Villars were declared their firſt plenipotentiaries. The principal articles, with reſpect to Italy and the Low Countries, were the ſame with thoſe ſettled at Utrecht. The ratifications of the treaty between Great Britain and Spain being exchanged, the peace was proclaimed in London on the firſt of March*.

The new parliament had been opened by commiſſion in February, and ſir Thomas Hanmer was choſen ſpeaker of the houſe of commons. On the ſecond of March, the queen being conveyed in a ſedan to the houſe of lords addreſſed the two houſes to the following effect: that ſhe had obtained an honourable and advantageous peace for her own people, and for the greateſt part of her allies; and ſhe hoped her interpoſition might prove effectual to complete the ſettlement of Europe.

The earl of Wharton complained, in the houſe of lords, of a libel, entitled, "The public Spirit "of the Whigs ſet forth in their generous En- "couragement of the Author of the Criſis." This pamphlet, which was imputed to lord Bolingbroke and Swift, was written in the ludicrous ſtile of the Tale of a Tub. After ſome ſevere reflections on Mr. Steele, the earl of Nottingham, and the ſubſcribers to the Criſis, it attacked with great poignancy of ſatire, the union, the Scottiſh nation, and the duke of Argyle in particular, who had lately abandoned the miniſtry.

The earl of Wharton's complaint being favourably attended to, the lord treaſurer diſclaimed all knowledge of the author, and readily concurred in an order for taking into cuſtody John Morphew, the publiſher, and John Barber, printer of the Gazette, from whoſe houſe the copies were taken to Morphew. The earl of Wharton declared it materially concerned the honour of that auguſt aſſembly to diſcover the villain, who was the author of ſo ſcandalous a libel, that juſtice might be rendered to the Scottiſh nation. He moved, that Barber and his ſervants might be examined; but, on the following day, the earl of Mar, one of the ſecre-

* A. D. 1714.

taries of ſtate, declared, that, in conſequence of her majeſty's order, he had directed John Barber to be proſecuted*.

Notwithſtanding the care and diligence exerted by the Tories in the late elections, many Whigs had been returned as members: among whom none was ſo obnoxious to the miniſtry as Mr. Steele, who, in ſeveral publications, had arraigned the late meaſures with great force of argument and warmth of declamation. It was therefore reſolved by the court of dependants, to rid the houſe of ſo troubleſome a member. Accordingly on the eleventh of March, Mr Hungerford, a celebrated lawyer, complained of ſeveral ſcandalous papers lately publiſhed under the name of Richard Steele, eſquire, a member of the houſe; particularly two remarkable pamphlets; one entitled, The Criſis; the other, The Engliſhman. He was ſeconded by Mr Foley, who alledged, that, unleſs expedients were reſolved on for reſtraining the licentiouſneſs of the preſs, and protecting the ſervants of the government from malicious and infamous libels, thoſe, who by their abilities were beſt qualified to ſerve their queen and country, would be afraid to accept of public employments. Sir William Wyndham affirmed, that ſome of Mr Steele's writings contained inſolent and injurious reflections on the queen herſelf, and were dictated by the ſpirit of ſedition.

Steele was ordered to attend in his place: ſeveral paragraphs of his writings were read; and he begged he might be allowed a week's time to prepare for his defence. Auditor Harley excepted to ſo long a delay, and moved for reſuming the affair on the Monday following. Steele, in order to ridicule his two principal perſecutors, Foley and Harley, who were known to be rigid Preſbyterians, though they now aſſorted with the high church party, aſſumed their ſanctified air and manner, ſaying, he acknowledged, with ſorrow and contrition of heart, that he was a very great ſinner; and hoped the member, who ſpoke laſt, and who was juſtly renowned for his exemplary piety and devotion, would not be acceſſary to the accumulation of the number of his tranſgreſſions, by obliging him to violate the ſabbath of the Lord, by peruſing ſuch profane writings as might be neceſſary for his juſtification†.

Mr. Walpole obſerved, that this extraordinary and violent perſecution ſtruck at the liberties of the people in general, and of the members of parliament in particular: that, in his opinion, every expreſſion in Mr. Steele's writings might be rationally juſtified: and that he hoped the houſe would not ſacrifice one of their members to the rage and reſentment of the miniſtry, for no other crime, than his attempting to expoſe their groſs miſmanagements, and, like a good patriot, warning his countrymen of the imminent danger, with which the nation, and even her majeſty's ſacred perſon, were threatened by the viſible encouragement that was given to the friends of the pretender.

The lords Finch, Lumley, and Hinchinbroke, ſir James Stuart, Mr. Baillie, and ſeveral other members argued in ſupport of Mr. Steele; but the commons were not aſſembled for the purpoſe of debate, they met only to determine the queſtion by the weight of intereſt. Accordingly it was carried by a conſiderable majority that the two pamphlets, entitled, The Engliſhman, and The Criſis, avowedly written by Richard Steele, eſquire, were ſcandalous and ſeditious libels; and that, for this offence, he ſhould be expelled the houſe‡.

The parliament meeting according to adjournment,

* Notwithſtanding this ſhameful interpoſition, which was intended to protect the offenders, the lords preſented an addreſs, beſeeching her majeſty to iſſue her royal proclamation, promiſing a reward to any perſon who ſhould diſcover the author of the libel, which they conceived to be falſe, malicious, and factious, highly diſhonourable and ſcandalous to her majeſty's ſubjects of Scotland, moſt injurious to her majeſty, and tending to the deſtruction of the conſtitution. In compliance with their requeſt, a reward of three hundred pounds was offered; but Swift, the reputed author, remained unmoleſted.

† This ſpeech, delivered in a whining hypocritical tone, having put the houſe in a good humour, Harley's motion was rejected, and Steele obtained the time he had requeſted. On the day appointed for his trial, he ingenuouſly acknowledged the writings, and anſwered the objections ſtarted againſt them with equal temper, eloquence, and preciſion. He was aſſiſted by Mr. Addiſon, general Stanhope, Mr. Walpole, lord Finch, and ſeveral others.

‡ An oppoſite libel, from the pen of Swift (who for his literary ſupport of miniſterial meaſures, had obtained a deanry

journment, lord Hallifax propoſed an addreſs to the queen, that ſhe would renew her exertions for the ſpeedy removal of the pretender out of Lorraine; and that ſhe would, in conjunction with the States General, and ſuch other princes as ſhe ſhould think proper, enter into a guaranty of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover. The earl of Wharton moved, that, in the addreſs, her majeſty ſhould be deſired to iſſue a proclamation, promiſing a reward to any perſon who ſhould apprehend the pretender, dead or alive. He was ſeconded by the duke of Bolton, who added that the queen ſhould be requeſted to proportion the reward to the importance of the ſervice. No oppoſition being made to theſe motions, the houſe agreed that an addreſs ſhould be preſented.

When it was reported by the committee, the lord North and Grey expatiated upon the barbarity of ſetting a price on any perſon's head. He ſaid, it was an incitement to murder and aſſaſſination; contrary to the precepts of Chriſtianity; repugnant to the law of nature and nations; inconſiſtent with the dignity of ſuch an auguſt aſſembly, and with the honour of a nation celebrated for its lenity and mercy. He was ſupported by lord Trevor, who moved, that the reward ſhould be promiſed for apprehending and bringing the pretender to juſtice, *in caſe he ſhould land or attempt to land in Great Britain or Ireland.*

The lords Cowper and Hallifax obſerved, that however inconſiſtent ſuch a proceeding might be with the precepts of Chriſtianity, it was warranted by the practice of the Romans, of the moſt civilized nations in Europe, and even of the Engliſh nation: that without recurring to remoter times than thoſe of James the Second, that prince had ſet a price upon the head of his own nephew, the duke of Monmouth. The earl of Angleſey, however, and ſome other lords, who had abandoned the miniſtry, being now brought back to their former principles, the mitigation was adopted by a majority of ten voices.

To this addreſs, which was preſented by the chancellor and the Whig lords only, the queen replied, that it would be a real ſtrengthening to the ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover, as well as a ſupport to her government, if thoſe groundleſs fears and jealouſies were terminated, which had been ſo induſtriouſly promoted: that ſhe did not, at that time, ſee any occaſion for ſuch a proclamation: that whenever ſhe thought it neceſſary, ſhe would order it to be iſſued: and that with regard to the other particulars of their addreſs, ſhe would give the neceſſary directions.

The lords then reſumed the enquiry into the affair of the treaſurer's remitting money to the Highlanders; when he alledged, in excuſe, that, in ſo doing, he had followed the example of king William, who, after he had reduced that people, thought it neceſſary to allow yearly penſions to the heads of the clans, in order to preſerve quietneſs. His conduct was approved by the majority; and the lord North and Grey moved, that a day might be appointed for conſidering the treaties of peace and commerce. The motion was ſupported by the earl of Clarendon; and the thirteenth of April was fixed for that purpoſe.

In the mean time an accident happened, which threw the miniſtry into the utmoſt perplexity. Baron Schutz, the Hanoverian envoy, demanded of the chancellor a writ for the electoral prince to ſit in the houſe of peers, as duke of Cambridge, intimating his intention was to reſide in England. The writ was granted with reluctance; but the miniſtry, convinced that ſuch an event would be attended with the deſtruction of all their projects, and perhaps with the immediate loſs of their authority, reſolved to exert their utmoſt endeavours to prevent the prince's arrival*.

The queen herſelf was ſo offended at the baron's

a deanry in the church of Ireland) drew a vote of cenſure from the lords. The printer and the publiſher were apprehended and examined; and a reward was offered for the diſcovery of the author; but he found means to eſcape proſecution; and was careſſed by the Tories as the ableſt of all the writers who had enliſted in their cauſe.

* Whether the elector had ever any ſerious intention of ſending his ſon to England may be queſtioned, though he repreſented, in a memorial to queen Anne, "That for "the ſecurity of her royal perſon, her kingdoms, and the "Proteſtant religion, it ſeemed neceſſary to ſettle in "Britain ſome prince of the electoral family;" but it is certain that the Jacobites had formed a deſign of bringing over the pretender, and that he himſelf and his adherents entertained the moſt ſanguine expectations of his ſpeedy exaltation to the throne. Theſe expectations were heigh-

baron's applying to the chancellor, without ſignifying his intention to her, that ſhe ſent him a meſſage forbidding him the court. Soon after which, ſhe wrote a letter to the princeſs Sophia, which we have ſubjoined*.

Another letter was written to the elector himſelf, the contents of which were never communicated to the public. The treaſurer took this opportunity to aſſure his highneſs of his firm attachment to the family of Hanover. Perhaps the prince was influenced by the repreſentations of the queen, or the advice of his friends; or perhaps he believed his reſidence in England would be prejudicial to his intereſt, or was unwilling to offend her majeſty: whatever was his motive, it is certain, that though he obtained the writ, he never thought proper to take the advantage of it†.

toned by the *promoted* regulation of the army. The duke of Argyle, the earl of Stair, and all other officers of diſtinction, whom the Jacobites and more violent Tories ſuſpected would ſupport the Act of Settlement, were removed from their military employments; and the command of the whole regular troops in the kingdom was vetted in the hands of the duke of Ormond and his creatures, who were known to be well affected to the excluded family.

* *Madam, Siſter, Aunt,*

" Since the right of ſucceſſion to my kingdoms has " been declared to belong to you and your family, there have always been diſaffected perſons, who, from particular views of their own intereſt, have entered into meaſures to fix a prince of your blood in my dominions, even while I am yet living. I never thought, till now, that this project would have gone ſo far, as to have made the leaſt impreſſion on your mind. But as I have lately perceived, by public rumours, which are induſtriouſly ſpread, that your electoral highneſs is come into this ſentiment, it is of importance, with reſpect to the ſucceſſion of your family, that I ſhould tell you, ſuch a proceeding will infallibly draw along with it ſome conſequences, that might be dangerous to the ſucceſſion itſelf, which is not ſecure any other way than as the prince, who actually wears the crown, maintains her authority and prerogative. There are here (ſuch is our misfortune) many perſons, who are ſeditiouſly diſpoſed. So I leave you to judge, what tumults " they may be able to raiſe, if they ſhould have a pretext " to begin a commotion. I perſuade myſelf, therefore, " you will never conſent, that the leaſt thing ſhould be " done, which may diſturb the repoſe of me and my " ſubjects.

" Open yourſelf to me with the ſame freedom I do " to you, and propoſe whatever you think may con" tribute to the ſecurity of the ſucceſſion. I will come " into it with zeal, provided it do not derogate from my " dignity, which I am reſolved to maintain.

" I am, with great affection, &c."

Superſcribed,

" *To my Siſter and Aunt, the Electreſs Dowager* " *of Brunſwick and Lunenburg.*"

At the ſame time, ſhe wrote a letter to the duke of Cambridge, in theſe terms:

" *Coufin,*

" An accident, which has happened in my lord Paget's " family, having hindered him from ſetting forward ſo " ſoon as he thought to have done, I cannot defer any " longer letting you know my thoughts with reſpect to " the deſign you have of coming into my kingdoms. As " the opening of the matter ought to have been made to " me, ſo I expected you would not have given ear to it, without knowing my thoughts about it. However, this is what I owe to my own dignity, the friendſhip I have for you, and the electoral houſe to which you belong, that I ſhould tell you, that nothing can be more dangerous to the tranquillity of my dominions, and the right of ſucceſſion in your line, and conſequently more diſagreeable to me, than ſuch a proceeding at this juncture. I am, with great friendſhip,

" Your affectionate couſin,

" ANNE, R."

† Such of the Jacobites as were neareſt the perſon of the queen, urged her perpetually to concert ſome plan for the reſtoration of the pretender. Sincere in her own attachment to the church of England, ſhe ſignified her deſire that he ſhould abjure Popery, and place himſelf in a capacity of being *ſerved*. But finding him obſtinate, ſhe replied, when urged by the duke of Buckingham to alter the ſucceſſion in his favour, " How can I ſerve him? " He takes not the leaſt ſtep to oblige me, in what I moſt " deſire. You know a Papiſt cannot enjoy this crown in " peace. But the example of the father has no weight " with the ſon; he prefers his religious errors to the throne of a great kingdom. How, therefore, can I undo what I have already done! He may thank himſelf for his excluſion. He knows I love my own family better than any other. All would be eaſy if he would enter the pale of the church of England. Adviſe him to change his religion; as that only can turn " the opinion of the people in his favour." The duke of Buckingham conveyed this anſwer to the court of St. Germains: and, at the ſame time, ſeconded the requeſt of the queen. But his arguments were all loſt on the pretender, who was a zealous Catholic, and made a matter of conſcience in adhering to his religion, in defiance of all prudential conſiderations; an irrefragable proof of the moſt incurable and dangerous weakneſs in a prince, however commendable in a private perſon. For, as a ſenſible writer obſerves, if a king is not willing to go to heaven in the ſame way with his people, they will hardly acknowledge the legality of his authority on earth. And a man who could relinquiſh his hopes of a great kingdom, for a ſpeculative point of faith, diſcovered a ſpirit of bigotry, that would have ſacrificed all civil engagements to the propagation of that faith. He was not therefore fit to be entruſted with power.

In

In the month of May the princeſs Sophia died, in the eighty-fourth year of her age. Her death was announced to the queen, by baron Bothmar, who arrived in England with the character of envoy-extraordinary from the elector of Hanover. She was the fourth and youngeſt daughter of Frederic, elector palatine, king of Bohemia, and Elizabeth daughter of king James the Firſt of England. She inherited from nature an excellent capacity, which was admirably improved; and was in every reſpect, one of the moſt accompliſhed princeſſes of the age in which ſhe lived. At her death, the court of England went into mourning; and the elector of Brunſwick was prayed for, by name, in the liturgy.

As the diſſenters, notwithſtanding their ſeparation from the church, had always been conſidered as a principal ſupport of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, thoſe who were now determined to defeat that eſtabliſhment, reſolved, as a previous ſtep to effect the ruin of theſe ſectaries. With this view, ſir William Wyndham propoſed a bill to prevent the growth of ſchiſm, and for the further ſecurity of the church of England. The deſign of it was to prohibit diſſenters from teaching in ſchools or academies. It was accordingly prepared, and eagerly oppoſed in both houſes, as a meaſure equally dangerous and cruel. General Stanhope, Mr. Hampden, Mr. Walpole, and Mr. Lechmere, exerted all their eloquence, and abilities in oppoſition to this bill. The bill was ſupported by Mr. ſecretary Bromley, ſir William Wyndham, Mr. Hungerford, and Mr. Collier*.

In the upper houſe, the bill met with a ſtill more violent oppoſition. Lord Cowper affirmed, that, inſtead of preventing ſchiſm, and enlarging the pale of the church, it tended to produce ignorance, and its inſeparable attendants, ſuperſtition and irreligion.

Lord Townſend, among other pertinent remarks on the danger of perſecution, ſaid, he had lived many years in Holland, and had obſerved, that the wealth and ſtrength of that great and powerful republic, conſiſted chiefly in the number of its inhabitants; and that he was perſuaded, that, if the ſtates ſhould cauſe the ſchools of any one ſect, tolerated in Holland, to be ſhut up, thoſe provinces would ſoon be as thin of inhabitants as Spain or Sweden; though they were now extremely populous.

The miniſtry, however, gave themſelves very little concern reſpecting the number or weight of the arguments that were urged. They knew they had a plurality of voices: they therefore inſiſted on the queſtion; and the bill paſſed, though only by a majority of five votes. It afterwards received the royal aſſent; but the queen dying before it took place, the act was, in a great meaſure, rendered ineffectual.

By this time the queen's conſtitution was greatly impaired: a continued ſeries of indiſpoſition, added to the anxiety of her mind, ariſing from the diſcontents among her ſubjects, and the diſſentions among her miniſters, was now become inſupportable. The council chamber was converted into a ſcene of obſtinate and virulent contention. Even in the queen's preſence, the treaſurer and ſecretary did not refrain from the exerciſe of mutual reproach and recrimination.

Oxford adviſed moderate meaſures, and is ſaid to have made advances towards an accommodation with the Whig noblemen, who, he plainly perceived, would ſoon gain the preeminence. Bolingbroke affected to ſet the Whigs at defiance: he profeſſed a flaming zeal for the church; and ſoothed the queen's inclinations with the moſt abject flattery. He, and his coajutrix, lady Maſham, inſinuated, that the treaſurer was prejudiced in favour of the Diſſenters, and that he even acted as a ſpy for the houſe of Hanover.

In the courſe of theſe diſputes and commotions, the Jacobites were not indolent. They ſuppoſed the queen ſecretly favoured the intereſt of the pretender: and they relied upon Bolingbroke's attachment to the ſame cauſe. They fondly imagined, that the ſame ſentiments were

* In order to expoſe the diſſenters, Mr. Collier begged leave to read to the houſe, a collection of abſurdities and impious expreſſions, which he pretended to have extracted from their writings. After reciting part of this impertinent legend, he came to a paſſage taken from the nonſenſical rhapſodies of the late Mr. Hickeringill, miniſter at Colcheſter, in which, the author averred, "that "our bleſſed Saviour was the ſon of a w——." At this ſhocking expreſſion he was interrupted by the ſpeaker, and prevented from proceeding with his harangue.

entertained by a conſiderable part of the nation. They held frequent conſultations both in Great Britain and Ireland: and reſolved to improve the public diſſenſions to the advantage of their party. They had even the preſumption to inliſt men for the ſervice of the pretender. Many of theſe practices were diſcovered by the earl of Wharton, and ſeveral perſons were arreſted, and ſome of them condemned and executed.

This affair created ſo much tumult that the miniſtry could not avoid attending to it. A proclamation was iſſued, promiſing a reward of five thouſand pounds for apprehending the pretender, whenever he ſhould land or attempt to land in Great Britain. The commons reſolved upon an addreſs of thanks for the proclamation, and aſſured her majeſty that they would cheerfully aid and aſſiſt her, by granting the ſum of an hundred thouſand pounds, as a further reward to any one who ſhould perform ſo eſſential a ſervice to her majeſty and her kingdoms.

The earl of Nottingham moved, that the lords ſhould preſent a ſimilar addreſs. The motion was ſeconded by the earl of Wharton, who, holding the queen's proclamation in his hand, moſt pathetically lamented her majeſty's acknowledging, that her endeavours to remove the pretender from Lorraine had proved ineffectual. "Unhappy princeſs!" ſaid he, "how much is "her condition altered! will poſterity believe, "that ſo great a ſovereign, who had reduced "the exorbitant power of France, given a king "to Spain, and whoſe very miniſters cauſed "the emperor and the ſtates-general to tremble, "ſhould be ſo diveſted of power as to be un"able to compel ſo inconſiderable a prince, as "the duke of Lorraine, to comply with her juſt "requeſt, of removing out of his dominions the "pretender to her crown?" Nottingham's motion being approved by the houſe, the addreſs was accordingly voted and preſented.

Bolingbroke, the better to conceal his real intentions, propoſed a bill, denouncing the penalty of high-treaſon againſt thoſe, who ſhould liſt or be inliſted in the pretender's ſervice. Lord Hallifax obſerved, that ſuch a bill was wholly unneceſſary, as both the pretender and all his adherents were already attainted of high-treaſon. He therefore moved, that it ſhould be high-treaſon for any of her majeſty's ſubjects to inliſt or be inliſted in the ſervice of any foreign prince or ſtate, without a licence under the ſign manual of her majeſty, her heirs or ſucceſſors. With this amendment the bill paſſed and afterwards received the concurrence of the commons.

The miniſters, conſcious they were equally concerned in the late negociations, had hitherto been reſtrained, by the fear of common danger, from coming to an open rupture; but being free from that reſtraint by the treaty's receiving the approbation of parliament, they gave an unbounded latitude to their mutual animoſity. Oxford wrote a letter to the queen, enumerating the public tranſactions during the four laſt years; in the courſe of which he endeavoured to juſtify his own conduct, and expoſe the turbulent and ambitious ſpirit of his rival. Bolingbroke, on the other hand, accuſed the treaſurer of having invited the duke of Marlborough to return to England; of having held private conferences with other Whig lords; of having diſcovered the queen's councils to the court of Hanover; and even of having adviſed them to demand a writ for the duke of Cambridge. The duke of Shrewſbury alſo complained of his having preſumed to ſend orders to him in Ireland, without the privity of her majeſty and the council. But perhaps, his greateſt crime was his having offended his favourite lady Maſham, by not regularly paying a grant of fifteen hundred pounds a year, which ſhe had lately obtained. It is certain, that on the twenty-ſeventh of July, a very violent altercation paſſed between that lady, the chancellor, and Oxford, in the preſence of the queen. The treaſurer declared he had been injured and abuſed by falſities and miſrepreſentations; but he would be revenged, and leave ſome perſons as low as he had found them.

In the mean time he was diveſted of all his employments; and Bolingbroke ſeemed to triumph in the victory he had gained. He expected he ſhould ſucceed as prime miniſter in the adminiſtration of affairs; and is ſaid to have formed the deſign of a coalition with the duke of Marlborough, who, at this very time, embarked at Oſtend for England. Oxford, it is ſaid, had attempted the ſame expedient; but met with a repulſe from the duke, who had ſolemnly

ſolemnly proteſted never to be reconciled to that miniſter. Whatever ſchemes might have been formed, the fall of the treaſurer was ſo ſudden, that no meaſures were concerted for ſupplying his place, and filling up the other vacancies which his diſgrace muſt have occaſioned. The general confuſion which enſued at court, and the fatigue of attending a long cabinet-council on the event, had ſuch an effect upon the queen's ſpirit and conſtitution, that ſhe declared ſhe ſhould not ſurvive it, and was immediately ſeized with ſtrong lethargic ſymptoms. Several medicines were preſcribed by the phyſicians; but notwithſtanding all their applications, the diſeaſe increaſed ſo rapidly, that the next day, which was the thirtieth of July, her ſpeedy diſſolution appeared inevitable. The committee of the council, which was aſſembled at the Cockpit adjourned to Kenſington.

The dukes of Somerſet and Argyle, informed of the deſperate condition of her majeſty, repaired to the palace; and, without being ſummoned, entered the council chamber. The members were ſurprized at their appearance; but upon ſtating the motives of their attending, the duke of Shrewſbury thanked them for their readineſs to give their aſſiſtance in ſuch a critical juncture, and deſired they would take their places. They next propoſed that the phyſicians ſhould be examined concerning the ſtate of the queen's health, to enable them to provide againſt all contingencies.

The medical doctors having declared that her majeſty was ſtill ſenſible, though extremely weak and feeble, ſome members repreſented the abſolute neceſſity of ſupplying the treaſurer's place in the event of her death. They accordingly recommended the duke of Shrewſbury as the propereſt perſon to undertake that important charge. When this opinion was ſignified to the queen, ſhe ſaid they could not have recommended a perſon ſhe ſo much approved as the duke of Shrewſbury. She delivered to him the white ſtaff, deſiring him to uſe it for the good of her people. He would have returned the lord chamberlain's ſtaff: but ſhe requeſted him to keep them both: in conſequence of which, he was at one time poſſeſſed of three of the moſt exalted ſituations in the kingdom; thoſe of lord-treaſurer, lord-chamberlain, and lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

The advancement of Shrewſbury to the head of the treaſury, produced a total alteration in the face of affairs: it baffled the deſigns of Bolingbroke, extinguiſhed the hopes of the Jacobites, and revived the ſpirits of all who were advocates for the Proteſtant ſucceſſion. The dukes of Somerſet and Argyle propoſed, that all privy-counſellors in London and its environs ſhould be invited to attend, without diſtinction of party. The motion was approved, and lord Somers, with many other friends of the family of Hanover, repaired to Kenſington.

The council being thus ſtrengthened, began to provide for the ſecurity of the kingdom. Orders were diſpatched to four regiments of horſe and dragoons, quartered in remote counties, to repair to the neighbourhood of London and Weſtminſter. Seven of the ten Britiſh battalions in the Netherlands, were directed to embark at Oſtend for England, with all poſſible diſpatch: an embargo was laid upon all ſhipping: and directions were given for equipping all the ſhips of war that could ſpeedily be got ready for ſervice. A letter was ſent to the elector of Brunſwick, declaring, that the phyſicians had deſpaired of the queen's life, acquainting him with the meaſures which had been taken, and deſiring he would, with all convenient ſpeed, repair to Holland, where he ſhould be attended by a Britiſh ſquadron to convey him to England, in caſe of her majeſty's deceaſe.

At the ſame time inſtruction were ſent to the earl of Strafford, to require the States General to prepare for performing their guaranty of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion. Meaſures were taken to ſecure the ſea ports; and overawe the Jacobites in Scotland: the command of the fleet was conferred upon the earl of Berkeley; and the heralds at arms were kept in readineſs to proclaim the new ſovereign, as ſoon as the vacancy of the throne ſhould happen. The queen continued to doſe in a ſtate of lethargic inſenſibility till the firſt of Auguſt, about ſeven in the morning, when ſhe departed this life, in the fiftieth year of her age, and the thirteenth of her reign.

Anne was in her perſon of the middle ſtature, well proportioned. Her hair was of a dark

brown colour, her complexion ſanguine and ruddy, her features ſtrong and regular, her countenance rather round than oval, and her aſpect more comely than majeſtic. Though not altogether deſtitute of female accompliſhments, ſhe had nothing captivating as a woman, either in her manner or her perſon: ſhe could only be reputed ſenſible and agreeable. Her voice was remarkably clear and harmonious, which ſhe particularly manifeſted in the graceful delivery of her ſpeeches in parliament. She had a tolerable ear for muſic, and made ſome proficiency on the guittar, at that time a favourite inſtrument with the ladies. Her failure of duty as a daughter excepted, her conduct in private life appears to have been highly exemplary. She was an affectionate wife, a warm friend, an indulgent miſtreſs, and a munificent patron. Her deſertion of her father, though warmly reprehended by many, will be deemed by others a meritorious ſacrifice of implicit duty to the demands of religion and patriotiſm. Many virtues adorned her private life. In her conjugal capacity, ſhe was amiable and unblemiſhed; as a mother, ſhe combined indulgence with diſcretion; as a miſtreſs, ſhe was humane and benevolent; as a friend and a patroneſs, ſincere, generous and munificent.

Her character, viewed in a political light, is ſufficiently apparent from the tranſactions of her reign. As a ſovereign, notwithſtanding the illuſtrious events of her reign, ſhe is entitled to little praiſe: ſhe poſſeſſed neither vigour of mind, ſplendid talents, nor a deep penetration into human affairs. A prey to the moſt enſlaving timidity, and continually governed by favourites, ſhe can hardly be ſaid to have ever thought for herſelf, or to have acted according to her own inclinations. But as her popularity concealed the weakneſs of her perſonal authority, the great abilities of her principal ſervants, to whom ſhe was indebted for that popularity, threw a ſplendid veil over the feeble qualities of queen Anne. She had been bred up with ſtrong prepoſſeſſions in favour of the Tories, whom ſhe was taught to regard as the only true friends of the church and monarchy, and incurable prejudices againſt the Whigs, whom ſhe was inſtructed to conſider as the determined enemies of both. From this ſource originated her unhappy conduct in reſigning herſelf into the hands of the former party, during the laſt four years of her reign; in conſequence of which, one of the moſt glorious and ſucceſsful wars, that had ever been engaged in by any Engliſh monarch, was terminated by a peace which raiſed the power of the Bourbon family to a very dangerous height, and has been productive of moſt of the troubles that have ſince occurred in Europe*.

That her miniſters entertained deſigns in favour of the pretender can hardly be doubted. Whether ſhe herſelf had ever adopted the ſame ſentiments, ſeems not to be equally clear. It may however be affirmed, without incurring the charge of partiality, that, however inclinable ſhe might have been, from the force of prejudice, to advance the pretender to the throne of Great Britain, could ſhe have done it in a pacific manner; the humanity of her heart would always have prevented her from attempting ſuch an experiment at the hazard of a civil war, which would certainly have followed, and would have been attended with the deſtruction of him and his adherents: for whatever they might fondly imagine, their numbers were very inadequate to thoſe who were firmly attached to the Proteſtant ſucceſſion†.

GEORGE

* Dr. Smollet, an encomiaſt of this ſovereign, ſays, "Her capacity was naturally good, but not much cultivated by learning; nor did ſhe exhibit any marks of extraordinary or perſonal ambition. She was certainly deficient in that vigour of mind by which a prince ought to preſerve his independence, and avoid the ſnares and fetters of ſycophants and favourites; but whatever her weakneſs in this particular might have been, the virtues of her heart were never called in queſtion. She was a mild and merciful princeſs, during whoſe reign no ſubject's blood was ſhed for treaſon. She was zealouſly attached to the church of England, "from conviction rather than from prepoſſeſſion, unaffectedly pious, juſt, charitable, and compaſſionate. She "felt a mother's fondneſs for his people, by whom ſhe "was univerſally beloved, with a warmth of affection, "which even the prejudice of party could not abate. "In a word, if ſhe was not the greateſt, ſhe was certainly "one of the beſt and moſt unblemiſhed ſovereigns that "ever ſat upon the throne of England; and well deſerved the expreſſive, though ſimple epithet of "THE "GOOD QUEEN ANNE!"

† A new vault had been made on the ſouth-ſide, towards the eaſt end of Henry the Seventh's Chapel, to depoſit

GEORGE I.

GEORGE I. A. D. 1714.

AS ſoon as the queen expired, orders were given, agreeable to the Act of Settlement, to proclaim George, elector of Brunſwick, king of Great Britain. A regency was appointed according to his nomination, his title was acknowledged by foreign princes and ſtates, and perfect tranquillity ſeemed to exiſt in England, till his arrival *.

George I. aſcended the throne of Great Britain, in the fifty-fifth year of his age †; and the ſame prudence, which had hitherto diſtinguiſhed him, in his negociations with the Britiſh court, was conſpicuous throughout his reign. Deſpiſing the ungenerous and impolitic maxim, too frequently embraced by the princes of the houſe of Stuart, of relying on the attachment of their friends, without rewarding them, and attempting, by favours, to make friends of their enemies, he manifeſted great attention to his friends, and ſet his enemies at defiance. Conformable to this mode of thinking, which he perhaps carried to exceſs, he placed not only the adminiſtration, but all the principal employments of the kingdom, both civil and military, in the hands of the Whigs The treaſury and admiralty were put in commiſſion; the command of the army was transferred from the duke of Ormond to the duke of Marlborough; the duke of Argyle was appointed commander in chief of the forces in Scotland; the great ſeal was given to lord Cowper, the privy ſeal to the earl of Wharton, and the government of Ireland to the earl of Sunderland. Lord Townſhend and Mr. Stanhope were appointed ſecretaries of ſtate; the duke of Somerſet was nominated maſter of the horſe, Mr. Pulteney, ſecretary at war and Mr. Walpole paymaſter-general ‡. A new parliament was called, in which the intereſt of the Whigs predominated; and a ſecret committe, choſen by ballot, was appointed to examine the particulars of the negociations relative to the late peace, as well as the ceſſation of arms, by which it was preceded.

The lower houſe prepared and paſſed a bill, granting to his majeſty the ſame civil liſt, which the queen had enjoyed; with additional clauſes for the payment of arrears, amounting to ſixty-

poſit the remains of Charles II. in which that prince, queen Mary, king William III. and prince George of Denmark, were depoſited. The ſame place of repoſe received the remains of queen Anne: but, no more room remaining, the ſolemn receptacle was cloſed up with brick-work. By her huſband, prince George, queen Anne had ſix children. 1. A daughter ſtill-born, May 12, 1684. 2. Mary, born June 2, 1685, died in February 1686. 3. Anne Sophia, born May 12, 1686, died the February following. 4. William, duke of Glouceſter, born July 24, 1689, died July 30, 1700. 5. Mary, born in October 1690, died ſoon after ſhe was baptized. 6. George, born April 17, 1692, but died as ſoon as born.

* Genealogiſts trace the Hanoverian family from Otbert, an Italian nobleman, who retired from Liſe into Germany, in the tenth century, and whoſe grandſon Azo received the hand of Cunegunda, the daughter of Guelfo or Welff, duke of Bavaria. Welff, the offspring of this match, ſucceeded to the duchy; and his grandſon, Henry the Proud, added to it, by marriage, the territories of Brunſwick, Zell, Lunenburg, and other Provinces of the uncle of Lower Saxony. Henry the Lion, ſon of this prince, being diſpoſſeſſed of his dominions by his German enemies, fled into Normandy, to the court of Henry II. king of England, whoſe eldeſt daughter he had married, and by whoſe intereſt he at length recovered Brunſwick, with other ſtates between the Elbe and the Weſer, which he divided among his three ſons. After alternate ſeparations and re-unions, Henry and William, his lineal deſcendants, jointly poſſeſſed the duchy of Lunenburg, that of Zell, and the county of Danneburg. The elder brother retaining the county, reſigned the two duchies to William, who, at different times, found means to augment his territorial portion. While the poſterity of Henry became dukes of Brunſwick and Wolfenbuttel, the line of William poſſeſſed Lunenburg and its dependencies including the duchy of Hanover. Erneſt, one of his grandſons, obtained the biſhopric of Oſnabruc, in 1662; and, in 1680, the Hanoverian duchy, which, in conſequence of his zeal in the ſervice of the emperor Leopold, was formed into an electorate. He was ſucceeded in the electoral dukedom, in 1698; by George Lewis, who was his eldeſt ſon, by the princeſs Sophia, grand-daughter of James I. of England. George, in 1705, acquired Lunenburg, Zell, and Saxe-Lawenburg, by the death of his uncle and father-in-law, and was therefore a prince of territorial reſpectability, before the death of Anne advanced him to the Britiſh throne; at which time he was in the fifty-fifth year of his age.

† September 17. ‡ A. D. 1715.

five thouſand pounds, due to the Hanoverian troops, which had been in the ſervice of Great Britain; and for a reward of one hundred thouſand pounds to be paid by the treaſury, to any perſon who ſhould apprehend the pretender in landing, or attempting to land, in any part of the Britiſh dominions*.

The committee of ſecrecy proceeded expeditiouſly in their enquiry; and, in conſequence of their report, the commons reſolved to impeach lord Bolingbroke, the earl of Oxford, and the duke of Ormond, of high treaſon. The grounds of theſe impeachments were, the ſhare which Oxford and Bolingbroke had in the clandeſtine negociations with France, and Ormond's acting in concert with Villars, after the fatal ſuſpenſion of arms. More timid, or conſcious of ſuperior guilt, Bolingbroke and Ormond fled to the continent, while Oxford continued to attend his duty in parliament, and was committed to the Tower. His behaviour, throughout the proſecution, was firm and manly. When impeached by the commons at the bar of the houſe of lords, all the arguments of his friends being found inſufficient to acquit him, he addreſſed them to the following effect: "The "whole charge againſt me may be reduced to "the negociation of the peace of Utrecht: and "that peace, bad as it has been repreſented, was "approved by two ſucceſſive parliaments. As "I always acted by the immediate directions "and commands of the queen, my miſtreſs, and "never in oppoſition to any known law, I am "juſtified in my conſcience, and indifferent "about the life of an inſignificant old man; "but I cannot remain unconcerned, without "the higheſt ingratitude, for the reputation of "the beſt of queens. Gratitude compels me to "vindicate her memory.

"My lords, if miniſters of ſtate, acting by "the immediate command of their ſovereign, "are afterwards to become accountable for "their proceedings, it may, one day or other, "be the caſe of every member of this auguſt "aſſembly. I doubt not, therefore, that, out "of regard to yourſelves, your lordſhips will "grant me an equitable hearing; and I hope "that, in the proſecution of this enquiry, it will "appear I have *merited* not only the *indulgence*, but alſo the favour of the *preſent government*†." That government at laſt appears to have been convinced of the truth of this aſſertion: for Oxford, when brought to his trial, after lying almoſt two years in priſon, was diſmiſſed for want of accuſers, the commons not chooſing to appear againſt him.

To theſe proſecutions which have been repreſented as vindictive, the rebellion which diſ-

* Before the coronation he created ſome new peers, and others were advanced to higher titles§. At the ſame time the prince royal was declared prince of Wales, and took his place at the council board. In the beginning of October, the princeſs of Wales arrived in England with her two eldeſt daughters, the princeſſes Anne and Amelia.

On the twentieth of the ſame month the king was crowned in Weſtminſter with the uſual ſolemnity, at which the earl of Oxford and lord Bolingbroke aſſiſted. The occaſion was diſtinguiſhed by popular rejoicings over the whole kingdom, except in a few places, where the populace manifeſted their averſion to the Proteſtant ſucceſſion by tumults and riots. The univerſity of Oxford, as a ſpecimen of their principles, the very day on which the king was crowned, unanimouſly conferred, in full convocation, the degree of doctor of civil law on ſir Conſtantine Phipps, with particular marks of honour and eſteem.

† When Oxford was brought to the bar, he received a copy of the articles, and was granted a month to prepare his anſwer. He thanked the houſe for their great humanity, in not ſending him to the Tower, on account of his indiſpoſition (the gravel); and, as he was ſtill afflicted with the ſame malady, he humbly deſired they would permit him to continue a few days at his own houſe, under the uſual cuſtody. In order to ſecond this petition, Dr. Mead declared, that if he ſhould be ſent to the Tower, his life would be in danger; but it was urged in reply, that, as he came to the houſe in his own coach, he might with as much eaſe have been carried to the Tower, either by water, or in a ſedan; and that there he might have the ſame attendance of his friends and phyſicians, as if he was at home. It was therefore reſolved by a great majority, that he ſhould be conveyed to the Tower on the ſixteenth of July.

§ *James lord Chandos, was created earl of Caernarvon; Lewis, lord Rockingham, earl of that name; Charles, lord Oſſulton, earl of Tankerville; Charles, lord Halifax, earl of Halifax; Heneage, lord Guernſey, earl of Aylesford; John lord Hervey earl of Bristol; Thomas, lord Pelham, earl of Clare; Henry, earl of Thomond, in Ireland, viſcount Tudcaſter; James, viſcount Caſtleton in Ireland, baron Sunderſin; Bennet, lord Sherrard in Ireland, baron of Harborough; Gervaſe, lord Pierrepont, in Ireland, baron Pierrepont in the county of Bucks; Henry Boyle, baron of Carlton, in the county of York; ſir Richard Temple, baron of Cobham, in the county of Kent; Henry, lord Paget, earl of Uxbridge,*

turbed the beginning of this reign has been aſcribed; but very improperly. The proſecutions were neceſſary, to free the nation from the imputation of having connived at a ſhameful breach of public faith: and if George the Firſt had not thrown himſelf into the hands of the Whigs, he muſt ſoon have returned to Hanover. Of all the parties in the kingdom, they only were ſincerely attached to his cauſe, or could now be ſaid firmly to adhere to the principles of the revolution*. The Tories were in general inclined to Jacobitiſm. The heads of the party, both in England and Scotland, held a ſecret correſpondence with the pretender; and though no regular plan had been formed, a tendency towards an inſurrection appeared univerſally among them, and the moſt artful means were employed to inflame the maſs of the people, as well as to ſecure particular adherents. The diſbanded officers were gained by money; ſeditious libels were diſperſed againſt the electoral family; the pretender's manifeſtoes were every where circulated; all the Whigs were claſſed under the general denomination of Diſſenters, and the alarm of the danger of the church was revived.

During theſe diſcontents and cabals, which were principally occaſioned by the diſappointment of the Jacobites and violent Tories, in conſequence of the premature death of queen Anne, the zeal and loyalty of the Whigs alone could have ſupported George upon the throne of Britain; and a ſmall body of foreign troops was only wanting, to have made the conteſt doubtful between the houſe of Stuart and that of Hanover. Such a body of troops the duke of Ormond, and other zealous Jacobites in England, eagerly ſolicited from the pretender, as neceſſary to render their deſigns in his favour ſucceſsful. Convinced of the neceſſity of this demand, the duke of Berwick exerted his influence, but in vain, to procure a few regiments from the court of Verſailles. Lewis XIV. now ſinking under years and infirmities, and ſtanding on the verge of the grave, was unwilling to engage in a new war, or hazard any meaſure which might diſturb the minority of his great-grandſon. He therefore declined taking openly any part in the affairs of the pretender: and the vigilance of the earl of Stair, the Britiſh ambaſſador in France, effectually prevented any ſecret aids from operating to the diſadvantage of his maſter.

The pretender, however, ſtill cheriſhed the hope of being able to aſcend the throne of his anceſtors, by means of his Engliſh adherents, and the aſſiſtance of the Scottiſh Jacobites, who were armed, and ready to riſe at his command. His brother, the duke of Berwick, and the fugitive lord Bolingbroke, to whom he had delivered the ſeals, as ſecretary of ſtate, were leſs ſanguine in their expectations; yet they flattered themſelves, that ſome daring ſtep would be taken, which might encourage the court of France to interpoſe in his favour. But the miſconduct of the duke of Ormond diſappointed all theſe hopes. This nobleman, after his impeachment, retired to his houſe at Richmond, where he paſſed his time in great ſtate, and was ſurrounded by the whole body of the Tories, of which he was reputed the head. He ſeemed to have ſet up the ſtandard againſt his ſovereign. He aſſured the pretender, he would ſupport his ſtation as long as he was able;

* A trifling incident contributed to increaſe the popular ferment. The firſt regiment of guards, commanded by the duke of Marlborough, having lately received their new cloathing, the ſhirts were obſerved to be ſo remarkably coarſe, that the ſoldiers could hardly be perſuaded to wear them. Some were thrown into the king's and the duke of Marlborough's gardens. A detachment, in marching through the city, to relieve the guard at the Tower, exhibited them to the view of the ſhopkeepers and paſſengers, exclaiming, "Theſe are the Hanover "ſhirts!" The court, being informed of this circumſtance, and apprehending the conſequences, ordered them to be burned immediately, and new ones to be provided. The Jacobites endeavoured to load the duke of Marlborough with the odium of this impoſition on the ſoldiers; but it appeared that the fault was to be aſcribed only to the contractor for the regiment.

An intercepted letter from one captain Wright, a reformed officer, contained the following expreſſions: "The duke of Ormond has got the better of all his ene"mies, and I hope we ſhall be able, in a little time, to "ſend George home to his own country again." A reward of fifty pounds was offered, by the government, to any perſon that ſhould diſcover the captain; and, about the ſame time, Mr. George Jefferies was ſeized at Dublin, with a packet directed to Dr. Jonathan Swift, dean of St. Patrick's. Several treaſonable letters being found in this packet, were tranſmitted to England: Jefferies was obliged to give bail for his appearance; and Swift thought proper to abſcond.

and when it was no longer tenable, he would retire to the north or weſt of England, where he had many friends, among whom he had diſtributed a number of reduced officers, and in one of thoſe quarters begin an inſurrection. He had even placed a relay of horſes, to proceed with more expedition when the dangerous moment ſhould arrive. But Ormond, though perſonally brave, was deſtitute of that vigour of ſpirit, which ſuch an undertaking required. When informed that a party of the guards had received orders to ſurround his houſe and ſeize his perſon, he loſt all fortitude of mind, and haſtily eſcaped to France; without leaving any inſtructions for his friends, who were anxiouſly waiting for the ſummons to take arms, and eager to act under his command.

The unexpected flight of Ormond, gave a fatal ſtab to the cauſe of the pretender. It diſconcerted the plans of the Engliſh adherents, and confirmed the court of Verſailles in the reſolution of yielding him no open aſſiſtance. If a man on whoſe credit the higheſt hopes of the Jacobites were raiſed, was obliged to abandon his country, without being able to ſtrike a ſingle blow, the French miniſtry very reaſonably concluded, that the Tory party could not be ſo powerful, or ſo ripe for an inſurrection as they had been repreſented*.

The duke of Orleans, who was appointed by the parliament of Paris, regent during the minority of Lewis XV. in oppoſition to the will of the deceaſed monarch, privately pretended to eſpouſe the intereſts of the houſe of Stuart; but the exhauſted ſtate of France, and the difficulty of ſupporting his own authority againſt the other princes of the blood, rendered it neceſſary to cultivate a good underſtanding with the court of Great Britain, and even to purſue, though with ſeeming reluctance, the meaſures pointed out by the earl of Stair, for defeating the deſigns of the Jacobites. Of thoſe the moſt important, was the ſtopping of ſome ſhips laden with arms and ammunition; an irreparable loſs to the pretender, as he could neither procure money, nor permiſſion to purchaſe a ſupply of ſuch articles in any other country. Notwithſtanding theſe diſcouragements, the indigent repreſentative of the unfortunate family of Stuart did not relinquiſh his hopes of a crown: nor did his partizans, either in England or Scotland, abate of their ardour in his cauſe. But ardour, unleſs regulated by prudence, is a wild energy, that often ruins the party it was intended to ſerve. It required the cool experience of the duke of Berwick, and the eminent talents of lord Bolingbroke, to moderate the zeal of the Engliſh and Scottiſh Jacobites. The Highlanders were impatient to take up arms: they had entered into a regular training for that purpoſe: they knew their force; and, confident of ſucceſs, they entreated the pretender to place himſelf at their head, or at leaſt to permit them to riſe in vindication of his juſt rights†.

Strongly prepoſſeſſed in favour of the hereditary deſcent of the crown, the highlanders could form no conception of a parliamentary right to alter the order of ſucceſſion from political conſiderations. It contradicted all their ideas of kingſhip; and even of clanſhip. They therefore thought themſelves bound, by a ſacred and indiſpenſable obligation, to re-inſtate in his lineal

* The death of Lewis XIV. which happened ſoon after, farther embarraſſed the pretender's affairs. "No "prince," ſays the duke of Berwick, was ever ſo little "known as this monarch. He has been repreſented as "a man not only cruel and falſe, but difficult of acceſs. "I have frequently had the honour of audiences from "him, and have been very familiarly admitted to his "preſence; and I can affirm, that his *pride* was only "in *appearance*. He was born with an *air of majeſty* "which ſtruck every one ſo much that no body could "approach him without being ſeized with awe and reſpect; but as ſoon as you ſpoke to him he ſoftened his "countenance and put you quite at eaſe. He was the "moſt polite man in his kingdom: and his anſwers were "accompanied with ſo many obliging expreſſions, that if "he granted your requeſt, the obligation was doubled, "by the manner of conferring it; and, if he refuſed, "you could not complain." It was that air of majeſty, mentioned by the duke of Berwick, which ſo diſconcerted the old officer who came to aſk a favour of Lewis XIV. that he could only ſay, in a faultering voice, "I hope your "majeſty will believe I do not thus tremble before your "*enemies*."

† The highlanders are the reputed deſcendants of the ancient Caledonians, or original inhabitants of North Britain, and value themſelves on having had the rare fortune of never been ſubjected to the law of any conqueror. From the victorious arms of the Romans, they took refuge in their rugged mountains, and there continued to enjoy their independency, while that ambitious people remained maſters of the ſouthern parts of this iſland. Nor has the ſword of Dane, of Saxon, or of Norman, ever reduced them to ſubmiſſion.

inheritance the excluded prince, or to periſh in the bold attempt. The pretender's ſouthern friends were equally liberal in their profeſſions of zeal in his cauſe. They preſſed him to land in the weſt of England; where his perſon would be as ſafe, they affirmed, as in Scotland, and where he would find every thing more favourable to his views, although they had yet taken no deciſive meaſures for a general inſurrection.

To compoſe the ſpirit of the highlanders, who ſeemed to fear nothing ſo much, as that the buſineſs of reſtoring their king would be taken out of their hands, and the honour appropriated by others, they were informed, that the pretender was anxious to undertake the riſing of his friends in England and Scotland, in ſuch a manner as to enable them to render aſſiſtance to each other; and that it was very much to be wiſhed all hoſtilities in Scotland could be ſuſpended, till the Engliſh were ready to take up arms. A memorial, framed by the duke of Berwick, had been already ſent, by lord Bolingbroke, to the Jacobites in England, repreſenting the impropriety of deſiring the pretender to land among them, before they were in a condition to ſupport him. They were now requeſted to conſider ſeriouſly, if they were in ſuch a condition; and were informed, that as ſoon as an intimation to that purpoſe ſhould be given, and the time and place of his landing aſcertained, the pretender was ready to become their leader. They named, as a landing place, the neighbourhood of Plymouth, and ſaid they hoped the weſtern counties were in a proper poſture to receive the king; but they omitted to mention, or even to hazard a conjecture reſpecting the force they could probably bring into the field, or the dependence that might be placed in the perſons who had engaged to riſe.

A little more preciſion was certainly neceſſary in dictating a meſſage, which was expected to be attended with ſuch important conſequences. The duke of Ormond, however, ſet out from Paris, and the pretender, from his temporary reſidence at Bar, on the frontiers of Lorraine, in order to join their common friends. Some agents were ſent to the weſt, ſome to the north of England, and others to London, to give intelligence that both were on their way, And their routes were ſo directed, that Ormond was to ſail from the coaſt of Normandy a few days before the pretender arrived at St. Malo, to which place the duke was to convey immediate notice of his landing, and of the proſpect of ſucceſs.

By this time, the rebellion was actually begun in Scotland, under the direction of the earl of Mar, who flattered himſelf with the hope of being ſupported by a ſtrong party in England. This nobleman at the death of queen Anne, was ſecretary of ſtate for Scotland, and was one of the firſt who made profeſſions of loyalty and affection to his preſent majeſty. But not meeting with the encouragement he expected, he retired in diſguſt to his own country, where, prompted by reſentment and ambition, he reſolved to make an effort in favour of the pretender.

About this time, a dangerous conſpiracy was diſcovered and defeated in England. Lieutenant-colonel Paul was impriſoned in the Gatehouſe, for inliſting men in the ſervice of the pretender. The titular duke of Powis was committed to the Tower: the lords Lanſdowne and Duplin were taken into cuſtody: and a warrant was iſſued for apprehending the earl of Jerſey. The king through the medium of ſecretary Stanhope, deſired the conſent of the lower houſe, to ſeize and detain ſir William Wyndham, Mr. Edward Harvey of Combe, Mr. Thomas Forſter Mr. John Anſtis, and Mr. Corbet Kynaſton, who were members of the houſe, and ſuſpected of favouring the invaſion, The commons unanimouſly agreed to the propoſal, and preſented an addreſs, intimating their approbation. Harvey and Anſtis happening to be in town, were inſtantly ſecured: Mr. Forſter, with the aſſiſtance of ſome Popiſh lords, created an inſurrection in Northumberland: ſir John Packington was examined before the council: and nothing appearing againſt him, was honourably diſcharged: Mr. Kynaſton abſconded: ſir William Wyndham was ſeized at his own houſe in Somerſetſhire, by colonel Huſke, and a meſſenger, who ſecured his papers: he found means, however, to eſcape, but being cloſely purſued he thought proper to ſurrender himſelf, and having been examined at the council-board was committed to the Tower.

The Jacobites were very numerous in the weſtern

weſtern counties, and began to make preparations for an inſurrection. They had concealed ſome arms and artillery at Bath, and had formed a deſign to ſurprize Briſtol; but the government, being informed of their proceedings, took ſuch meaſures as effectually defeated all their projects. The conduct of the univerſity of Oxford was extremely exceptionable on this occaſion. They choſe the earl of Arran their chancellor, inſtead of his brother the duke of Ormond, who had juſt been attained. They conferred the degree of doctor of laws on ſir John Everard, a notorious non-juror. They even held conſultations with ſeveral half-pay officers, Iriſh Papiſts, and other Jacobites, who had taken refuge in the city, and who were actually preparing to appear in arms: in conſequence of which, Handyſide's regiment was afterwards quartered in Oxford, to overawe the univerſity.

By this time the earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Forſter had taken the field with a body of horſe, and being joined by ſome malcontents from the borders of Scotland, proclaimed the pretender in Warkworth, Morpeth and Alnwick, under the name of James VIII. of Scotland. Their firſt intention was to ſeize the town of Newcaſtle, which they inteuded to have made their head quarters: but finding the gates ſhut againſt them, they retired to Hexham; while lieutenant-general Carpenter, having aſſembled a body of dragoons, reſolved to march from Newcaſtle, and attack them before they ſhould be reinforced.

The inſurgents retired northward towards Wooler, and were joined by two hundred Scottiſh horſe under lord viſcount Kenmuir, and the earls of Carnwath and Winton, who had hoiſted the pretender's ſtandard at Moffat, and proclaimed him in different parts of Scotland. Strengthened by this acceſſion of force, they proceeded to Kelſo, having received advice that they ſhould there be joined by Mackintoſh, who had croſſed the Forth with a body of Highlanders.

The earl of Mar was now at the head of ten thouſand men, well armed. He had ſecured the paſs of Tay at Perth, where his head quarters were eſtabliſhed, and made himſelf maſter of the fertile province of Fife, and all the ſea coaſt on that ſide of the Frith of Edinburgh. He ſelected two thouſand five hundred men, commanded by brigadier Mackintoſh, to make a deſcent upon the Lothian ſide, and join the Jacobites who had taken arms in the ſouthern counties. Boats were collected for this purpoſe; and, notwithſtanding the utmoſt vigilance of the king's ſhips, half of them effected their paſſage in the night, and landed on the coaſt of Lothian, having croſſed an arm of the ſea about ſixteen miles broad, in open boats, which paſſed through the midſt of the king's cruiſers. This was certainly a hazardous enterprize, concerted with great ability, and executed with equal ſpirit. They amuſed the king's ſhips with marches and counter-marches till the approach of night, when embarking in an unexpected place, they accompliſhed their purpoſe without the ſmalleſt oppoſition. The earl of Mar, in the mean time, marched from Perth to Dumblain, as if he had intended to paſs the Forth at Stirling Bridge; but his real plan was to divert the duke of Argyle from attacking his detachment, which had landed on Lothian.

The ſtratagem was attended with ſucceſs. The duke, who had aſſembled ſome troops in Lothian, repaired to Stirling with the utmoſt expedition, after having ſecured Edinburgh, and compelled Mackintoſh to abandon his deſign on that city. This chieftain had actually made himſelf maſter of Leith, whence he retired to Seaton Houſe, near Preſton Pans, which he ſo ſtrongly fortified, that he could not be forced without artillery. Here he continued till he received an order acroſs the Frith, from the earl of Mar, to join lord Kenmuir and the Engliſh at Kelſo, for which place he immediately ſet out, and reached it on the twenty-ſecond of October, though, on his way, he was deſerted by ſeveral of his men.

Lord Kenmuir, with the earls of Winton, Nithſdale, and Carnwath, and the earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Forſter, with the Engliſh rebels arriving at the ſame time, a council of war was immediately held. Winton propoſed, that they ſhould march directly into the weſtern parts of Scotland, and join general Gordon, who was at the head of a ſtrong body of highlanders in Argyleſhire. The Engliſh inſiſted upon paſſing the Tweed, and attacking general Carpenter, whoſe troops were fatigued with a tedious

tedious march, and hardly amounted to nine hundred men. But neither of theſe ſchemes was executed.

They purſued the route to Jedburg, where they intended to leave general Carpenter on one ſide, and enter England by the weſtern border. The highlanders declared they would not quit their own country, but were ready to execute the ſcheme propoſed by the earl of Winton. Methods, however, were found to perſuade about half of them to advance, while the reſt retired to the Highlands. At Brampton, Forſter produced his commiſſion of general, which had been ſent to him from the earl of Mar, and proclaimed the pretender.

They proceeded to Penrith, where the ſheriff, aſſiſted by lord Lanſdale and the biſhop of Carliſle, had drawn together the whole *poſſe comitatus* of Cumberland, amounting nearly to twelve thouſand men, who ſhamefully diſperſed at the approach of the inſurgents. From Penrith, Forſter advanced by the way of Kendal and Lancaſter to Preſton, from whence Stanhope's regiment of dragoons, and another of militia immediately retired; in conſequence of which, poſſeſſion of the place was taken without reſiſtance.

General Wills marched againſt the rebels with ſix regiments of horſe and dragoons, and one battalion of foot, commanded by colonel Preſton. They had proceeded as far as the bridge of Ribbel before Forſter was informed of their approach. He inſtantly began to make preparations for a vigorous defence. On the twelfth of November the town was briſkly attacked in two different places; but the king's troops met with a very warm reception, and were repulſed with conſiderable loſs. On the following morning general Carpenter arrived with a reinforcement of three regiments of dragoons, and the rebels were inveſted on all ſides. The highlanders propoſed to make a ſally, ſword in hand, declaring they would either cut their way through the king's forces, or periſh in the attempt: but they were perſuaded to abandon ſo deſperate a reſolution. Forſter ſent colonel Oxburgh with a trumpet to general Wills, to deſire a capitulation. The general replied, that he would not treat with rebels; they had killed ſeveral of his majeſty's ſubjects, and they knew the conſequence. The colonel ſaid, as the general was a man of honour, and an officer, he hoped he would ſhew mercy to thoſe who were willing to ſubmit. Wills declared, that all he could do in their favour, was, that, if they ſurrendered at diſcretion, he would prevent his men from putting them to the ſword, till he ſhould receive farther orders. He granted them time to conſider till the next morning, upon their delivering the earl of Derwentwater and Mackintoſh as hoſtages.

When Forſter ſent a meſſage, offering to accept the terms propoſed, Mackintoſh declared he could not promiſe that the highlanders would ſurrender in that manner. The general deſired him to return to his people, and he would inſtantly attack the town, in which caſe every man of them ſhould be cut in pieces. The Scottiſh chieftain not chooſing to riſk ſuch an expedient, perſuaded the highlanders to yield themſelves priſoners. They accordingly laid down their arms, and were put under a ſtrong guard. All the nobleman and principal gentlemen were ſecured. Lord Charles Murray, the duke of Athol, major Nairn, captain Lockhart, captain Shaftoe, and enſign Erſkine, were tried by a court-martial, as deſerters, and condemned. The firſt was reſpited: the other four were executed. The common men were impriſoned at Cheſter, and Liverpool: the noblemen and conſiderable officers were conveyed to London, and committed to the Tower, the Marſhalſea, Newgate, and the Fleet.

The king's forces were as ſucceſsful in the northern as in the ſouthern parts of the iſland. The very day, on which the rebels ſurrendered at Preſton, was remarkable for the battle of Dumblain, between the duke of Argyle, and the earl of Mar, commander in chief of the pretender's forces. This nobleman had retreated to his camp at Perth, when he heard the duke was returned from Lothian to Stirling. But, being now reinforced by the northern clans, under the earl of Seaforth, and thoſe of the weſt, commanded by general Gordon, he reſolved immediately to paſs the Forth, to join his ſouthern friends that they might march together into England.

With this idea he advanced to Auchterardere, where he reviewed his army, and reſted on the

eleventh of November. The duke of Argyle, informed of his intention, and being reinforced by ſome regiments of dragoons from Ireland, reſolved to give him battle in the neighbourhood of Dumblain. On the twelfth, he croſſed the Forth at Stirling, and encamped with his left at the village of Dumblain, and his right towards Sheriff-muir. The rebels approached within two miles of his camp, and continued till day-break in order of battle; their army amounting to nine thouſand effective men, including cavalry and infantry. In the morning, the duke, hearing they were in motion, drew up his forces, which did not exceed three thouſand five hundred men, on the heights to the north-eaſt of that village; but finding himſelf in danger of being ſurrounded, he was under the neceſſity of altering his diſpoſition, by ſeizing on certain heights to the north-eaſt of Dumblain. The clans, which compoſed the center and right wing of the enemy, with their chiefs, Clanronald and Glengary, at their head, charged the left wing of the king's army, ſword in hand, with ſuch impetuoſity, that, in a few minutes, both horſe and foot were totally routed, with great ſlaughter; and general Witham, their commander, fled precipitately to Stirling, where he declared the royal army was defeated.

In this, however, he was happily miſtaken. The duke of Argyle, who commanded in perſon on the right, attacked the left of the enemy, at the head of Stair's and Evans's dragoons, and drove them two miles before him, as far as the water of Allan; though in that ſpace they wheeled about, and endeavoured ſeveral times to rally; he was therefore obliged to preſs them fiercely to prevent their recovering their ranks. Brigadier Wightman followed, with three battalions of infantry, to ſupport him; while the right wing of the rebels, having purſued Witham to a conſiderable diſtance, returned to the field of battle, and formed in the rear of Wightman to the amount of five thouſand men.

The duke of Argyle, returning from the purſuit, joined Wightman, who had taken poſſeſſion of ſome incloſures and mud walls, in expectation of being attached. In this poſition, both armies ſtood fronting each other, but neither of them ſeemed deſirous of renewing the engagement; when, night approaching, the duke drew off towards Dumblain, and the inſurgents retired to Ardoch. On the following day, the duke, marching back to the field of battle, carried off the wounded, with four pieces of cannon left by the enemy, and retreated to Stirling. Few priſoners were taken on either ſide: the enemy loſt eight hundred men in the action, the king's army about two thirds of that number.

Soon after, the rebels ſuſtained a more conſiderable blow, in the loſs of Inverneſs, from which ſir John Mackenzie was driven by lord Lovat, the chief of the Fraſers, who had hitherto adhered to the pretender's intereſt, but now declared for the eſtabliſhed government. By this means a free communication was opened with the north of Scotland, where the earl of Sutherland had raiſed a ſtrong body of vaſſals. The Marquis of Huntley and the earl of Seaforth were obliged to abandon the rebel army, in order to ſecure their own territories, and ſoon after ſubmitted to the king: a conſiderable number of the Fraſers, influenced by the example of their chief, lord Lovat, declared againſt the pretender: the marquis of Tullibardine, alſo withdrew from the rebel army to defend his own country againſt the friends of government: and the clans diſguſted at their failure of ſucceſs, began as uſual to return to their habitations.

The government was now in a condition to ſend ſtrong reinforcements to Scotland. Six thouſand men that were claimed of the ſtates, by virtue of the treaty, arrived in England, and began their march to Edinburgh: general Cadogan ſet out for the ſame place, together with brigadier Petit and ſix other engineers; and a train of artillery was ſhipped off at the Tower, for that country, the duke of Argyle being determined to drive the earl of Mar out of Perth, in which town he had taken ſhelter with the remains of his army.

In the mean time, the pretender, notwithſtanding the deſperate ſituation of his affairs in Scotland, reſolved to try his fortune in that kingdom. With this intent, he haſtened through France in diſguiſe, and embarking in a ſmall veſſel at Dunkirk, landed on the twenty-ſecond of December at Peterhead, with ſix gentlemen in his retinue, one of whom was the marquis of Tinmouth, ſon of the duke of Berwick. He

paſſed

paſſed through Aberdeen incognito to Fetteroſſe, where he was met by the earls of Mar and Mariſchal, and about thirty noblemen and gentlemen of diſtinction.

Here he was ſolemnly proclaimed, and aſſuming his pretended dignity, permitted his ſubjects to kiſs his hand: his declaration, dated at Commercy, was printed and diſperſed throughout that neighbourhood, and here, alſo, he received addreſſes from the epiſcopal clergy, and the laity of that communion in the dioceſe of Aberdeen. On the fifth of January, he made his public entry into Dundee, and on the ſeventh arrived at Scoon, where he ſeemed determined to remain till the ceremony of his coronation ſhould be performed. On the ninth of January, he repaired to Perth, where he reviewed his forces, and expreſſed much ſatisfaction at the appearance of the men, and the form of the highland dreſs, which he had never ſeen before*.

By this time, the duke of Argyle had taken poſſeſſion of Burnt-iſland, and tranſported a detachment to Fife, to cut off the communication of the inſurgents with that fertile country. On the twenth-ninth of January, he began his march, towards Dumblain, and the next evening reached Tullibardine, where he received advice, that the pretender, and his forces, had, on the preceding day, retired towards Dundee. He took poſſeſſion of Perth, and then began his march to Aberbrothick, in purſuit of the enemy.

The pretender, being thus cloſely purſued, was perſuaded to embark on board a ſmall French ſhip which lay in the harbour of Montroſe. He was accompanied by the earls of Mar and Melfort, lord Drummond, lieutenant-general Bulkeley, and other perſons of diſtinction, to the number of ſeventeen. To keep clear of the Engliſh cruiſers, they ſteered their courſe for Norway, and coaſting along the German and Dutch ſhores, arrived in five days at Gravelines in France.

General Gordon, whom the pretender had left commander in chief of his forces, with the aſſiſtance of the earl mariſchal, proceeded with them to Aberdeen, where he procured three veſſels to ſail northwards, and take on board about two hundred perſons, who intended to make their eſcape to the continent. From Aberdeen they continued their march through Strathſpey and Strahdown to the hill of Badenoch, where the army was quietly diſmiſſed.

This retreat was conducted with ſuch expedition, that the duke of Argyle, with all his activity, could not overtake their rear-guard, which was compoſed of a thouſand horſe, commanded by the earl mareſchal.

Such was the iſſue of a rebellion, which originated in the intrigues in favour of the pretender, during the latter years of the reign of queen Anne, not in the meaſures of the new government, as repreſented by the Jacobite writers. Its declared object was the reſtoration of the family of Stuart to the throne of Great Britain; and many intelligent men have ſuppoſed that ſuch a meaſure would have been attended with fewer inconveniences than the acceſſion of the houſe of Hanover. But, thoſe who conſider that the pretender was a bigotted Papiſt, and not only obſtinately refuſed to change his religion, but was rendered incapable of legally ſucceeding to the crown; and that he ſtudiouſly avoided, in his very manifeſtoes, giving any open and unequivocal aſſurance, that he would maintain the civil and religious liberties of the nation, *as by law eſtabliſhed*†, will find reaſon

* In the evening he returned to Scoon, where he began to form a regular council, and to perform many acts of ſtate. He publiſhed ſeveral proclamations: one for a general thankſgiving on account of his ſafe arrival; another, enjoining the miniſters to pray for him in churches; a third, eſtabliſhing the currency of foreign coin; a fourth, ſummoning the meeting of the convention of eſtates; a fifth, ordering all fencible men to repair to his ſtandard; and a ſixth, fixing the twenty third of January for his coronation. He made a pathetic ſpeech in a grand council, at which all the chiefs of his party aſſiſted. They ſeemed, at firſt, reſolved to make new efforts, and with this view began to fortify Perth; but, conſidering the king's army was reinforced by the Dutch auxiliaries, and that they themſelves were reduced to a ſmall number, and entirely deſtitute of money, arms, ammunition, and proviſion, they determined, at laſt, to abandon the enterprize.

† See *Bolingbroke's Letters to ſir William Wyndham*, in which many curious proofs of the pretender's duplicity and bigotry are given. When the draught of a declaration, and other papers, to be diſperſed in Great Britain, were preſented to him by his ſecretary, "he took exception againſt ſeveral paſſages, and particularly againſt thoſe wherein a *direct promiſe* of ſecuring the churches of England and Ireland was made. He was informed,"

reaſon to be of another opinion. They will regard the ſuppreſſion of this rebellion, which defeated the deſigns of the Jacobites, and in a manner extinguiſhed the hopes of the pretender, as an event of the utmoſt importance to the happineſs of Great Britain.

The parliament of Ireland, which met at Dublin, on the twelfth of November, ſeemed even more firmly attached, if poſſible, than that of England to the preſent government. They paſſed bills for recognizing the king's title; for the ſecurity of his perſon and government: for ſetting a price upon the head of the pretender; for ſuppreſſing tumults and riotous aſſemblies; and for attainting the duke of Ormond. They alſo granted the ſupplies without oppoſition.

They engaged in an aſſociation to ſupport the king and the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, againſt the pretender and all his open and ſecret defenders; and they reſolved, that whatever forces his majeſty ſhould think proper to raiſe for that purpoſe, they would enable him to defray the expence.

They voted the earl of Angleſey an enemy to the king and kingdom, for having adviſed the queen to diſperſe the army and prorogue the parliament, when a bill was depending to attaint the pretender: and they addreſſed the king to remove him from his council and ſervice: a requeſt which was accordingly granted. The lords juſtices granted orders for apprehending the earls of Antrim and Weſtmeath, the lords Natterville, Cahir, Dillon, and other perſons ſuſpected of diſaffection to the government. Then they adjourned the parliament to the eighth of March.

The king, in his ſpeech to the Britiſh parliament, which aſſembled on the ninth of January*, declared, that the zeal and affection they had ſhewn to his perſon and government, and the care and vigilance they had exerted in their reſpective counties, for the ſafety of the nation, had not only anſwered his moſt ſanguine expectations, but had alſo convinced him, that they were now met with a determined reſolution to act with ſuch vigour, as would end in the confuſion of all thoſe, who had openly engaged in this rebellion, and in the ſhame and reproach of ſuch, as, by ſecret and malicious inſinuations, had fomented, or by an avowed indifference, encouraged this traiterous enterprize.

Addreſſes of thanks to his majeſty were ſeverally preſented by both houſes. The commons declared, they thought themſelves obliged, in juſtice to their injured country, to proſecute, in the moſt rigorous manner, the authors of thoſe deſtructive councils, which had drawn down ſuch miſeries upon the nation. They began by expelling Mr. Forſter from the houſe. They impeached the earls of Derwentwater, Nithſdale, Carnwath, and Winton; the lords Widdrington, Kenmuir, and Nairn. Theſe noblemen being brought to the bar of the houſe of lords, heard the articles of impeachment read, on the tenth of January, and were ordered to prepare their anſwers by the ſixteenth. The impeachments being lodged, the lower houſe ordered a bill to be brought in to continue the ſuſpenſion of the *Habeas Corpus* act ſix months longer. They alſo prepared another impeachment to attaint the marquis of Tullibardine, the earls of Mar and Linlithgow, and lord John Drummond.

On the twenty-fourth of January, the king gave the royal aſſent to the bill for continuing the ſuſpenſion of the *Habeas Corpus* act. And on the nineteenth of the ſame month, all the impeached lords pleaded guilty to the articles exhibited againſt them, except the earl of Winton, who petitioned for a longer time to prepare his defence. The reſt received ſentence of death on the ninth of February, in a court erected in Weſtminſter Hall, where the lord chancellor Cowper preſided, as lord high-ſteward on the occaſion†.

The principal leaders of the Whig party ſtrongly

"formed," he ſaid, "that he could not in conſcience "make ſuch a promiſe." The draughts were accordingly altered by his prieſts; "and the moſt material paſ- "ſages were turned with all the jeſuitical prevarication "imaginable." (*Ibid.*) In conſequence of theſe alterations, Bolingbroke refuſed to counterſign the declaration.

* A. D. 1716.

† The counteſs of Nithſdale and lady Nairn, watching an opportunity behind a window-curtain, while the king paſſed through the apartments of the palace, without the ceremony of a formal introduction, threw themſelves ſuddenly at his feet, and, bathed in tears, implored in mournful accents, his mercy in behalf of their huſbands. This abrupt and irregular application could not fail to ſurprize his majeſty, and thoſe who attended him; and therefore proved as ineffectual as ſome others which had been

ſtrongly oppoſed the reading of the petitions. The earl of Nottingham was of opinion this indulgence might be granted: his declaration had a conſiderable weight, the majority aſſented to the propoſal, and agreed to an addreſs, praying his majeſty would reprieve ſuch of the condemned lords as ſhould deſerve his mercy. To this petition, the king replied that, on this and all other occaſions, he would do what he thought moſt conſiſtent with the dignity of his crown and the ſafety of his people. The earl of Nottingham, preſident of the council; his brother the earl of Ayleſbury, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaſter; his ſon lord Finch, one of the lords of the treaſury; his couſin lord Guernſey, maſter of the jewel office, were all diſmiſſed from his majeſty's ſervice.

Orders were diſpatched for executing the earls Derwentwater and Nithſdale, and the viſcount of Kenmuir, immediately; the others were reſpited to the ſeventh of March, Nithſdale made his eſcape in women's apparel, conveyed to him by his mother, who had been permitted to viſit him on the twenty-fourth of February. Derwentwater and Kenmuir were beheaded on Tower Hill*. The latter died a member of the church of England; the former, of the church of Rome; both of them adhered to their political principles. On the fifteenth of March, the earl of Winton was brought to his trial, and being found guilty received ſentence of death.

On the ſeventh of April, the commiſſioners for trying the rebels met in the court of common-pleas, when bills of high-treaſon were found againſt Mr. Forſter, brigadier Mackintoſh, and twenty of their confederates. Forſter eſcaped from Newgate, and repaired to the continent in ſafety: the reſt pleaded not guilty, and were allowed three weeks to prepare for their trials. The judges appointed to try the rebels at Liverpool, found a conſiderable number guilty of high-treaſon. Twenty-two were executed at Preſton, Wigan, and Mancheſter: about a thouſand priſoners ſubmitted to the king's mercy, and petitioned for tranſportation†. The court proceeded in the trial of thoſe that remained: a great number were found guilty, and four or five were hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn.

Though the rebellion was extinguiſhed, the ſpirit of diſaffection ſtill continued to prevail. The Jacobites and violent Tories ſtill harboured

been preferred in a more decent and becoming manner. The council reſolved, that the ſentence ſhould be executed, and orders were given for that purpoſe to the lieutenant of the Tower, and the ſheriffs of London and Middleſex.

The counteſs of Derwentwater, with her ſiſter, accompanied by the ducheſſes of Cleveland and Bolton, and ſeveral other ladies of the firſt diſtinction, was introduced by the dukes of Richmond and St. Alban's, into the king's bed-chamber, where ſhe implored his majeſty's clemency for her unfortunate conſort. The king was doubtleſs extremely affected with theſe applications; but he perhaps imagined, that mercy to individuals, is often cruelty to the public. What anſwer the counteſs received, was never publicly known; it ſhould ſeem, however, that it was not favourable.

She afterwards repaired to the lobby of the houſe of peers, accompanied by the ladies of the other convicted lords, and above twenty others of the ſame quality, and begged the interceſſion of the houſe: but no attention was paid to the petition. On the following day, they went to Weſtminſter, with a more numerous train than ever, and petitioned both houſes of parliament. The commons rejected the ſuit, though only by a ſmall majority.

From the upper houſe they met with a better reception. The duke of Richmond delivered a petition from the earl of Derwentwater, to whom he was nearly related, declaring that he himſelf would oppoſe his ſolicitation. The earl of Derby expreſſed ſome compaſſion for the numerous family of lord Nairn. Petitions from the reſt were preſented by other lords, actuated by the ſame or ſimilar motives.

* Derwentwater, though he ſeemed to be diſcompoſed as he aſcended the ſcaffold, ſoon rouſed himſelf into firmneſs. He read a paper to the ſpectators, profeſſing his loyal attachment to James III. and his diſintereſted inclinations for the ſervice of his country; expreſſing his wiſh, that his death might contribute to the "re-eſtabliſhment of the ancient and fundamental conſtitution;" and declaring, that, if the reigning prince had ſaved his life, he "ſhould have thought himſelf obliged never "more to have taken up arms againſt him." After the earl's decapitation, Kenmuir was ſubjected to the ſame fate; and he, as well as his fellow-ſufferer, repented of having pleaded guilty, as ſuch an acknowledgment was not conſiſtent with their loyalty to James.

† Pitts, the keeper of Newgate, being ſuſpected of having connived at Forſter's eſcape, was tried for his life at the Old Bailey and acquitted. Notwithſtanding this proſecution, which ought to have doubled the vigilance of the governor of the priſon, brigadier Mackintoſh, and ſon, Charles Wagan, James Talbot, and four other priſoners, eſcaped from Newgate, after having overcome the keeper and turnkey, and diſarmed the centinel.

an implacable antipathy to the preſent government. Enraged at the diſappointment of their late enterprize, they continued their exertions to inflame the jealouſies of the people; and they flattered themſelves, that, at the approaching election they ſhould either be able to procure a majority of their own party, or create ſuch a ferment in the kingdom, as might form the baſis of a new inſurrection, and perhaps pave the way for a foreign invaſion. But the ſpeedy ſuppreſſion of the rebellion, as muſt ever be the caſe in all free governments, increaſed the influence of the crown. The Whig miniſtry, no longer under any apprehenſions from the encroachments of arbitrary power, and willing utterly to cruſh their political enemies, without foreſeeing the ſtab they were giving to liberty, framed a bill for repealing the triennial act (lately thought eſſential to their own party) and for extending the duration of parliaments for the term of *ſeven years*. This bill, though warmly oppoſed by the Tories (who now, in contradiction to their principles, took the popular ſide of all queſtions) and by many independent and unprejudiced members of both houſes, was carried by a great majority: and the king by the uniform ſupport of the Whigs, who in their love of power, forgot their republican maxims, found himſelf firmly ſeated on the Britiſh throne.

The public tranquillity being re-eſtabliſhed, the king reſolved to viſit his German dominions; but as he was reſtricted from leaving the kingdom by the act for the farther limitation of the crown, this clauſe was repealed in a new bill, which paſſed without oppoſition. On the twenty-ſixth of June, his majeſty cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech to both houſes, in which he aſſured them, that he was highly ſatisfied with the proceedings of the parliament: that he hoped the neceſſary laws they had promulgated, would anſwer the great and important ends, which it was evident they had in view, thoſe of defeating the deſigns and ſubduing the ſpirit of the diſaffected, and encouraging the friends of the preſent eſtabliſhment and the Proteſtant ſucceſſion; from all which he thought he might reaſonably flatter himſelf with the proſpect of a quiet and ſettled government: that he was confident his conduct in puniſhing the rebels had been ſuch, as plainly evinced, that he rather deſired to leſſen their number by gentle means, than by the rigorous execution of juſtice; but he was ſorry to find, that the many inſtances of mercy, which he had manifeſted, had produced no other effect, than to encourage the Jacobites to renew their inſults upon his authority: and that, the better to provide for the ſecurity of the laws and liberties of their country, he had conſtituted his beloved ſon, the prince of Wales, guardian of the realm during his abſence. Such were the proceedings of the firſt ſeſſion of this parliament, which, by its vigorous and reſolute meaſures, had fruſtrated all the hopes of the pretender and his adherents.

It was not, however, without ſufficient cauſe, that the king complained of the inſolent behaviour of the diſaffected party. On the tenth of June, the anniverſary of the pretender's birth-day, they diſtinguiſhed themſelves by wearing white roſes, The Oxonians could not omit ſo favourable an opportunity of diſplaying their principles. They broke all the windows which were illuminated in that city on the king's birth-day, as well as thoſe which were not illuminated on the anniverſary of the reſtoration. They had even the inſolence to attack ſome officers of the army, who were peaceably celebrating the king's birth day; and becauſe they met with a deſerved repulſe, they drew up a remonſtrance, which they preſented to parliament*

The titles of the duke of York and Albany, were conferred on the king's brother, prince Erneſt, biſhop of Oſnaburg. The earl of Port-

* About the middle of June, general Macartney, who had lately returned to England, ſubmitted to a trial for the pretended murder of the duke of Hamilton. Colonel Hamilton, who had formerly depoſed, that he ſaw the general give the duke the fatal wound, now evaded that declaration, and only averred, that he ſaw the general reach his ſword over the duke's ſhoulder. The falſity, however, of this aſſeveration was ſufficiently evinced by the teſtimony of two park-keepers, who ſwore, that they took up the ſwords, when the general and colonel ran to the aſſiſtance of the duke and lord Mohun; and that neither of thoſe weapons were ever returned to either of the parties. The general was therefore acquitted of the murder; and was, ſoon after, reſtored to his rank in the army, and evengratified with the command of a regiment.

land

land was created marquis of Tichfield and duke of Portland; and the duke of Devonſhire conſtituted preſident of the council. Theſe promotions were attended with unexpected diſgrace to others. The duke of Argyle, and his brother, the earl of Ilay, were deprived of all their employments. The removal of theſe noblemen, occaſioned much ſurprize, as they had always been ſtrenuous advocates for the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, had been active in extinguiſhing the rebellion in Scotland, and were firmly attached to the preſent government. They were not only diſmiſſed from the ſervice; but, to ſignify that there were no hopes of their reſtoration, their places were diſpoſed of; general Carpenter being appointed commander in chief of the forces in Scotland, and governor of Minorca; and the duke of Montroſe lord regiſter of Scotland, in the room of the earl of Ilay.

On the ſeventh of July, the king embarking at Graveſend, landed on the ninth in Holland, through which he paſſed incognito to Hanover; and thence proceeded to Pyrmont, to drink the waters for the preſervation of his health. His chief aim in viſiting the continent, was to ſecure his German dominions from the king of Sweden, and Great Britain from the deſigns of the pretender. Charles was highly enraged at his Britannic majeſty for having joined in the confederacy, which deprived him of Bremen and Verden; and for having afterwards purchaſed theſe duchies of the king of Denmark. The pretender, ſeizing this opportunity, prevailed upon the Swede to eſpouſe his intereſt, and even to form a regular deſign for effecting his advancement to the throne of Great Britain.

To guard againſt ſuch an attempt, his majeſty reſolved to contract alliances with foreign potentates. He knew the duke of Orleans cheriſhed the ambition of aſcending the throne of France, if the young king, who was a feeble and infirm youth, ſhould die without iſſue. He was ſenſible, at the ſame time, that Philip of Spain would powerfully conteſt that ſucceſſion, notwithſtanding his renunciation; and he ſuppoſed the regent would be glad of an opportunity to ſtrengthen his intereſt with the maritime powers of England and Holland.

He accordingly intimated this buſineſs to the duke, and found him eager to engage in ſuch an aſſociation. The treaty was negociated by general Cadogan for England, the abbé de Bois for France, and the penſionary Henſius for the States General. The regent readily aſſented to all their demands.

This treaty was no ſooner known in France than it excited great commotions among the people, who declared, that the regent had ſacrificed to his own ambitious views, the honour and intereſt of the nation. In England alſo, the Tories exclaimed againſt this alliance. They alledged, that the ſucceſſion was ſufficiently ſecured by the treaty of Utrecht; nor was there occaſion for ſo many foreign troops, which, on pretence of an invaſion, might be introduced for very different purpoſes.

His majeſty was not ſo ſucceſsful in his endeavours to appeaſe the king of Sweden, who refuſed to hearken to any propoſals, till Bremen and Verden ſhould be reſtored. Theſe the king of England reſolved to poſſeſs as a fair purchaſe; and he adopted ſuch meaſures as might effectually enable him to preſerve the poſſeſſion of his new acquiſitions.

In the mean time, the rupture between Sweden and Hanover was extremely prejudicial to the trade of England, and had nearly expoſed that kingdom to another invaſion, much more formidable than that which had ſo lately been defeated. The Swediſh miniſters at London, Paris, and the Hague, maintained a correſpondence with the Jacobites of Great Britain. A ſcheme was projected for Charles's landing on this iſland with a body of twelve thouſand men, where he was to be joined by the malcontents of the united kingdom. The Swede approved of the project, which flattered his vanity and revenge: nor was it diſagreeable to the Czar of Muſcovy, who was provoked at George's propoſal to join Charles againſt the Ruſſians, provided he would renounce all pretenſions to the duchies of Bremen and Verden.

His majeſty having received intimation of theſe intrigues, returned to England about the latter end of January*; and ordered colonel Blakeney, with a detachment of foot-guards, to ſecure count Gyllenburg, the Swediſh ambaſſador, with all his papers. At the ſame time, ſir

* A. D. 1717.

ſir Jacob Banks, formerly member for Minehead, and Charles Cæſar, late treaſurer of the navy, were taken into cuſtody.

The other foreign miniſters, alarmed at the ſeizure of the Swediſh envoy, complained to the miniſtry of this outrage committed againſt the law of nations. The two ſecretaries, Methuen and Stanhope, wrote circular letters to them, importing that, in a ſhort time, they ſhould be informed of the reaſons of this extraordinary proceeding.

About the ſame time, baron Gortz, the Swediſh reſidentiary in Holland, was ſeized with his papers at Arnheim, at the requeſt of king George, ſignified to the ſtates general by Mr. Leathes, his miniſter at the Hague.

When the parliament of Great Britain met on the twentieth of February, the king, in a ſpeech to both houſes, informed them, that he flattered himſelf the ſucceſs, which it had pleaſed God to give him, in defeating the late rebellion, would have effectually ſecured the tranquillity of the kingdom: that during the receſs of parliament, he had not been wanting in his endeavours to improve the happy proſpect, by entering into ſuch alliances, as he thought moſt conducive to that deſirable end: that it ſeemed reaſonable to expect, that ſuch a ſituation of affairs at home and abroad would have recovered from their deluſion ſuch of his ſubjects, as had unhappily been ſeduced by the deluſion of deſperate men, and conſequently have afforded him the opportunity, which he ſo earneſtly deſired of following the natural bias of his own inclinations to lenity, by opening the ſeſſion with an act of grace; but ſuch was the obſtinate and inveterate rancour of the Jacobite faction, that they had again endeavoured to animate foreign powers to diſturb the peace of their native country; they would chooſe rather to make Britain a ſcene of blood and confuſion, than relinquiſh their darling deſign of impoſing a Popiſh pretender on the nation: that he had given orders for laying before them copies of the letters, which had paſſed between the Swediſh miniſters on that ſubject, and which contained a full account of the projected invaſion*.

Loyal addreſſes were preſented to his majeſty by the two houſes of parliament, the convocation, the diſſenting miniſters, and the univerſity of Cambridge. That from the univerſity of Cambridge, among other expreſſions of loyalty, acknowledged the king to be their only rightful and lawful ſovereign. But the Oxonians ſeemed to be of a different opinion.

From a variety of circumſtances it now evidently appeared, that the miniſtry was divided within itſelf. Lord Townſend had been deprived of the office of ſecretary of ſtate, by the intrigues of the earl of Sunderland; and he was now diſmiſſed from the office of lord lieutenant of Ireland, which he had obtained upon his removal from the former. Mr. Robert Walpole reſigned his ſituation of firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury, and chancellor of the exchequer; and his example was followed by Mr. Methuen, ſecretary of ſtate, and Mr. Pulteney, ſecretary at war.

When the affair of the ſupply was conſidered in the houſe of commons, Mr. Stanhope moved, the ſum of two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds ſhould be granted to his majeſty for enabling him to make good ſuch engagements as he might think proper to contract. Mr. Pulteney obſerved, that, if he had not yet ſaid any thing upon this ſubject, it was becauſe he thought it inconſiſtent with decency to oppoſe a motion which came from the court, while he had the honour to be his majeſty's immediate

* From the letters of the Swediſh miniſters it appeared, that a deſign was formed for dethroning king George, and was conducted in ſuch a manner, as could hardly fail of ſucceſs. Seditious papers were diſperſed to foment and increaſe the diſcontents of the people: the preſent tranquillity, enjoyed in Britain, was to be uſed as a pretence for obtaining a reduction of the national troops, and the diſmiſſion of the foreign forces: ſhips, hired in different ports, were to be aſſembled at Gottenburgh by the end of March, when the eaſtern winds uſually blow: on board of theſe a body of eight thouſand Swediſh foot and four thouſand horſe were to be embarked with artillery, arms, and ammunition for fifteen thouſand more: money was advanced by the Jacobites in Britain for defraying the expence of this armament: and the whole party held themſelves in readineſs to riſe on the firſt notice. All theſe preparations, however, were happily rendered uſeleſs by the timely diſcovery of the plot.

ſervant;

ſervant; but that having reſigned his place, he might now act with the freedom becoming an Engliſhman; that he diſapproved of the manner of granting the ſupply, as unparliamentary and unprecedented: that he could not poſſibly perſuade himſelf, that any Engliſhman adviſed his majeſty to ſend ſuch a meſſage; yet he doubted not, but the reſolution of a Britiſh parliament would make a German miniſtry tremble. He was ſeconded by lord Finch, who alledged, that the meaſures, which were now purſued, would engage the nation in a quarrel with the Czar of Muſcovy.

Mr. Stanhope delivered a ſpeech, in which he vindicated the king and his miniſters, both with regard to the Czar and the king of Sweden; and what he advanced upon the ſubject, was deemed ſatisfactory by moſt of the members: but Mr. Smith thought proper to ſay ſomething in reply. He obſerved, that as he did not pretend to be thoroughly acquainted with the foreign concerns of the nation, he would not undertake to refute the allegations of the ſecretary; but that if an eſtimate of the conduct of the miniſtry in relation to affairs abroad, was to be made by a compariſon of their conduct at home, they would not appear ſo entirely faultleſs as they were repreſented*.

Theſe objections were anſwered by Mr. Barington Shute, who, among other things, obſerved, that his majeſty, indeed, was received with the univerſal applauſe of all his ſubjects; but that it was evident, from the ſucceeding events, that the joy, expreſſed by ſome of them, was by no means ſincere: that the rebellion, which afterwards aroſe, was not occaſioned by the ill conduct of the miniſtry, but the inveterate prejudices of thoſe, who, rather than not impoſe a Popiſh pretender on the nation, would willingly have ſacrificed the liberties, civil and religious, of their country: and that he was ſurprized to ſee a gentleman, who condemned that rebellion as much as any member of the houſe, endeavour to vindicate the rebels by throwing the blame upon thoſe who were innocent: that his majeſty, it was acknowledged, immediately after his acceſſion, had made ſeveral changes in the miniſtry; but, in all theſe he had followed the dictates of prudence, gratitude, and juſtice.

Almoſt a total revolution now took place in the miniſtry: the earl of Sunderland and Mr. Addiſon were appointed ſecretaries of ſtate; Mr. Stanhope became firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury, and chancellor of the exchequer; Mr. Cragg was declared ſecretary at war; the earl of Berkeley was conſtituted firſt commiſſioner of the admiralty, as ſucceſſor to the earl of Orford, who reſigned: the duke of Bolton obtained the government of Ireland; and was ſucceeded as lord-chamberlain by the duke of Newcaſtle. The duke of Devonſhire reſigned his ſituation as preſident of the council.

On the ſixth of May, the king repaired to the houſe of peers, and informed the parliament in a ſhort ſpeech, that the fleet under ſir George Byng, which had ſailed to the Baltic to obſerve the motions of the Swedes, was ſafely arrived in the Sound; an event, which, he hoped, would effectually ſecure the kingdom againſt any immediate danger of an invaſion: that this likewiſe afforded him an opportunity of making a conſiderable reduction in his land forces: that, for theſe reaſons, he had given orders for the ſpeedy diſmiſſion of ten thouſand men: that he had alſo given directions to prepare an act of grace: that he hoped they would take proper meaſures for reducing the public debt, with a juſt regard to parliamentary credit; and proceed to finiſh the public buſineſs with all poſſible diſpatch and unanimity.

* "Was it not a miſtake," added he, "not to preſerve the peace at home, after the king had aſcended the throne with the univerſal applauſe and joyful acclamations of all his ſubjects? Was it not a miſtake, upon the breaking out of the rebellion, not to iſſue a proclamation, to offer pardon to ſuch as ſhould return home peaceably, according to the cuſtom on former occaſions of the ſame nature? Was it not a miſtake, after the ſuppreſſion of the rebellion, and the trial and execution of the principal authors of it, to keep up animoſities and drive people to deſpair, by not paſſing an act of indemnity, by keeping ſo many perſons in "ſevere and tedious confinement; and by granting free-"doms to ſome, without leaving them any means to "ſubſiſt? Is it not a miſtake, not to truſt to a vote of "parliament for making good ſuch engagements as his "majeſty ſhall think proper to enter into; and, inſtead "of that, to inſiſt on the granting this ſupply in ſuch an "extraordinary manner? Is it not a miſtake, to take "this opportunity to create diviſions, and render ſome "of the king's beſt friends ſuſpected and obnoxious? Is "it not a miſtake, in ſhort, to form parties, and cabals, "in order to bring in a bill to repeal the act againſt oc-"caſional conformity?"

Some ſteps had already been taken towards a reduction of the national debt, which was comprehended under the two heads of redeemable and irredeemable incumbrances. Mr. Robert Walpole, when at the head of the treaſury, had projected a ſcheme for reducing the intereſt and paying the capital of theſe national debts.

His plan was approved; but, when he reſigned his places, the new miniſters thought proper to make ſome alterations in it, with which he was by no means ſatisfied. In the courſe of the debate on this ſubject, ſome intemperate altercation paſſed between him and Mr. Stanhope, from which it appeared, that they had made a practice of ſelling places, and even of reverſions.

Mr. Hungerford ſtanding up, declared, he was ſorry to ſee two ſuch eminent characters adopt ſuch illiberal invectives on each other; that, however, they ought ſtill to be conſidered as patriots; and ſince they had, by accident, expoſed their nakedneſs, the other members ought to adopt the Eaſtern cuſtom, and hide it by turning their backs upon them. Mr. Boſcawen moved, that the houſe ſhould enjoin them to agree, that no farther notice ſhould be taken of what had paſſed. He was ſeconded by Mr. Methuen; the houſe approved of the motion; and the ſpeaker took their parole of honour, that they ſhould not proſecute their reſentment.

The earl of Oxford had now been confined almoſt two years in the Tower, and ſuppoſing the ſeſſion would terminate, without taking his caſe into conſideration, he preſented a petition to the houſe of lords, praying that his impriſonment might not be indefinite. Some of the Tory lords affirmed, that the impeachment was determined by the prorogation of parliament; which ſuperſeded the whole proceeding; but the contrary was voted by a great majority. The thirteenth of June was fixed for the trial; and the houſe of commons made acquainted with this reſolution. The commons appointed a committee to enquire into the ſtate of the earl's impeachment; and, in conſequence of their report, ſent a meſſage to the lords, demanding longer time to prepare for the trial. Accordingly the day was procraſtinated to the twenty-fourth of June; and the commons appointed a committee, with four other members, to be the managers for making good the articles of impeachment*.

The articles of impeachment being read, with the earl's anſwer, and the replication of the commons, Mr. Hampden made an introductory ſpeech. Sir Joſeph Jekyll then ſtood up to ſupport the firſt article of the charge, when lord Harcourt ſignified to their lordſhips, that he had a motion to make, and they accordingly adjourned to their own houſe.

There he repreſented, that much time would be unneceſſarily conſumed in going through all the articles of the impeachment: that, if the commons could eſtabliſh the two articles for high treaſon, the earl of Oxford would forfeit both life and eſtate, and the whole buſineſs would terminate: but to proceed in the method propoſed by the commons, would extend the trial to an immoderate length: and, that it would be a degree of cruelty upon a peer, who had already ſuffered ſo long a confinement, to appear every day at their bar, like a traitor, and be, at laſt, found guilty only of high crimes and miſdemeanors. He therefore moved, that the commons might not be admitted to proceed, till judgment ſhould be firſt given upon the articles for high treaſon.

He was ſupported by the dukes of Buckingham and Argyle, the earls of Angleſey, Nottingham, and Ilay, the lords North and Grey, and Townſend, the biſhop of Rocheſter, and ſeveral others; and, though oppoſed by the earl of Sunderland, the lords Parker, Coningſby and Cadogan†, the motion was carried in the affirmative.

* At the time appointed, the peers repaired to the court in Weſtminſter Hall, where the chancellor, lord Cooper, preſided as lord high-ſteward. The commons were preſent as a committee of the whole houſe; the king, the reſt of the royal family, and the foreign miniſters aſſiſted at the ſolemnity: the earl of Oxford was conducted from the Tower, preceded by the gentleman-jailor, who carried the axe, and ſtood with it at the bar on the left hand of the priſoner, with the edge turned from him.

† This peer was accuſed, during the ſeſſion of having embezzled ſome of the public money granted for military ſervices; and Pulteney and Walpole exerted themſelves againſt him; but the houſe, by a majority of ten voices, put a period to the enquiry.

This reſolution being intimated to the commons, they delivered a paper, importing, that they conceived it to be their unqueſtionable right to impeach a peer, either for high treaſon, or for high crimes and miſdemeanors; or, ſhould they ſee occaſion, to mix both in the ſame accuſation: that the impeachment againſt the earl of Oxford, was one continued accuſation, conſiſting of high crimes and miſdemeanors: that the facts on which the articles preceding thoſe of high treaſon were grounded, were ſtated in the order of time, and followed each other ſucceſſively, in the ſame manner in which they were committed: that, as the commons thought this the moſt natural method of exhibiting the ſeveral articles againſt the earl, they were of opinion, that they ought to proceed in the proof of theſe articles in the ſame manner. To this remonſtrance, the lords returned an anſwer, implying, that they deemed it to be a right inherent in every court of juſtice, to order and direct ſuch methods of proceeding, as it ſhould think moſt proper to be obſerved in all cauſes that fell under its cognizance: that the power of judicature in all impeachments, was a right, which inconteſtably belonged to their lordſhips, nor was it determined, by any poſitive rule, in what manner the houſe of commons ought to proceed in ſuch accuſations. The lords further obſerved, that there was no precedent where the commons, in the proſecution of any impeachment, attempted, in the firſt place, to make good the articles for high crimes and miſdemeanors, and afterwards thoſe for high treaſon: that the circumſtances attending a peer, who was impeached of high treaſon, were ſo very different from, and ſo much more ignominious than thoſe which, accompanied one who was only charged with high crimes and miſdemeanors, that it would be equally cruel and unjuſt to ſubject a nobleman to the former indignities, when his proſecutors were conſcious that he could only be found guilty of the latter crime: and that, for all theſe reaſons, the lords were determined to adhere to the reſolution which they had ſignified to the commons.

The lower houſe demanded a free conference, which was refuſed by the upper. The diſpute grew more obſtinate. The lords ſent a meſſage to the commons, importing, that they intended ſpeedily to proceed to the trial of the earl of Oxford. The commons paid no regard to this intimation, but adjourned to the third of July. The lords, repairing to Weſtminſter Hall, took their places, ordered the earl to be brought to the bar, and made proclamation for his accuſers to appear. Having waited a quarter of an hour, they adjourned to their own houſe, where, after ſome debate, the earl was acquitted, upon a diviſion: then, returning to the hall, they voted, that he ſhould be ſet at liberty*.

On the fifteenth of July, the earl of Sunderland delivered, in the houſe of peers, the act of grace, which paſſed through both houſes without difficulty. From this indemnity were excepted, the earl of Oxford, Mr. Prior, Mr. Thomas Harley, Mr. Arthur Moore, Criſp, Nodes, Obryan, Redmayne the printer, and Thomſon, the aſſaſſinators in Newgate confined ſince the reign of king William, and the clan of Mac-gregory in Scotland. By virtue of this act, the earl of Carnwath, and the lords Widdrington and Nairn were immediately diſcharged; but lord Duffus was continued in priſon, with an allowance of three pounds *per* week. All the gentlemen under ſentence of death in Newgate were diſmiſſed, as were thoſe who were detained, on account of the rebellion, in the Fleet, the Marſhalſea, and other priſons of the kingdom†.

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* Oxford was indebted for his ſafety to the diſpute between the two houſes, and the late change in the adminiſtration; without which he would never have numbered among his friends, as he did on this occaſion, the dukes of Devonſhire and Argyle, the earls of Nottingham and Ilay, and lord Townſend. The commons were enraged at the eſcape of this nobleman, whom they actually believed to be guilty of having betrayed the intereſt of his country: and they, at firſt, propoſed to proceed againſt him by way of attainder: but a motion, which was made for that purpoſe, was carried in the negative. Yet, in order to expreſs their diſapprobation of his conduct, they preſented an addreſs to the king, deſiring he might be excepted out of the intended act of grace. The king promiſed to comply with their requeſt, and, in the mean time, forbade the earl to appear at court.

† The principal object, which engaged the attention of the convocation, was an enquiry into two performances of Dr. Hoadly, biſhop of Bangor. One was entitled, "A Preſervative againſt the Principles and Practices of "the Non-jurors: the other was a ſermon preached before

On the third of November, the princeſs of Wales was delivered of a prince, who was baptized on the twenty-eighth of the ſame month, and died in a ſhort time after. This baptiſm was unhappily productive of a difference between the king and the prince of Wales. The cuſtom, it appears on ſuch an occaſion, was, that, when the royal infant was a male, and the king was ſponſor, the place of ſecond god-father was ſupplied by one of the principal lords of the court, generally the lord-chamberlain. The prince, who was ignorant of this cuſtom, intended that his uncle, the duke of York and biſhop of Oſnaburg, ſhould undertake the office of ſponſor. The king, who had taken care to obtain information reſpecting this buſineſs, appointed the duke of Newcaſtle, then lord-chamberlain, to ſtand, not as repreſenting the duke of York, but in his own proper name and perſon. The prince, not knowing that the duke acted in obedience to his majeſty's command, was highly enraged at his grace's behaviour, and after the ceremony, expreſſed his reſentment in very intemperate terms*.

The parliament meeting on the twenty-firſt of November, the king in his ſpeech to both houſes, obſerved, among other particulars, that he had reduced the army to about one half ſince the beginning of laſt ſeſſion.

Addreſſes of thanks having been preſented by both houſes, the commons took into conſideration the eſtimates and accounts, in order to ſettle the eſtabliſhment of the army, navy, and ordnance. Ten thouſand men were voted for the ſea ſervice; and the ſum of two hundred and twenty-four thouſand eight hundred and fifty-ſeven pounds fourteen ſhillings and eleven pence, was granted for defraying the expences of the navy.

When the ſupply for the army fell under deliberation, a warm debate enſued reſpecting the number of troops that ought to be maintained. Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Shippen, and Mr. Walpole, endeavoured to prove that twelve thouſand men were fully ſufficient. They were anſwered by Mr. Craggs, ſecretary at war, and ſir David Dalrymple, who affirmed, that ſixteen thouſand were abſolutely neceſſary.

Mr. Shippen in the courſe of the debate obſerved, that one paragraph of the king's ſpeech ſeemed rather to be calculated for the meridian of Germany than of Great Britain; and that it was a great misfortune that the king was a ſtranger to our language and conſtitution. This indecorous expreſſion was highly reſented by

before the king, under the title of, "The Nature of the "Kingdom of Chriſt." An anſwer to this diſcourſe was publiſhed by Dr. Snape, maſter of Eaton college, and the convocation appointed a committee to examine the biſhop's two performances. The committee drew up a repreſentation, in which the Preſervative and the Sermon were cenſured, as tending to ſubvert all government in Chriſt's church; to reduce his kingdom to a ſtate of anarchy and confuſion; and to impeach the royal ſupremacy in cauſes eccleſiaſtical, and the authority of the legiſlature to enforce obedience in matters of religion, by civil ſanctions. To this repreſentation the biſhop publiſhed an anſwer, in which he repreſented, that, if his doctrine was denied, certain other propoſitions muſt be admitted; and theſe were ſo abſurd and contradictory, as to expoſe his antagoniſts in the moſt ridiculous point of view. The government thought proper to interrupt the conteſt by a prorogation; which, however, inflamed the controverſy. A great number of pens were drawn againſt the biſhop; but his principal opponents were Dr. Snape and Dr. Sherlock, whom the king removed from the office of his chaplains: and the convocation has not been permitted to ſit and do buſineſs ſince that time. *Ch. Hiſt.*

About this time an incident occurred, which greatly engaged the attention of the Engliſh. The pretender, who reſided at Urbino, having received intelligence from Paris, that a plan was formed againſt his life, Pope Clement the Eleventh, gave directions, that all foreigners in that neighbourhood, eſpecially Engliſh, ſhould be ſtrictly examined, and ſuch as were ſuſpected committed to cuſtody. The earl of Peterborough arriving at Bologna with a few armed followers, was ſeized, with all his papers. Being interrogated, he ſaid, he came to paſs ſome time in Italy for the benefit of the air, and that his followers were armed for his defence. He was under confinement for a whole month in fort Urbino, and his attendants were ſent to priſon. Nothing appearing to juſtify the ſuſpicion, he was ſet at liberty with a profuſion of civilities.

* The king, thinking it neceſſary to check ſuch an unſeaſonable guſt of rage, ordered the prince to confine himſelf within his own apartments; and afterwards ſignified his pleaſure that he ſhould quit the palace of St. James's. He retired with the princeſs to a houſe belonging to the earl of Grantham; but the children were detained at the palace. Notice was given to all peers and peereſſes, and all privy counſellors and their wives, that if they viſited the prince and princeſs, they ſhould forbear coming into his majeſty's preſence; and all who enjoyed poſts and places under both king and prince, were obliged to quit the ſervice of one or other, at their option.

ſeveral

ſeveral members, particularly by Mr. Lechmere, who urged, that it was a ſcandalous invective againſt the king's perſon and government; and moved that the member who adopted it, ſhould be ſent to the Tower. Mr. Walpole obſerved, that if the words in queſtion were really uttered by the perſon to whom they were imputed, the Tower was too lenient a puniſhment for his raſhneſs; but as his meaning might have been miſunderſtood in the heat of debate, he thought he ſhould be indulged with the liberty of explaining himſelf. Mr. Shippen, refuſing to retract or apologize for what he had advanced, was voted to the Tower by a great majority. The number of land forces was fixed at ſixteen thouſand three hundred and forty-ſeven effective men; and for the maintenance of theſe, the ſum of ſix hundred and fifty thouſand pounds was allotted*.

The principal affair, which came before the parliament during this ſeſſion, was the bill for regulating the land forces, and puniſhing mutiny and deſertion. After a violent debate, it was carried by a conſiderable majority.

In the upper houſe, however, a much ſtronger debate enſued; but, at laſt, the queſtion being propoſed, it was carried in the affirmative; though a conſiderable number of lords entered their proteſt.

A bill was then introduced for veſting in truſtees the forfeited eſtates in Great Britain and Ireland, to be ſold for the benefit of the public†; for affording relief to legal creditors, by determining the claims; and for the more effectual bringing into the reſpective exchequers, the rents and profits of the eſtates till they were diſpoſed of. The time of claiming was procraſtinated: the ſum of twenty thouſand pounds was reſerved out of the ſale of the eſtates in Scotland, for erecting ſchools: and eight thouſand pounds for building barracks in that kingdom.

About this time ſome changes were made in the miniſtry. Lord chancellor Cowper, who had been elevated to the dignity of an earl, reſigned the great ſeal, which was for ſome time held by commiſſion; but afterwards given to lord Parker, as lord high-chancellor. The earl of Sunderland was appointed preſident of the council, and firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury. The earl of Holderneſs was nominated to preſide at the board of trade. Lord Stanhope and Mr. Craggs were appointed ſecretaries of ſtate; and the lords Stanhope and Cadogan were afterwards created earls.

The conduct of the Spaniſh monarch now attracted the attention of all Europe. Notwithſtanding the promiſe he had made to ſuſpend his military operations, and refer the diſputes, between him and the emperor, to the arbitration of England and Holland, he imperiouſly rejected the propoſals of theſe potentates, and ſtill continued his warlike preparations. By the care and diligence of his prime miniſter, cardinal Alberoni, he equipped a very formidable armament, which, in the beginning of June, ſailed from Barcelona, towards Italy; but the deſtination of it was not known.

A conſiderable ſquadron having been fitted out in England, the marquis de Monteleone, ambaſſador from Spain, repreſented, in a memorial to the Britiſh miniſtry, that ſo powerful an armament, in time of peace, could not fail of giving offence to the king his maſter, and diminiſhing the friendſhip which ſubſiſted between

* About this time one James Shepherd, a youth of eighteen, apprentice to a coach-maker, and an enthuſiaſt in Jacobitiſm, ſent a letter to one Mr. Leathes, a non-juring clergyman, propoſing a ſcheme for aſſaſſinating the king. He was immediately apprehended and brought to his trial. He ſaid he had imbibed theſe principles at the ſchool of Saliſbury, and had been confirmed in them by the writings of ſeveral of the non-juring clergy. He confeſſed the deſign of which he was accuſed, declared he had harboured it for upwards of three years, nor did he think there was any ſin in carrying it into execution. He was therefore condemned upon his own confeſſion, and executed at Tyburn.

This was likewiſe the fate of the marquis di Palcotti, an Italian nobleman, brother to the ducheſs of Shrewſbury. He had, in a tranſport of paſſion, killed his own ſervant; and ſeemed indeed in a ſtate of infanity. After ſentence of death had been paſſed upon him, ſtrong applications were made to the king for a pardon, as well by his ſiſter the ducheſs, as by many other perſons of the firſt diſtinction: but the common people became ſo clamorous for juſtice, that it was thought dangerous to reſcue him from the penalties of the law, which he accordingly ſuffered in the moſt ignominious manner.

† About eighty thouſand pounds conſtituted the annual value of the forfeited real eſtates. The perſonal property, of which an account was taken, was comparatively inconſiderable, from the endeavours of the friends of the rebels to prevent a full diſcovery of it.

the two crowns, The king replied, that he had no intention to conceal the deſign of that armament; and that he propoſed to ſend admiral Byng with a powerful ſquadron into the Mediterranean, to maintain the neutrality of Italy, againſt all who ſhould endeavour to diſturb it. In the mean time, the negociations of the Engliſh and French miniſters produced the *quadruple alliance* between Great Britain, France, the emperor, and the States General.

This alliance, by which George and the duke of Orleans expected to preſerve the tranquillity of Europe; proved, contrary to thoſe expectations, the ſource of infinite diſputes between England and Spain. The States General did not approve of ſuch violent meaſures, and, on various pretences, withheld their conſent; but at length they acceded to the treaty, which the mediators determined ſpeedily to render effectual.

The king of England having, in vain, endeavoured, by entreaties and perſuaſions, to induce the king of Spain to agree to the terms, reſolved, at laſt, to enforce the remonſtrance by more powerful arguments. Sir George Byng ſailed from Spithead, on the fourth of June, with twenty ſhips of the line, two fire ſhips, two bomb veſſels, and ample inſtructions for acting on all emergencies. He arrived at Cape St. Vincent on the thirtieth of the month, when he diſpatched his ſecretary, Mr. Allix, to Cadiz, with a letter to colonel Stanhope, the Britiſh miniſter at Madrid, deſiring him to acquaint his moſt Catholic majeſty with the admiral's arrival in thoſe parts, and lay before him the following articles of his inſtructions

"As a ſuſpenſion of arms is abſolutely neceſſary for opening conferences and conducting the negociations, you are to make inſtances with both parties to ceaſe from uſing any further acts of hoſtility: but, if the Spaniards ſtill inſiſt, with their ſhips of war and forces, to attack the kingdom of Naples, or the other territories of the emperor in Italy, or to land in any part of Italy, which can only be with a deſign to invade the emperor's dominions, againſt whom they have declared war by invading Sardinia; or, if they ſhould endeavour to make themſelves maſters of the kingdom of Sicily, which muſt be with an intention to invade the kingdom of Naples; in ſuch a caſe, you are, with all your power, to hinder and obſtruct the ſame. If it ſhould ſo happen, that, at your arrival, with the fleet under your command, in the Mediterranean, the Spaniards ſhould already have landed any troops in Italy, in order to invade the emperor's territories, you ſhall endeavour amicably to diſſuade them from perſevering in ſuch an attempt, and offer them your aſſiſtance to help them to withdraw their troops, and put an end to all farther acts of hoſtility. But, in caſe theſe your friendly endeavours ſhould prove ineffectual, you ſhall, by keeping company with, or intercepting their ſhips or convoy, or, if it be neceſſary, by openly oppoſing them, defend the emperor's territories from any further attempt."

When cardinal Alberoni purſued theſe inſtructions, he informed colonel Stanhope, with ſome warmth, that his maſter would run all hazards, and even ſuffer himſelf to be driven out of Spain, rather than recal his troops, or conſent to a ſuſpenſion of arms. He ſaid, the Spaniards were not to be intimidated; and he was ſo well convinced, that the fleet would do their duty, that, in caſe of their being attacked, he ſhould not doubt of their ſucceſs. Mr. Stanhope having ſhewn him a liſt of the Britiſh ſquadron, and deſired him to compare its ſtrength with that of their own fleet, he threw it on the ground with great emotion.

The colonel, with much temper, entreated him to conſider the ſincere regard, which the king his maſter had always manifeſted for the honour and intereſt of his Catholic majeſty, of which it was impoſſible to give ſtronger proofs than he had done by his unwearied endeavours, through the whole courſe of the preſent negociation, to procure for Spain the moſt advantageous conditions; and that in theſe endeavours he had ſucceeded beyond the expectation of any reaſonable, unprejudiced perſon. He therefore hoped, that his Catholic majeſty would not, by refuſing to recal his troops, or to conſent to a ſuſpenſion of arms, put it out of his power to give every proof of the ſincere friendſhip, which he was always anxious to cultivate with the crown of Spain.

All that the cardinal could be induced to

promiſe, was, that he would lay the admiral's letter before the king, and let the envoy know his majeſty's reſolution. This, however, he thought proper to delay for upwards of a week, probably with a view of giving the Spaniſh forces time to ſecure a firm footing in the iſland of Sicily. At laſt he returned the admiral's letter to Mr. Stanhope, with a note, importing, that the chevalier Byng might execute the orders he had received from the king his maſter.

The admiral, in paſſing by Gibraltar, was joined by vice-admiral Cornwall with the Argyle and Charles galley. He proceeded to Minorca, where he relieved the garriſon of Port Mahon. He then ſailed for Naples, where he arrived on the firſt of Auguſt, and was received as a deliverer: for the Neapolitans had been under the moſt terrible apprehenſions of an invaſion from the Spaniards. Here he had an interview with the viceroy, count Daun, by whom he was received with the moſt diſtinguiſhed reſpect, and from whom he received intelligence, that the Spaniſh army, amounting to thirty thouſand men, commanded by the marquis de Lede, had landed in Sicily, reduced Palermo and Meſſina, and was then engaged in the ſiege of the citadel of the laſt-mentioned city: that the Piedmonteſe garriſon would ſoon be obliged to ſurrender, if not relieved, and that an alliance was forming between the emperor and the king of Sicily; the latter of whom had deſired the aſſiſtance of the Imperial troops, and agreed to receive them into the citadel of Meſſina.

The admiral immediately reſolved to ſail thither, and took under his convoy a reinforcement of two thouſand Germans for the citadel, under the command of general Wetzel. He ſpeedily departed from Naples, and on the ninth of Auguſt, came in ſight of the Faro of Meſſina. He diſpatched his own captain with a reſpectful meſſage to the marquis de Lede, propoſing a ceſſation of arms in Sicily for two months, that the powers of Europe might have time to concert meaſures for reſtoring a permanent peace. The marquis replied, that as he had no powers to treat, he could not agree to a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, but he ſhould obey his orders, which directed him to ſubdue Sicily for his maſter, the king of Spain.

The Spaniſh fleet had ſailed from the harbour of Meſſina, on the day before the Engliſh ſquadron appeared. Admiral Byng ſuppoſing they had retired to Malta, directed his courſe towards Meſſina, to encourage the garriſon in the citadel. But, in doubling the Faro, he diſcovered two Spaniſh ſcouts, and learned from the people of a felucca from the Calabrian ſhore, that they had ſeen from the hills, the Spaniſh fleet lying to in order of battle.

The admiral immediately detached general Wetzel, with the German troops to Regio, under convoy of two ſhips of war. He then ſtood though the Faro after the Spaniſh ſcouts that led him to their main fleet, which before noon he diſcerned in line of battle, amounting to twenty-ſeven ſail, large and ſmall, beſides two fire-ſhips, four bomb-veſſels and ſeven gallies. They were commanded in chief, by Don Antonio de Caſtaneta, under whom were the four rear-admirals, Chacon, Mari, Guevara, and Cammock. At the ſight of the Engliſh ſquadron, they ſtood away large, but ſtill in order of battle; and Byng gave chace all the remainder of the day and the ſucceeding night.

In the morning, which was the eleventh of Auguſt, rear admiral Mari, with ſix ſhips of war, the gallies, fire ſhips, bomb-ketches, and ſtore ſhips, ſeparated from the main fleet, and ſtood in for the Sicilian ſhore. The Engliſh admiral detached captain Walton, with ſix ſhips, in purſuit of them: and they were ſpeedily engaged. He himſelf continued to chace their main fleet; and about ten o'clock, the battle began. The Spaniards ſeemed to be diſtracted in their councils, and acted in confuſion. They made a running fight, and the admirals behaved with courage and reſolution, in ſpite of which they were all taken, except Cammock, who made his eſcape to Malta, with three ſhips of war, and as many frigates.

In this engagement, which happened off cape Paſſaro, captain Haddock of the Grafton exhibited repeated proofs of the moſt undaunted courage. As his ſhip was a good ſailer, he always attacked the headmoſt of the enemy; and, after having progreſſively diſabled them, one by one, continued his courſe in purſuit of others, leaving ſuch as he had damaged to be picked up by thoſe who followed. On the eighteenth, a letter was brought to the admiral from

from captain Walton, importing, that he had taken four Spaniſh ſhips of War, together with a bomb-ketch, and a veſſel laden with arms; and that he had burned four ſhips of war, a fire-ſhip and a bomb-veſſel*.

Before king George received an account of this engagement from the admiral, he wrote him a letter † with his own hand, approving his conduct. When ſir George's eldeſt ſon arrived in England, with a circumſtantial account of the action, he was graciouſly received, gratified with a handſome preſent, and ſent back with plenipotentiary powers to his father, to negociate with the ſeveral princes and ſtates of Italy, as he ſhould ſee occaſion. He likewiſe carried the king's royal grant to the officers and ſeamen, of all the prizes they had taken from the Spaniards.

Notwithſtanding this victory, the Spaniſh army proſecuted the ſiege of Meſſina with ſuch vigour, that the governor ſurrendered the place by capitulation, on the twenty-ninth of September; and the garriſon was tranſported to Syracuſe and Reggio. A treaty was now concluded at Vienna, between the emperor and the duke of Savoy. They agreed to form an army for the conqueſt of Sardinia, in behalf of the duke, who, in the mean time, engaged to evacuate Sicily; but till his troops could be conveyed from that iſland, he conſented that they ſhould co-operate with the Germans againſt the common enemy.

Admiral Byng continued to aſſiſt the Imperialiſts in Sicily, during the principal part of the winter, by clearing the ſeas of the Spainards, and preſerving a free communication between the German forces, and the Calabrian ſhore, from whence they were ſupplied with proviſions. He conferred with the viceroy of Naples, and the other Imperial generals, reſpecting the operations of the enſuing campaign; and count Hamilton was diſpatched to Vienna, to acquaint the emperor with the reſult of their deliberations.

The parliament meeting on the eleventh of November, the king, in his ſpeech to both houſes, obſerved, that during the receſs, he had concluded ſuch treaties and alliances with the two greateſt princes in Europe, as would probably induce others to follow their example, and render any attempts to diſturb the public tranquillity not only dangerous but impracticable; that theſe engagements, he was convinced, would be the more agreeable to all his good ſubjects, as they obliged the contracting powers to ſupport the ſucceſſion to theſe kingdoms in his family, to which ſome of them were rather averſe, and others not fully obliged by any former treaties.

Motions for an addreſs of thanks and congratulation to his majeſty were made and carried in both houſes, after which the commons proceeded to conſider the ſupply. They voted thirteen thouſand five hundred ſailors, and twelve thouſand four hundred and thirty-five men for the land ſervice. The whole eſtimate amounted to two millions two hundred and fifty-ſeven thouſand five hundred and eighty-one pounds nineteen ſhillings. The money was raiſed by a tax on land and malt, and a lottery for half a million. The bills were both preſented and paſſed in one day; an inſtance of diſpatch, not to be found in any other parliament ſince the Revolution.

The king, encouraged by the favourable diſ-

* Captain Walton ſeems to have been a perſon whoſe natural talents were better calculated for achieving a gallant action, than deſcribing one. His letter on this occaſion, is juſtly deemed a curious ſpecimen of military eloquence. It was conceived in the following terms:

"Sir,

"We have taken and deſtroyed all the Spaniſh ſhips "and veſſels which were upon the coaſt, the number *as* "*per margin* ‡. I am, &c.

"G. WALTON."

"*Canterbury, off Syracuſe,*
"*16 Aug.* 1718."

‡ *The margin contained a liſt of eight men of war, mounting* 342 *guns, beſides ſmall veſſels.*

† The letter was in French, and may be thus tranſlated:

"*Monſieur le chevalier Byng,*

"Though I have not yet heard from you directly, I am informed of the victory which the fleet has gained under your command, and I was unwilling to delay the ſatisfaction which my approbation of your conduct might afford you. I thank you for it, and deſire you will expreſs my ſatisfaction to all the brave people who have ſignalized themſelves on the occaſion. Secretary Craggs has orders to inform you more at large of my intentions; but I was pleaſed to aſſure you myſelf, that I am,

"Monſieur le chevalier Byng,
"Your good friend,
"GEORGE R."

poſition

poſition of both houſes, reſolved to attempt the execution of a ſcheme which had long been meditating. It was intended as a relief to the diſſenters, from ſome of thoſe difficulties to which they had been ſubjected in the late reign. As they had been zealous aſſertors of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, it was reaſonable that they ſhould enjoy ſome indulgence, now that ſucceſſion was eſtabliſhed; and in theſe ſentiments he was further confirmed by his own religious principles, which induced him to grant a juſt toleration to all his Proteſtant ſubjects.

On the ſeventeenth of December, his majeſty ſent a meſſage to both houſes, ſtating, that all his endeavours to procure redreſs for the injuries his ſubjects had received from the king of Spain, having proved ineffectual, he had found it neceſſary to declare war againſt that monarch. The meſſage being read, a motion was made for an addreſs to the king, aſſuring him that they would cheerfully ſupport him in the proſecution of the war, till Spain ſhould be compelled to accept of reaſonable terms of accommodation. Sir Joſeph Jekyll, however, obſerved, that the conduct of his majeſty and his miniſters, was perfectly agreeable to the law of nations, and the rules of juſtice and equity. "Was it juſt," added he, "in the king of Spain, "to attack, without any formal declaration, the "dominions of our ally, the emperor, while "engaged in a war with the Turks? Was it "juſt, in the ſame prince, to invade the domi-"nions of another of our allies, the king of "Sicily, without the leaſt provocation? And "was it not juſt in his majeſty to vindicate the "faith of his treaties, and to defend and protect "the trade of his ſubjects, which had been "violently oppreſſed?" The opinion of this gentleman had a wonderful influence on the members in general: the majority agreed to the addreſs; and ſuch another was carried in the upper houſe without a diviſion*.

The king having appointed lords juſtices† to govern the kingdom in his abſence‡, embarked on the eleventh of May for Holland, whence he proceeded to Hanover, where he concluded a peace with Ulrica, the new queen of Sweden. By this treaty, Sweden ceded for ever to the royal and electoral houſe of Hanover, the duchies of Bremen and Verden, with all their dependencies: George engaged to preſerve to his new ſubjects, their rights, privileges, property, and religion, and to diſcharge the incumbrances of the Swediſh crown in thoſe duchies. He likewiſe obliged himſelf to pay a million of rixdollars to the queen of Sweden, and to renew, as king of Great Britain and elector of Hanover, the alliances formerly ſubſiſting between his predeceſſors and that kingdom. At the ſame time he mediated a peace between Sweden and his former allies, the Danes, the Ruſſians, and the Poles.

The Czar, however, rejected his mediation, and reſolved to proſecute his ſchemes of conqueſt. He ſent his fleet to the Scheuron or Batſes of Sweden, where his troops landed to the number of fifteen thouſand men, and com-

* On the laſt day of February, the duke of Somerſet repreſented in the upper houſe, that the number of peers being much encreaſed, eſpecially ſince the union of the two kingdoms, it ſeemed abſolutely neceſſary to take ſome ſteps for preſerving the dignity of the peerage, and to prevent the inconveniences which might attend the creation of an unreaſonable number of peers to anſwer an immediate purpoſe; a meaſure which had been actually embraced by her late majeſty. He therefore moved, that a bill might be brought in to limit the peerage in ſuch a manner, that it ſhould not be enlarged beyond ſix above the preſent number, which, upon failure of male iſſue, might be ſupplied by new creations; and that, inſtead of the ſixteen elective peers from Scotland, twenty-five ſhould be made hereditary, on the part of that kingdom, and that this number, upon failure of heirs male, ſhould be ſupplied from the other members of the Scottiſh peerage.

This meaſure alarmed the generality of the Scottiſh peers, as well as many Engliſh commoners, who law themſelves precluded from the hopes of ever arriving at dignity and title, and exclaimed againſt it, as a violent encroachment upon the conſtitution of the kingdom. Pamphlets were publiſhed on both ſides of the queſtion; and a national clamour began to ariſe, when earl Stanhope obſerved in the houſe, that as the bill had raiſed ſtrange apprehenſions, he thought it adviſeable to delay the further conſideration of it till a more proper opportunity. After a long debate, the bill was, however, rejected, and the parliament prorogued on the eighteenth of April, when his majeſty made a ſpeech to both houſes, in which he thanked them for the zeal and affection they had ſhewn to his perſon and government during the late projected invaſion.

† The lords juſtices were, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, lord chancellor Parker, the dukes of Kingſton, Argyle, (now alſo duke of Greenwich) Newcaſtle, Bolton, Marlborough, and Roxburgh, the earls of Sunderland, Berkeley, and Stanhope, and ſecretary Craggs.

‡ A. D. 1719.

mitted dreadful ravages; but ſir John Norris, who commanded the Britiſh ſquadron in thoſe ſeas, having orders to ſupport the negociations, and oppoſe any hoſtilities that might be committed, the Czar thought proper to recal his fleet.

The quadruple alliance made no alteration in the temper of Alberoni*. The article which regarded the eventual ſucceſſion of Don Carlos was rejected with ſcorn by the Spaniſh court, which had already taken poſſeſſion of Sardinia, under pretence of aſſiſting the Venetians againſt the Turks, and of great part of the iſland of Sicily. The conſequence of this obſtinacy, and of theſe unprovoked hoſtilities, was a declaration of war againſt Spain, by France and England. But, before that meaſure was adopted, every method had been ineffectually employed to adjuſt matters by negociation: Alberoni ſought only to gain time, by amuſing the miniſters of the two crowns. He did not, however, ſucceed in his ſcheme. George I. even while he negociated, ſent a powerful fleet into the Mediterranean, under ſir George Byng, who, being veſted with very ample powers, and finding every propoſal to induce the Spaniards to accede to a ceſſation of arms treated with diſdain, proceeded to execute his ultimate inſtructions. He accordingly engaged the Spaniſh fleet near the coaſt of Sicily, and took or deſtroyed twenty-one ſhips out of twenty-ſeven, fourteen of which were of the line: yet could he not prevent the Spaniſh troops, commanded by the marquis de Leda, from making themſelves maſters of the citadel of Meſſina, the town having ſurrendered before his arrival. But, by his activity in tranſporting German troops into Sicily, both the town and citadel were ſoon recovered: and the Spaniards made overtures for evacuating the iſland The recovery of Sicily was followed by the ſurrender of Sardinia.

Admiral Byng had ſo conſiderable a ſhare in this war of Sicily, that the fate of the iſland depended entirely on his courage, conduct, and activity; one party acknowledging, that they could not have conquered, and the other, that they could not have been ſubdued without his aſſiſtance. When he waited on his majeſty at Hanover, he was moſt graciouſly received. The king informed him, that he had diſcovered the ſecret of obliging his enemies as well as his friends; for the court of Spain had mentioned, with the warmeſt expreſſions of gratitude, his candid and friendly deportment in providing tranſports and other neceſſaries for the embarkation of their troops, and protecting them from the oppreſſions to which they muſt otherwiſe have been expoſed. He was appointed treaſurer of the navy, and rear-admiral of Great Britain: he was ſoon after ennobled by the title of viſcount Torrington: he was declared a privy-counſellor; and afterwards created knight of the Bath, on the revival of that order.

During theſe tranſactions in the Mediterranean, the duke of Berwick advanced with the French army to the frontiers of Spain, where he took Fort Paſſage, and deſtroyed ſix Spaniſh ſhips of war that were upon the ſtocks. He then formed the ſiege of Fontarabia, which he reduced in June, together with St. Sebaſtian's and Fontarabia. In this exploit, the French were aſſiſted by two hundred Engliſh ſeamen who burned two ſixty gun ſhips unfiniſhed, and a great quantity of naval ſtores.

The king of England, with an idea of revenging himſelf for the attempts formed againſt his crown and dignity, and indemnifying his ſubjects for the expence of the war, projected the conqueſt of Corunna in the Bay of Biſcay, and of Peru in South America. Four thouſand men, commanded by lord Cobham, were embarked at the iſle of Wight, and ſailed on the twenty-firſt of September, under the convoy of five ſhips of war, conducted by admiral Mighels, who was to be joined by captain Johnſon, then cruiſing off Fontarabia. Inſtead of making an attempt upon Corunna, they reduced Vigo with very little difficulty: Pont-a-Veda ſubmitted without reſiſtance: and Redondella was abandoned by the inhabitants. Here they found a large quantity of braſs artillery, ſmall arms, and military ſtores, which had been intended for the invaſion of England; and the very troops which garriſoned theſe places, were to have been part of the army deſtined for the ſame purpoſe.

In the mean time captain Johnſon, who had not had an opportunity of joining the admiral, entered the port of Ribadero to the eaſtward of Cape Ortegas, where he deſtroyed two Spaniſh ſhips

* Alberoni was an Italian prieſt, the ſon of a peaſant, and formerly the curate of a ſmall village near Parma.

ſhips of war. The naval power of Spain was now entirely ruined. The expedition to the Weſt Indies was long delayed by contrary winds, and at laſt prevented by the concluſion of the peace.

Spain, oppreſſed on all ſides, and exhauſted by the efforts ſhe had made, now ſaw the neceſſity of a ſpeedy pacification. Philip was at length convinced of the madneſs of Alberoni's projects. That miniſter had rendered himſelf odious to the emperor, the king of England, and the regent of France, who unanimouſly declared they would liſten to no propoſals, while he ſhould continue in office.

The Spaniſh monarch, therefore diveſted him of all his employments, forbade him to appear any more in his preſence, ordered him to quit Madrid in eight days, and the kingdom in the courſe of three months. The marquis de Beretti Landi, the Spaniſh miniſter at the Hague, delivered a plan of pacification to the ſtates: but it was rejected by the allies; and Philip was at laſt obliged to accede to the quadruple alliance.

By this time an alliance offenſive and defenſive was concluded at Stockholm, between George and the queen of Sweden, by which his majeſty obliged himſelf to ſend a fleet into the Baltic, to act againſt the Czar of Muſcovy, to compel him to agree to reaſonable terms of peace. The Czar complained of this interpoſition of king George, alledging, that he had failed in his engagements, both as elector of Hanover, and king of Great Britain. His reſident at London preſented a memorial on this ſubject, which was anſwered and refuted by the Britiſh and Hanoverian miniſtry. Theſe recriminations ſerved only to exaſperate the two princes more violently againſt each other. The Czar continued to proſecute the war; and at length concluded a peace without a mediator. Nevertheleſs, at the inſtances of king George and the regent of France, a treaty of peace was ſigned between the queen of Sweden and the king of Pruſſia.

On the other hand, his Pruſſian majeſty* engaged to join the king of Great Britain in his endeavours to facilitate a peace between Sweden and Denmark, and to perſuade the Daniſh king to reſtore to queen Ulrica, that part of Pomerania, which he had ſeized. The treaty between Sweden and Denmark was ſigned at Frederickſtadt, on the twenty-ſecond of June, under the mediation of the king of England.

On the fifteenth of June, king George ſet out from England for his electoral dominions; but before his departure from Great Britain, he was reconciled to the prince of Wales, chiefly through the mediation of the duke of Devonſhire and Mr. Walpole, who, with earl Cowper, lord Townſend, Mr. Methuen, and Mr. Pulteney, were received into favour, and rejoined the miniſtry. The earls of Dorſet and Bridgewater were created dukes; lord viſcount Caſtleton was advanced to the title of earl; Hugh Boſcawen was created viſcount Falmouth; John Wollop, viſcount Lymington; Mathew Ducie Morton and John Barrington of Becket, were both promoted to the dignity of barons.

While the king was employed at Hanover, in reconciling the intereſts of the different ſtates of Europe, the South-ſea ſcheme produced a kind of national phrenzy in England. The firſt hint of the plan ſeems to have been taken from the famous Miſſiſſippi ſcheme formed by John Law†, a Scottiſh adventurer, which, in the courſe of the preceding year, had raiſed ſuch a ferment in France, and involved many thouſand families in that kingdom in utter ruin and deſtruction. Law's ſcheme was built upon the grant of an excluſive trade to Louiſiana, and, had it been properly conducted, might have been attended with ſome advantage. The deſign of it was defeated by the eager avidity of the people, many of whom were reduced to abſolute beggary; though the ſtate gained immenſe profits; no leſs than fifteen hundred millions of the public debts having been transferred from the government to the ſhoulders of the people.

At the peace of Utrecht, the Aſſiento, or contract for ſupplying the Spaniſh colonies with negroes, conveyed to Great Britain by the com-

* A. D. 1720.

† To enter into a detail of the proceedings, or explain the various and unwarrantable arts which were practiſed to enhance the value of the ſtock, and delude the ignorant and unwary, would be inconſiſtent with the deſign of a general hiſtory, and afford little entertainment to the reader; it is hoped, however, that he is here furniſhed with ſuch particulars as will give a competent idea of that memorable impoſition on the public.

mercial

mercial treaty with Philip V. as well as the ſingular privilege of ſending annually to the fair of Porto Bello, a ſhip of five hundred tons burden, laden with European commodities, was veſted excluſively in the SOUTH SEA COMPANY. By virtue of this contract, Britiſh factories were eſtabliſhed at Carthagena, Panama, Vera Cruz, Buenos Ayres, and other Spaniſh ſettlements: and the company was farther permitted to freight, in the ports of the South Sea, veſſels of four hundred tons burden, to convey its negroes to all the towns on the coaſts of Mexico and Peru; to equip them as they pleaſed; to appoint the commanders of them, and to bring back the produce of its ſales in gold or ſilver, without being ſubject to any duty of import or export.

The agents of the Britiſh South Sea company, under cover of the importation which they were authoriſed to make by the ſhip ſent annually to Porto Bello, poured in their commodities on the Spaniſh colonies, without limitation or reſerve. Inſtead of a ſhip of five hundred tons burden, as ſtipulated by the treaty, they uſually employed one of a thouſand tons, excluſive of water and proviſions: ſhe was accompanied by three or four ſmaller veſſels, which adminiſtered to her wants, and mooring in ſome neighbouring creek, furniſhed her clandeſtinely with freſh bales of goods, to replace ſuch as had been previouſly diſpoſed of.

By theſe advantages, the profits of the South Sea company became very conſiderable, and the public ſuppoſed them greater than they really were. Encouraged by ſuch favourable circumſtances, and by the general ſpirit of avaricious enterprize, ſir John Blount, one of the directors, who had been bred a ſcrivener, was induced to project the infamous South Sea ſcheme. Under pretence of enabling government to pay off the national debt, by lowering the intereſt, and reducing all the funds into one, he propoſed, that the South Sea company ſhould become the ſole public creditor.

A ſcheme ſo plauſible, and ſo advantageous to the ſtate, was readily adopted by the miniſtry, and ſoon received the ſanction of parliament. The purport of the act was, that the South Sea company ſhould be authoriſed to purchaſe, from the ſeveral proprietors, all the funded debts of the crown, which then bore an intereſt of five *per cent.* and that, after the expiration of ſix years, the intereſt ſhould be reduced to four *per cent.* and the capital be redeemable by parliament. But as the directors could not be ſuppoſed to poſſeſs ſufficient ready money for ſo great an undertaking, they were empowered to raiſe it as therein mentioned; and particularly by opening books of ſubſcription, and granting annuities to ſuch public creditors as ſhould chooſe to *exchange* the *ſecurity* of the *crown* for that of the *South Sea company*, with the *emoluments* which might ariſe from their *commerce*. While this affair was agitating, the ſtock of the South Sea company roſe to almoſt four hundred pounds, or four times the price paid by the firſt ſubſcribers; and in order to raiſe it ſtill higher, Blount, the projector of the ſcheme, circulated a report, on the paſſing of the bill, that Gibraltar and Minorca were intended to be exchanged for ſome places in Peru, by the ceſſation of which the Britiſh trade to the South Sea would be greatly increaſed. In conſequence of this rumour, which operated like contagion, by exciting hopes of aſtoniſhing dividends, the ſubſcription-books were no ſooner opened, than perſons of all ranks and conditions, as well as all ages and ſexes, crouded to the South Sea houſe, anxious to become proprietors of the ſtock. The firſt purchaſes were, in a few weeks, ſold for double the ſum which had been paid for them; and the deluſion, or rather the infatuation, was carried to ſuch an extent, that ſtock ſold, at laſt, for ten times its original price. New projectors ſtarted up every day, to avail themſelves of the avarice and credulity of the nation; and the Welch copper company, the York building company, and many others, were formed.

Every project, however abſurd, which promiſed great advantages, was ſure to meet with encouragement, during the public delirium*; but

* The nation was ſo tranſported with a ſpirit of adventure, that people became a prey to the moſt impudent impoſtors. An obſcure adventurer, pretending to have formed a very advantageous ſcheme, which, however, he did not think proper to explain, publiſhed propoſals for a ſubſcription, in which he promiſed, that, in one month,

but the South Sea ſcheme continued to be the grand object of attraction. At length, however, to adopt the phraſe of the times, the *bubble burſt*. It appeared, that ſuch as were ſuppoſed to be in the ſecret, had diſpoſed of all their ſtock, while the tide was at its height. An univerſal alarm was ſpread. Every one was ready to ſell, and not an individual was willing to buy, except at a very reduced price. The South Sea ſtock fell as rapidly as it had riſen, and to the loweſt ebb. In a little time, nothing was to be ſeen of this faſcinating ſcheme but the direful effects of its ravages—the wreck of private fortunes, and the bankruptcy of merchants and trading companies! nor any thing to be heard but the ravings of diſappointed ambition; the execrations of beggared avarice; the pathetic lamentations of innocent credulity, the grief of unexpected poverty, or the frantic howlings of deſpair!—The timely interpoſition and ſteady wiſdom of parliament only could have prevented a general bankruptcy.

A committee of the houſe of commons was choſen by ballot, to examine all the papers and proceedings relative to the execution of the South Sea act; and this committee diſcovered, that before any ſubſcription could be made, a fictitious ſtock of five hundred and ſeventy-four thouſand pounds had been diſpoſed of by the directors, in order to facilitate the paſſing of the bill*. Mr. Aiſlabie, chancellor of the exchequer, who had been largely concerned in the ſtock, was expelled the houſe of commons, and committed to the Tower, for having promoted the deſtructive execution of "the South Sea ſcheme, with a view to his own exorbitant "profit; and having combined with the di- "rectors in their pernicious practices, to the "ruin of public credit." Mr. ſecretary Craggs, and his father, alſo great delinquents, died before they experienced the cenſure of the houſe; but the commons reſolved, nevertheleſs, that Mr. Craggs, ſenior, was "a notorious accom- "plice with Robert Knight, treaſurer to the "South Sea company, and ſome of the direc- "tors, in carrying on their nefarious practices: "and, therefore, all the eſtate of which he was "poſſeſſed at the time of his death, ſhould be "applied towards the relief of unhappy ſufferers "by the South Sea ſcheme." The eſtates of the directors were alſo confiſcated by act of parliament, and ordered to be applied to the ſame purpoſe, after a certain allowance was deducted for each director, proportioned to his conduct and circumſtances†.

The commons having thus puniſhed the principal promoters of this iniquitous ſcheme, proceeded to repair, as far as poſſible, the miſchief it had occaſioned. They prepared a bill for that purpoſe. On the enquiries relative to the framing of this bill, it appeared, that the whole capital ſtock of the South Sea company, at the end of the year 1720, amounted to thirty-ſeven millions eight hundred thouſand pounds: that the ſtock allotted to all the proprietors did not exceed twenty-four millions five hundred thouſand pounds, that the remaining capital ſtock belonged to the company in their corporate capacity, being the profit ariſing from the execution of the fraudulent ſtock-jobbing ſcheme.

month, the particulars of his project ſhould be made known. In the mean time he declared, that every perſon paying down two guineas by way of earneſt, ſhould be entitled to the annual ſum of an hundred pounds, for every hundred which he choſe to ſubſcribe. In one forenoon, this undertaker received a thouſand of theſe ſubſcriptions; and in the evening ſet out for another kingdom, leaving the ſubſcribers to carry on the project in the beſt manner they were able.

The king, before his departure, had publiſhed a proclamation againſt theſe unlawful projects, and ordered them to be proſecuted as common nuiſances; but, notwithſtanding this prohibition, they were ſtill carried on with uncommon vigour. In order therefore to put an effectual period to them, the lords juſtices diſmiſſed all the petitions which had been preſented for patents and charters; and the prince of Wales renounced the company, of which he had been elected governor.

* A. D. 1721.

† While this affair was in agitation, petitions from counties, cities, and boroughs, in every part of the kingdom, were preſented to parliament, crying for juſtice againſt the villainy of the directors. Pamphlets and papers were publiſhed on the ſame ſubject; and the minds of the people were exaſperated to the higheſt pitch of reſentment.

The rapid circulation of money, the ſudden elevation of perſons of the meaneſt rank, and the almoſt total diſſolution of property, occaſioned by this infamous ſcheme, introduced a ſurprizing profligacy of life and manners. The adventurers, intoxicated by their imaginary wealth, gave full ſcope to the gratification of their criminal paſſions, and indulged themſelves, without reſtraint, in every kind of lawleſs pleaſure.

Out of this, it was enacted, that ſeven millions ſhould be paid to the public ſufferers. It was alſo enacted, that ſeveral additions ſhould be made to the ſtock of the proprietors, out of that poſſeſſed by the company in their own right; and that, after ſuch diſtributions, the remaining capital ſtock ſhould be divided among the proprietors. By theſe equitable regulations, public credit was reſtored, and the ferment of the nation gradually ſubſided.

The diſcontents and diſorders occaſioned by the South Sea ſcheme, encouraged the Engliſh Jacobites to think of making a new attempt to change the line of ſucceſſion. But the ſame want of confidence, ſecrecy, and ſucceſs, attended this, as every other plan for the reſtoration of the unfortunate family of Stuart. George I. who had planted ſpies in every Popiſh court, and who had, by alliances, made almoſt every European potentate his friend, was informed, by the regent of France, of the conſpiracy forming againſt his government*. In conſequence of this information, Chriſtopher Layer, a young gentleman of the Middle Temple, was taken into cuſtody, condemned, and executed, for having enliſted men for the ſervice of the pretender†. The duke of Norfolk‡, the earl of Orrery, Dr. Atterbury§, biſhop of Rocheſter, lord North and Grey, with many other ſuſpected perſons of inferior note, were committed to the Tower. But they were acquitted, for want of evidence, except the biſhop of Rocheſter, who was degraded, deprived of his benefice, and baniſhed the kingdom for life‖.

The ſupplies in this ſeſſion were voted very late; nor were they at laſt granted with the uſual cheerfulneſs and alacrity. The king, ſenſible of the ill humour of the nation, which he was unwilling to increaſe, thought proper to omit ſeveral particulars in his ſpeech, which he afterwards communicated to the houſe in ſeparate meſſages. On the ſixteenth of June, he informed the commons, that he had agreed to pay a ſubſidy to the crown of Sweden, and hoped they would enable him to accompliſh his engagements.

The Jacobites had taken the liberty to inſinuate, that the king was not free from connexions with the projectors of the South Sea ſcheme; and that he ſecretly favoured the directors and their accomplices. It was to refute thoſe injurious aſperſions, as well as from a real deteſtation of the villainy of the delinquents,

* A. D. 1722.

† Mr. Layer's head was exhibited on Temple Bar.

‡ The duke of Norfolk being brought from Bath, was examined before the council and committed to the Tower, on ſuſpicion of high treaſon. As a further proof of the plot, the king ſent to the houſe of peers the original, and printed copy, of a declaration ſigned by the pretender. It was dated at Lucca, on the twentieth of September, 1722; and appeared to be a propoſal addreſſed to the ſubjects of Great Britain and Ireland, as well as to all foreign princes and ſtates. In this paper the pretender, who thought proper to aſſume the title of *James Rex*, affected to talk of the late violations of the freedom of elections; conſpiracies invented to give a colour to new oppreſſions; infamous informers; and the ſtate of proſcription, in which he ſuppoſed every honeſt man to be. He then very gravely propoſed, that, if king George would reſign to him the throne of Great Britain, he would in return, confer on him the title of king in his native dominions, and invite all other ſtates to confirm it. He likewiſe promiſed to leave to king George his ſucceſſion to the Britiſh dominions ſecure, whenever, in due courſe, his natural right ſhould take place. The lords having peruſed this declaration, reſolved, that it was a falſe, ſcandalous and traiterous libel; and ordered it to be burned at the Royal Exchange. The commons concurred in theſe reſolutions. Both houſes joined in an addreſs, expreſſing their aſtoniſhment and indignation at the inſolence of the pretender; and aſſuring his majeſty they were determined to ſupport his title to the crown with their lives and fortunes.

§ The duke of Wharton defended the prelate, and earneſtly contended, that no criminal act had been proved againſt him. This nobleman, two years afterwards, devoted himſelf to that cauſe which was promoted by the prelate whom he now ſupported; and, having received titular honours from the pretender, he offered his ſervice to the Spaniſh court, which was then at enmity with Great Britain. From this ſtate of rebellion againſt his ſovereign, he was never reclaimed; but died in exile in the year 1731.

‖ As Dr. Atterbury was a man of eminent talents, and intimately connected with the heads of the Tory party, his cauſe was warmly pleaded in the houſe of peers. Lord Bathurſt, addreſſing himſelf to the bench of biſhops, who had diſcovered peculiar animoſity againſt the priſoner, ſaid he could not account for the inveterate malice and rancour with which ſome men purſued the learned and ingenious prelate, unleſs they were infatuated with the ſuperſtition of certain ſavages, who fondly believe that they inherit, not only the ſpoils, but even the talents, of any great man whom they deſtroy. When the biſhop of Rocheſter arrived at Calais he met lord Bolingbroke on his return from exile, and with a ſmile obſerved, "that they were *exchanged!*"

that

that his majeſty expreſſed himſelf with intemperate warmth upon this occaſion.

The lords Townſend and Carteret were now appointed ſecretaries of ſtate; the earl of Ilay was conſtituted keeper of the privy ſeal of Scotland; and the earl of Bute admitted to the honour of a lord of the bed-chamber. On the thirteenth of June, the treaty of peace between Great Britain and Spain was ſigned at Madrid. The contracting powers engaged to obſerve the regulations, relating to commerce, which had been fixed and ſettled by former treaties; and to reſtore mutually all the effects ſeized and confiſcated in the courſe of the preſent war. In particular, the king of England promiſed to reſtore all the ſhips of the Spaniſh fleet, which had been taken in the Mediterranean, or the value of them, if they were ſold. He likewiſe promiſed, in a ſecret article, that he would no longer interfere in the affairs of Ilay; and the king of Spain made an abſolute ceſſion of Gibraltar and Port Mahon*.

The congreſs at Cambray was opened; but the demands on both ſides were ſo unreaſonable, that no accommodation could be effected. In the mean time, the peace between Ruſſia and Sweden was concluded under the mediation of France. The Czar was permitted to retain Livonia, Ingria, Eſtonia, part of Carelia, and of the territory of Wyburg, Riga, Revel, and Narva, in conſideration of his reſtoring part of Finland, and paying two millions of rixdollars to the king of Sweden. In this treaty the Czar conſented, that the differences between him and the king of Great Britain ſhould be adjuſted in an amicable manner†.

In the courſe of this year, pope Clement the Eleventh, died; and was ſucceeded by Innocent the Thirteenth, of the family of Conti. On the fifteenth of April, the princeſs of Wales was delivered of a prince, baptized by the name of William Auguſtus, duke of Cumberland.

The parliament aſſembling on the nineteenth of October, the king in his ſpeech to both houſes, obſerved, that the peace of the North was now re-eſtabliſhed by the concluſion of the treaty between Ruſſia and Sweden: and they aſſured him they would proceed, with unanimity and diſpatch, in conſidering the ſeveral matters recommended from the throne.

One of the firſt objects that engaged the attention of the upper houſe was Law, the famous projector. On the miſcarriage of his Miſſiſſippi ſcheme, he had been obliged to leave France, to avoid the reſentment of the people, who had, more than once, made an attempt upon his life. He retired to Italy; where he is ſaid to have viſited the pretender at Rome, from whence he repaired to Hanover; and returned to England from the Baltic, in the fleet commanded by ſir John Norris. The king admitted him to a private audience: he kept open houſe; and was viſited by conſiderable numbers of perſons of quality and diſtinction.

The Quakers preſented a petition to the houſe of commons, praying, that a bill might be brought in, for omitting, in their ſolemn affirmation, the words, "In the preſence of Al- "mighty God;" the houſe complied with their requeſt: but the bill occaſioned a warm debate among the peers. Dr. Atterbury, biſhop of Rocheſter, ſaid, he did not ſee why ſuch a diſtinguiſhing mark of indulgence ſhould be ſhewn to a ſet of people, who were hardly Chriſtians.

He was ſupported by the earl of Strafford, the lord North and Grey, and the archbiſhop of York; the latter of whom, delivered a petition from the London Clergy, repreſenting, that, as the bill might, in its conſequences, nearly affect the property of the ſubject in general, ſo would it, in an eſpecial manner, endanger the maintenance of the clergy by tithes, inaſmuch as the people, called Quakers, pretend to deny the payment of this tax, upon a principle of conſcience; and, therefore, might be under ſtrong temptations to eaſe their conſciences in that reſpect, by violating them in another, when their ſimple affirmation, in behalf of friends of the

* On the very ſame day, a defenſive alliance was concluded between Great Britain, France, and Spain. All remaining difficulties were referred to a congreſs at Cambray.

† Though this prince was ſtill on diſcordant terms with the king of Great Britain; and his reſident in London had lately been commanded to retire from the realm, for ſome offenſive expreſſions contained in a memorial; this diſagreement did not occaſion any interruption of the commercial connections between the Britiſh and Ruſſian ſubjects.

ſame

ſame perſuaſion, ſhould paſs in all courts of judicature, as legal evidence.

The parliament was then prorogued to the fifteenth of March: but, before that period, it was diſſolved by proclamation, and writs were iſſued for convoking another. In the new elections, the two parties exerted themſelves with uncommon diligence; but the Whigs, by their ſuperior intereſt, gained an inconteſtible majority*.

About this time, an act paſſed, for the more effectual execution of juſtice in that part of Southwark called the Mint, where great number of debtors had taken ſanctuary, on pretence of its being a privileged place.

His majeſty having advanced the ſon of Mr. Robert Walpole to the peerage, in conſideration of his father's ſervices; he alſo made a conſiderable number of church promotions; admitted the impriſoned lords and gentlemen to bail; granted a pardon to lord Bolingbroke, and ordered the biſhop of Rocheſter to be conveyed to the Continent: he ſet out for Hanover on the third of June, leaving the government in the hands of a regency, from which the prince of Wales was ſtill excluded, though lord Harcourt, a warm friend of the late miniſtry, was one of the number.

The king was attended by the two ſecretaries of ſtate, the lords Townſend and Carteret, who were reputed able politicians. The affairs of the Continent had begun to take a new turn. The different princes, whoſe intereſts were to have been adjuſted at the congreſs of Cambray, offended at the fruitleſs iſſue of that negociation, reſolved to enter into ſeparate engagements in order to accompliſh their reſpective purpoſes.

In this critical dilemma, his majeſty conducted himſelf with uncommon ability; and though he could not fully reconcile the contending powers, he prevented them from coming to an immediate rupture. He endeavoured to perſuade the emperor to compromiſe his differences with the king of Spain, and to deſiſt from the proſecution of the affair at Oſtend. In this laſt particular, however, he failed of ſucceſs. The Imperial court gave a general promiſe to obſerve the treaties which had been concluded; but declined entering into any particular diſcuſſion.

Great Britain now enjoyed profound tranquillity. Ireland was a little diſturbed by an incident, which ſeems to have been miſunderſtood by the people of that kingdom. William Wood had obtained a patent for furniſhing Ireland with copper coin, in which it was deficient. When this money came into circulation, a violent clamour was raiſed againſt it. The parliament of that kingdom, which met on the fifth of September, reſolved, that the importing and uttering of copper half-pence and farthings by virtue of Wood's patent, would be prejudicial to the revenue, injurious to trade, and of dangerous conſequence to the rights of the ſubject: that the ſtate of the nation had been miſrepreſented, in order to obtain the patent: that the half-pence were deficient in weight: that, even if the patent had been complied with, there would have been a loſs to the nation of a hundred and fifty *per cent*: and that granting the power of coinage to a private individual, had ever been highly prejudicial to the kingdom; and would, at all times, be of dangerous conſequence. Addreſſes from both houſes were preſented to the king on this ſubject†

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* The earl of Sunderland paid the debt of nature on the nineteenth of April, after having incurred much popular odium, from his ſuppoſed connections with the director of the South Sea company. He was a miniſter of abilities, but raſh, obſtinate, and impetuous. He was ſurvived but a few weeks by his father-in-law, the duke of Marlborough, who died on the ſixteenth of June, and was interred with great funeral pomp in Weſtminſter Abbey. The character of this nobleman may be beſt known from the hiſtory of his actions, which make too conſiderable a figure in the Engliſh hiſtory, either to require or admit of particular recapitulation.

† The affair was referred to the lords of the privy-council of England, who declared, that, from the report of ſir Iſaac Newton and others of the Mint, who had made the aſſay and trial of the halfpence, the conduct of the patentee was perfectly blameleſs; and that the terms, of the patent had been exactly complied with: that Wood's currency, in point of execution, fineneſs, and value of metal, exceeded all the copper money which had been coined for Ireland, in the reigns of Charles the Second, James the Second, king William and queen Mary: that his majeſty's predeceſſor had always exerciſed the unqueſtionable prerogative of granting patents for copper coinage in Ireland to private perſons: that none of thoſe patents had been ſo generally beneficial to the kingdom as this granted to William Wood, who had not obtained it clandeſtinely, nor in an unprecedented manner; but after a reference to the attorney and ſolicitor-general, and after ſir Iſaac Newton had been conſulted

The king arrived in London on the nineteenth of December; and on the ninth of January* the parliament assembled. His majesty, in his speech, congratulated them on the success of their endeavours during the last session to promote the safety, interest, and honour of the kingdom.

The nation having long complained of the injustice of protections granted by foreign ministers, peers, and members of parliament, the commons resolved, that all protections granted by members of that house should be declared void, and be immediately withdrawn; that none should be granted for the future; and that if any member should presume to contravene this order, he should make satisfaction to the party injured, and be liable to the censure of the house. The lords made a declaration to a similar purport, with the exception of menial servants, and those necessarily employed about the estates of peers. The public business being finished, the king closed the session with a speech on the twenty-fourth of April.

About this time he made some alterations in the ministry. The duke of Newcastle was appointed secretary of state; the duke of Grafton, lord chamberlain; lord Carteret, lord lieutenant of Ireland; and Mr. Horatio Walpole was sent ambassador extraordinary to the court of France. In the month of May, his majesty instituted a professorship for the modern languages in each university; Mr. Gregory being nominated for Oxford, and Mr. Harris for Cambridge. On the twenty-first of the same month, died Robert Harley, earl of Oxford and earl Mortimer, a man of great talents, but greater artifice, by the exertion of which he had thrown the nation into much confusion, and been the cause of much injury to his country†.

No affair of importance, in which Great Britain was concerned, occurred in the course of this summer; nor was George induced, by the tranquil state of the kingdom, to repair to Hanover, in the course of the present year.

In the early part of it, Philip, king of Spain retiring with his queen to the monastery of St. Ildefonso, dispatched the marquis de Grimaldi, his principal secretary of state, to his son, the prince of Asturias, with a solemn renunciation of the crown, and a letter of advice, in which he exhorted him to worship the blessed Virgin with the genuine warmth of devotion; and place himself and his kingdoms under her protection. The renunciation was published throughout the Spanish monarchy; and the council of Castile resolved, that Lewis, as acknowledged prince of Spain, might assume the reins of government without assembling the Cortez. The English minister at Paris was ordered to interpose in behalf of the French Protestants, against whom a severe edict‡ had lately been published; but his remonstrance was ineffectual.

The parliament re-assembling on the twelfth of November, their attention, during the session, was principally engaged by the trial of the earl of Macclesfield, lord chancellor of England.

sulted in every particular; and finally, that it appeared by a great number of witnesses, that there was a real want of such currency in Ireland, which manifested the necessity of granting a patent.

Notwithstanding this decision, the clamour of the Irish nation was industriously supported by papers, pamphlets, and satirical effusions from the pen of dean Swift§ and others; but Wood having voluntarily reduced his coinage from one hundred thousand to forty thousand pounds, the vociferation, in a great measure, subsided. The parliament of Ireland passed an act for accepting the affirmation of Quakers instead of an oath: and granted three hundred and forty thousand pounds towards discharging the national debt, which amounted to six hundred and sixty thousand pounds.

* A. D. 1721.

† The practice of innoculation for the small-pox, was about this time introduced into England from Turkey. Prince Frederick, the two princesses, Amelia and Carolina, the duke of Bedford and his sons, with many other persons of distinction, submitted to this operation with success.

On the fifteenth of June died Dr. Henry Sacheverel, that famous incendiary, who had been the chief instrument, in the hands of the Tories, of effecting the disgrace of the duke of Marlborough, and accomplishing an entire change in the ministry.

‡ This edict ordained, that if any man performed any exercise of the reformed religion, he should be sent to the gallies; and if any woman should be convicted of a similar offence, she should be shaved, and committed to prison: that the Protestant preachers should be put to death; and all who held communication, directly or indirectly with them, be condemned to the gallies.

§ *Among other effusions, Swift is supposed to the author of one which began with the following lines:*

Now although to draw water *is not very good,*
Yet we all should rejoice to be hewers of Wood.

This nobleman, by conniving at certain venal practices reſpecting the ſale of places, and the money of ſuitors depoſited with the maſters of Chancery, had incurred ſo much cenſure, that he found it neceſſary to reſign the great ſeal in the beginning of January*.

On the ninth of the following month, the king diſpatched a meſſage to the commons, informing them, that his majeſty having reaſon to apprehend, that the ſuitors in the court of Chancery were in danger of loſing a conſiderable ſum of money, from the inſufficiency of ſome of the maſters, thought himſelf obliged to take the moſt ſpeedy and effectual methods the law would permit, for enquiring into the ſtate of the maſters' accounts, and ſecuring their effects for the benefit of the ſuitors; and his majeſty having had ſeveral reports laid before him, in purſuance of the directions he had given, had ordered thoſe reports to be communicated to the houſe, that they might have as full and as perfect a view of this important affair, as the ſhortneſs of the time, and the circumſtances and nature of the proceedings would admit.

Theſe papers being examined by the houſe, ſir George Oxenden obſerved, that it evidently appeared, from the reports, which his majeſty ſubmitted to their inſpection, and which had been ſtated by perſons of unqueſtionable abilities, and undoubted integrity, that enormous abuſes had crept into the high court of Chancery, chiefly through the improper conduct of the magiſtrate, who had preſided in that court, and whoſe duty it conſequently was to prevent ſuch miſmanagement: that the miſdemeanors of the late lord chancellor was numerous and various, but might be reduced to the following heads: that he had embezzled, or ſuffered his officers to embezzle, the eſtates and effects of many widows, orphans, and lunatics: that he had raiſed the offices of maſters in Chancery to an exorbitant price; depoſiting in their hands large ſums of money belonging to ſuitors, that they might be enabled to comply with his extravagant demands: and that, in ſeveral caſes, he had made very irregular orders. He therefore moved, that Thomas earl of Macclesfield, ſhould be impeached of high crimes and miſdemeanors.

He was ſupported by Mr. Strickland, and Mr. Doddington, one of the lords of the treaſury; and, though oppoſed by Mr. Pulteney, the queſtion was carried for the impeachment, by a conſiderable majority.

The earl was accordingly impeached at the bar of the upper houſe: a committee was appointed to prepare the articles: and a bill was brought in to indemnify the maſters of Chancery from the penalties of the law, againſt buying and ſelling of offices; on their diſcovering what conſideration they had paid for their admiſſion to their reſpective places. The trial continued twenty-days: the earl was convicted of fraudulent practices; condemned in a fine of thirty thouſand pounds, and ordered to be impriſoned till the payment of that ſum. He was immediately committed to the Tower, where he continued about ſix weeks; but upon his producing the money, he was diſcharged; and ſir Peter King, created baron of Oakham, ſucceeded him in the office of chancellor†.

On the twentieth of April, a petition was preſented to the commons, by lord Finch, in behalf of Henry St. John, lord viſcount Bolingbroke, praying that he might be allowed, notwithſtanding his attainder, to enjoy an eſtate ſettled upon him, to hold any perſonal property, and to inveſt it in the purchaſe of any eſtate whatever‡.

A very conſiderable alteration had now taken place

* A. D. 1725.

† The earl ſhortened the time of his impriſonment by a ſpeedy payment of the fine, by which he was not abſolutely impoveriſhed That ſum was aſſigned by the deſire of the peers, to the relief of thoſe ſuitors who had been impoſed on by the maſters in Chancery.

‡ The petition being read, Mr. Walpole ſaid, he was fully convinced, that the petitioner had ſufficiently atoned for his paſt offences, and deſerved the favour of that houſe, ſo far as to enable him to enjoy the family inheritance, which was ſettled on him; and which, according to the opinion of the beſt lawyers, he could not do by virtue of his majeſty's pardon, without an act of parliament

He was ſeconded by the attorney and ſolicitor-general, but oppoſed by Mr. Methuen comptroller of the houſehold, who obſerved, that, as he had the honour to be one of the king's immediate ſervants, it might perhaps be thought unbecoming his ſtation to appear againſt a petition, to the preſenting of which his majeſty had been graciouſly pleaſed to give his conſent; but being at liberty to follow the dictates of his conſcience in this matter, he would freely declare his opinion, that the crimes, for which

place on the continent. Lewis, the young king of Spain, dying ſoon after his advancement to the throne, his father Philip reſumed the reins of government, which he had quitted; and reſigned himſelf entirely into the hands of the queen, who was a princeſs of profound intrigue and unlimited ambition. The infanta, who had been married to Lewis the Fifteenth of France, was ſo diſagreeable to her huſband, that he could not be prevailed on to conſummate his nuptials; and as the whole French nation was alarmed with the apprehenſion of a civil war, in caſe of his dying without male iſſue, he reſolved, with the advice of his council, to ſend her back to Madrid, whither ſhe was accordingly attended by the marquis de Monteleone, and Patrick Lawleſs, the pretender's agent.

The queen of Spain was ſo highly enraged at this inſult offered to her daughter, that ſhe diſmiſſed mademoiſelle de Beaujollois, one of the regent's daughters, who had been contracted to her ſon, Don Carlos. Not ſatisfied with giving this proof of her diſpleaſure, ſhe formed a reſolution, that the French ſhould have no farther concern with the affairs of Spain; and as the congreſs of Cambray had proved ineffectual, ſhe offered to compromiſe her differences with the emperor under the ſole mediation of Great Britain. This was an honour, which king George declined. He was unwilling to take any ſtep which might interrupt the harmony ſubſiſting between him and the court of Verſailles: he was deſirous of diſuniting for ever the two branches of the Bourbon family: and he plainly perceived, that the emperor was, by no means, inclined to refer the diſputes to his arbitration.

The queen of Spain, diſappointed in this attempt, propoſed a private negociation to the court of Vienna, which readily accepted the offer. The conferences were immediately opened, and conducted under the direction of the baron de Ripperda, a native of Holland, who had renounced the Proteſtant religion, and engaged in the ſervice of his Catholic majeſty.

By the treaty of peace which was ſigned at Vienna on the thirtieth of April, the emperor acknowledged Philip as king of Spain and the Indies, and promiſed not to moleſt him in the poſſeſſion of thoſe dominions which were ſecured to him by the treaty of Utrecht. Philip renounced all pretenſions to the dominions in Italy and the Netherlands. Charles granted the inveſtiture of the dukedoms of Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia, to the eldeſt ſon of the queen of Spain, on the failure of heirs, in the preſent poſſeſſors, as maſculine fiefs of the empire, and Spain guarantied the Auſtrian ſucceſſion, according to the pragmatic ſanction.

In this treaty there was nothing that could give offence to any of the powers of Europe. But with reſpect to the treaty of commerce, the caſe was very different. By this agreement the Auſtrian ſubjects were entitled to advantages in trade with Spain, which were not granted to any other nation. Philip propoſed to guaranty the Oſtend Eaſt India company, and to pay an annual ſubſidy of four millions of pieces of eight to the emperor. Large ſums were remitted to Vienna, amounting nearly to one million ſterling: the Imperial forces were augmented with an additional body of ſixty thouſand men: and other powers were ſolicited to engage in this alliance, to which the court of Ruſſia actually acceded. Beſides theſe public engagements which of themſelves, were ſufficient to alarm the jealouſy of the king of England, there were other articles of a private, and of a ſtill more dangerous nature. To counteract the deſigns of theſe new allies, king George projected a defenſive treaty between England, France, and Pruſſia. This alliance, to continue for the term of fifteen years, was negociated and concluded at Hanover in the

which the petitioner ſtood attainted, were ſo heinous, ſo flagrant, and of ſo deep a dye, as not to admit of any expiation or a onement; and whatever he might have done to deſerve his majeſty's private grace and pardon, he was wholly unworthy of any national favour.

‖ To prove his aſſertion, he recapitulated every part of his adminiſtration during the late reign: his clandeſtine negociation of peace; his inſolent behaviour to the members of the grand alliance; his ſacrificing the intereſt of the whole confederacy; and finally his intention to defeat the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, and advance the pretender to the throne of theſe kingdoms. He was ſupported by lord William Powlet and Mr. Onſlow; but, notwithſtanding all their objections, a bill was prepared agreeable to the petition, paſſed both houſes, and ſoon after received the royal aſſent.

month

month of September*. It contained a mutual guaranty of the dominions poſſeſſed by the contracting parties, their rights and privileges, thoſe of commerce in particular, with an engagement to procure ſatisfaction to the Proteſtants of Thorn, who had been oppreſſed by the Papiſts, contrary to the treaty of Oliva.

The king having taken theſe neceſſary precautions at Hanover, ſet out on his return for England; embarked at Helvoetſluys on the firſt of January†; and after having encountered a moſt furious and terrible ſtorm, landed with great difficulty at Rye, whence he proceeded by land to London. The parliament being aſſembled on the twentieth of the ſame month, the king, in his ſpeech to both houſes, informed them that the diſtreſſed condition of ſome of their Proteſtant brethren abroad, and the negociations and engagements entered into by ſome foreign ſtates, which ſeemed to have laid the foundations of new troubles and diſturbances in Europe had obliged him to concert, with other powers, ſuch meaſures as might tend to check the ambitious views of thoſe, who were endeavouring to render themſelves formidable; and impede the further progreſs of ſuch dangerous deſigns: that, with this view, he had entered into a defenſive alliance with the kings of France and Pruſſia, to which ſeveral other powers, and particularly the States General, had been invited to accede; and he doubted not of their readineſs to give their concurrence.

Horatio Walpole moved for an addreſs to his majeſty, approving the alliance he had concluded at Hanover; and promiſing to ſupport him againſt all inſults and attacks which might be made upon any of his territories, though not belonging to the crown of great Britain. The addreſs was accordingly voted and preſented; and another of ſimilar import, was delivered by the houſe of lords in a body‡.

Fortunately for the happineſs of mankind, ſir Robert

* About this time was erected Guy's hoſpital, at the ſole expence of Mr Thomas Guy, formerly a bookſeller in London, afterwards member of parliament for Tamworth, who left two hundred thouſand pounds for the ſupport of that charitable eſtabliſhment.

On the fifth of December, the princeſs of Wales was delivered of a princeſs, baptiſed by the name of Louiſa, and afterwards married to the king of Denmark.

About the ſame period the king revived the order of the knights of the Bath, conſiſting of thirty eight in number §, and ſir Robert Walpole, who had been one of the revived knights of the Bath, was ſoon afterwards honoured with the order of the Garter.

The duke of Wharton having ruined his fortune by riot and diſſipation, repaired to the court of Vienna, whence he proceeded to Rome, and offered his ſervice to the pretender, where he received the order of the garter, and the title of duke of Northumberland. He was diſpatched by the pretender, with credentials to the court of Madrid, where king George was no ſooner informed of his arrival, than he ſent a meſſenger with a letter under the privy-ſeal commanding him, upon his allegiance, to return immediately to England. This letter being delivered to him, as he rode through the ſtreets in a coach, he violently exclaimed againſt the inſolence of a Britiſh officer in executing a ſummons upon him within ſight of his Catholic majeſty's palace. He even threatened to preſent a memorial on the ſubject to the court of Spain, and demand juſtice againſt the Engliſh meſſenger; but Philip having received private information of the affair, abſolutely refuſed to interpoſe his authority. The duke afterwards abjured the Proteſtant religion, married a lady of the queen of Spain's bed-chamber, and obtained the rank and appointment of a lieutenant-colonel in the Spaniſh ſervice.

† A. D. 1726.

‡ A bill was brought in, impowering the commiſſioners of the treaſury to compound with Mr. Richard Hampden late treaſurer of the navy, for a debt due from him to the crown, amounting to forty-eight thouſand pounds. This deficiency was occaſioned by his engaging in the South Sea ſcheme. The king recommended his petition; and the houſe complied with his requeſt, in conſideration of his great grand-father the celebrated John Hampden, who made ſuch a noble ſtand againſt the arbitrary impoſition of ſhip-money in the commencement of the civil war, and fell the firſt victim in the glorious cauſe of liberty.

About this time died Philip duke of Orleans, regent of France ‖, one of the moſt elegant, accompliſhed, and diſſipated men of his time. As a prince, he poſſeſſed great talents for government, which he did not fail to exert during his adminiſtration. Notwithſtanding his precarious ſituation, he governed France with a more abſolute control than any miniſter ſince cardinal Richelieu, and took ſeveral important ſteps for the benefit of

§ *This order of knighthood was founded by Richard II. From the cuſtom of bathing, uſed as an initiatory ceremony, the denomination of the bath was applied to the inſtitution.*

‖ *The death of the duke of Orleans was diſtinguiſhed by a very ſingular circumſtance. Having neglected his uſual time of bleeding, he was ſeized with an apoplexy, in the arms of the ducheſs de Talarais, and inſtantly expired. Auguſtus II, king of Poland, when informed of this circumſtance, profanely and wantonly exclaimed, in the words of ſcripture, "O may I die the death of this juſt man!" alluding to his paying at once the debt of nature and the debt of love. Mem. de Brandenburgh, tom. ii. Ruſſell's Mod. Eur. v. 17.*

the

Robert Walpole, who now began to acquire an afcendant in the councils of Great Britain, and who ſoon after became prime miniſter, poſſeſſed a diſpoſition equally pacific with that of Fleury. In conſequence of this coinciding mildneſs of temper, the repoſe of Europe was continued, with little interruption, for almoſt twenty years: during which time, ſeveral treaties were negociated between its different kingdoms and ſtates, for ſecuring more effectually, as was pretended, the objects of the quadruple alliance, and the balance of power. One of theſe treaties, concluded privately at Vienna, between the emperor and the Spaniſh monarch, excited the jealouſy of George I. who was under apprehenſions for the ſafety of his German dominions, as well as of ſome ſecret article in favour of the pretender, many of whoſe adherents were then entertained at the court of Madrid. It alſo gave offence to the French and Dutch, as it indulged the ſubjects of the houſe of Auſtria with greater advantages in their trade with Spain, than thoſe enjoyed by any other nation*: and it guaranteed a new Eaſt India company, lately eſtabliſhed at Oſtend, which France, England, and Holland, were equally deſirous of ſuppreſſing.

To counteract the treaty of Vienna, another was concluded at Hanover †, between the three offended powers, and the kings of Pruſſia, Denmark, and Sweden. Overawed by this formidable confederacy, the emperor and the king of Spain remained quiet. The king of Great Britain, however, fitted out three conſiderable ſquadrons, one of which he diſpatched to the Weſt Indies, under admiral Hoſier, who had orders to block up the Spaniſh galleons in the harbour of Porto Bello, and to ſeize them, if they attempted to come out ‡. In cruizing off that inhoſpitable coaſt, where he was reſtrained from obeying the dictates of his courage, the greater part of his officers and men fell victims to the diſeaſes of the climate §; his ſhips received great injury from the worms, and he himſelf is ſuppoſed to have died of a broken heart.

The Spaniards, to reſent this inſult, laid ſiege to Gibraltar, but without ſucceſs; and a reconciliation was ſoon after brought about, through the mediation of France. It was agreed that the charter of the Oſtend Eaſt India company ſhould be ſuſpended for ſeven years; that the ſtipulations in the quadruple alliance, but particularly thoſe which related to the ſucceſſion of Don Carlos to the duchies of Parma, Placenza, and Tuſcany ſhould be fulfilled; and that all the differences ſhould be adjuſted by a congreſs. This congreſs, which was held at Soiſſons, produced the treaty of Seville, by which all cauſes of diſpute were removed ‖.

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the kingdom; but his own libertine example, and the neceſſity of inducing the oppreſſed people to forget their miſeries in a perpetual round of amuſements, introduced an univerſal corruption of manners, which ſpread itſelf even to foreign nations. He was ſucceeded in the adminiſtration by the duke of Bourbon; but the king being now of age, no longer required a regent. This miniſter was ſoon ſupplanted by cardinal Fleury, a man of a pacific diſpoſition, who had been preceptor to Lewis XV. and who at the advanced age of ſeventy-three, took upon him the cares of government.

* Count Konigſeck, the Imperial ambaſſador at the court of Madrid, had procured theſe advantageous conditions for his maſter Charles VI. by flattering the queen of Spain with a proſpect of a match between her ſon Don Carlos, and the arch-ducheſs Maria Thereſa, heireſs to all the extenſive dominions of the houſe of Auſtria. *Mem. de Brandenburgh*, tom. ii.

† George, to fortify himſelf againſt the impending ſtorm entered into more ſtrict engagements with the French king. He prevailed on the king of Sweden to accede to the treaty of Hanover; to furniſh, as a member of that alliance, a body of five thouſand men; and to hold in readineſs an additional body of ten thouſand troops, in conſideration of a ſubſidy of fifty thouſand pounds for three years, to be rem'tted in half yearly payments. He concluded a freſh treaty with the king of Denmark, who undertook to provide twenty-four thouſand auxiliaries, on account of a ſubſidy of three hundred and fifty thouſand rix-dollars for four years, to be paid by the king of France.

The proportions of troops to be ſent into the field, in caſe of a rupture, were aſcertained and determined. His Britannic majeſty engaged for twenty-four thouſand men, and a ſtrong fleet to be ſent into the Baltic. He made a convention with a prince of Heſſe Caſſel, who promiſed to furniſh eight thouſand infantry and four thouſand cavalry, in conſideration of ſeventy-five thouſand pounds to be paid by Great Britain immediately towards levying and equipping theſe forces, and fifty thouſand pounds more in caſe they ſhould be required; beſides their pay and ſubſiſtence.

‡ He arrived at the baſſimentos, in the beginning of June; but before he reached Porto Bello, the treaſure, amounting to twenty-ſix millions of pieces of eight, had been carried back to Panama, in conſequence of an order ſent by an advice boat, which had got the ſtart of Hoſier.

§ A. D. 1727.

‖ At length all parties agreed to twelve preliminary articles, which were ſigned in May, at Paris, by the miniſters

As his majeſty had not viſited his German dominions for upwards of two years, he reſolved to embrace the preſent opportunity of enjoying that pleaſure, and performing what he conceived to be his indiſpenſible duty. Having appointed a regency, he embarked at Greenwich on the third of June, and landing in Holland on the ſeventh proceeded on his journey to Hanover. On the ninth he arrived at Delden between ten and eleven at night, and apparently in perfect health.

After eating a hearty ſupper, and enjoying a night's repoſe, he reſumed his journey about four in the morning. Between eight and nine he ordered the coach to ſtop, and perceiving one of his hands to hang motionleſs, ſaid, in a kind of ſurpriſe, "I cannot move this hand!" Mr. Fabrice, who attended him in the coach, rubbed it carefully, but without producing any ſalutary effect. He therefore called the ſurgeon, who followed on horſeback, and who began to rub it with ſpirits. In the mean time, the king's eyes began to ſtare, his mouth to be diſtorted, and his tongue to ſwell to ſuch a degree, that he was deprived of the faculty of ſpeech. A fit of the palſy at that inſtant ſeized him; and though he recovered a little by opening a vein, he ſoon after became lethargic, and was conveyed in a ſtate of inſenſibility to Oſnaburgh, where he expired on Sunday the eleventh of June, in the ſixty-eighth year of his age, and in the thirteenth of his reign*.

Such was the ſudden diſſolution of George the Firſt, who, in the principal circumſtances of his life, may be juſtly conſidered as the moſt fortunate prince either of the laſt or the then exiſting century. This happy career, which is frequently the reward of virtue, and as frequently the effect of prudence, attended him as well before, as after his acceſſion to the crown of Great Britain. The eſtabliſhment of the electoral dignity in his family, was a work, which, though begun by his father, was finally accompliſhed by himſelf. A large acceſſion of territory attached to him, by his ſucceeding to the duchy of Zell, by which he became one of the greateſt princes in Germany. The duchies of Bremen and Verden, and the biſhopric of Oſnaburg conſiderably ſtrengthened his intereſt in the empire, and gave an additional weight to the Proteſtant cauſe.

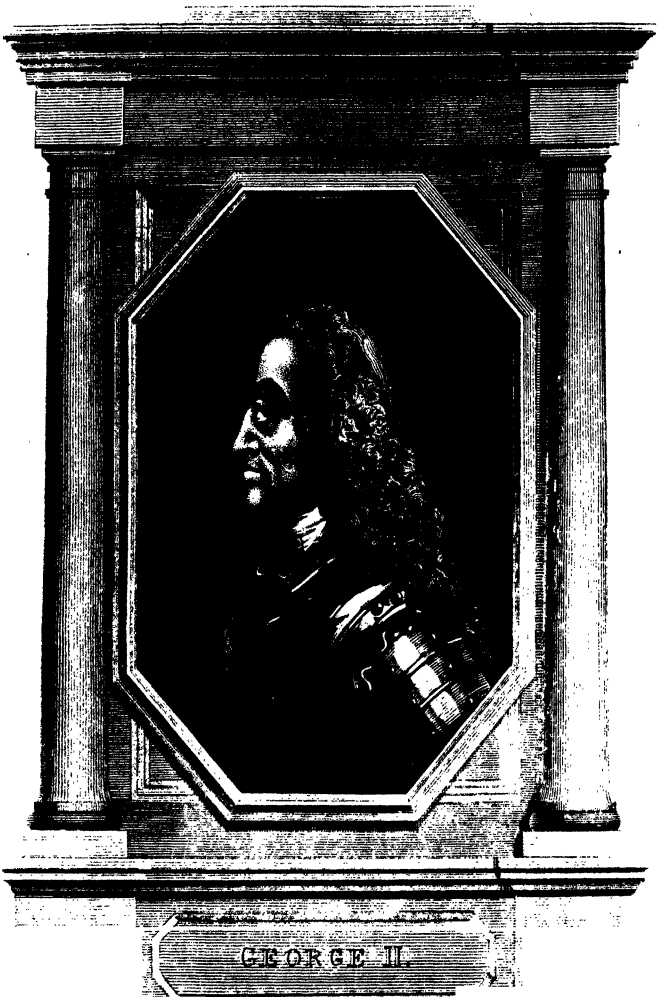
That he was a favourite of fortune, appeared in nothing more remarkable, than in the removal of thoſe ſeemingly invincible obſtacles, which impeded his acceſſion to the throne of theſe kingdoms, and alſo threatened him with the deprivation of that dignity, after he had obtained it.

He had given a proof of his talents for government before he exerciſed them in this kingdom. Naturally inclined to juſtice and equity, though abſolute and deſpotic in his hereditary dominions, he ruled with all the lenity and moderation of a limited monarch. He conſidered civil and religious liberty as the unalienable right of mankind, and therefore imparted it to a people, who pleaded no other claim to it than his known benignity and humanity. Poſſeſſed of theſe generous and noble ſentiments, though his acceſſion to the Britiſh throne enlarged his ſphere of action, it occaſioned no alteration in his plan of conduct. It was invariably the ſame, both before and after his advancement to that dignity. Leſs tenacious of his own prerogative, than of the rights and privileges of his ſubjects, as he never made any attacks upon the latter,

niſters of the allies, and afterwards at Vienna, by the Imperial and Spaniſh ambaſſadors. They imported, that hoſtilities ſhould immediately ceaſe: that the ſeveral powers ſhould continue in the full enjoyment of all rights and poſſeſſions ſecured to them by former treaties: and that a congreſs ſhould be opened in four months at Aix-la-Chapelle, for adjuſting all differences, and eſtabliſhing the peace of Europe. This congreſs was afterwards tranſferred to Soiſſons for the convenience of the French miniſters, whoſe preſence was neceſſary at court.

The ſiege of Gibraltar was raiſed after it had continued four months, during which, about half the Spaniſh army was deſtroyed by ſlaughter or diſeaſe; while the loſs of the garriſon did not amount to four hundred men. The court of Madrid, however, ſtarted ſome new difficulties, and for ſome time refuſed to conſent to the reſtitution of the Prince Frederic, the Engliſh South Sea ſhip, which had been detained at La Vera Cruz, in the Weſt Indies; ſir Charles Wager, therefore, continued to cruize on the coaſt of Spain, after raiſing the ſiege of Gibraltar. But theſe obſtructions were removed in the ſequel.

* He died in the palace of Erneſt Auguſtus, biſhop of Oſnaburg, his only ſurviving brother; a prince of an amiable character, whoſe lamented death happened in the following year. The royal remains were conveyed to Hanover, and depoſited among thoſe of his family.


GEORGE II.

no encroachments were ever attempted upon the former.

The affection of his people he conſidered as the firmeſt ſupport and ſecurity of his throne. Conſcious, that, under an arbitrary and tyrannical government, the property of the ſubject is not in more danger than the life of the ſovereign, he wiſely rejected the inſidious advice of thoſe, who endeavoured to obtain his favour, by the profeſſion of an obedience which they could never practice, and which has always proved fatal to ſuch princes as have adopted it. Thoſe he regarded as his beſt and moſt ſteady friends, who freely and impartially acquainted him with the genuine principles of the Britiſh conſtitution, and adviſed him to regulate his conduct according to theſe maxims. To their counſel he prudently attended, and invariably adhered through the whole courſe of his happy reign*. It may, without adulation, be affirmed, that no prince was ever better qualified to ſway the ſceptre over a free and a Proteſtant people; nor ever exerciſed the virtues of a great and virtuous governor with more diſtinguiſhed ability, or more uninterrupted ſucceſs†.

GEORGE II. A. D. 1727.

GEORGE I. was ſucceeded by his ſon George II. whoſe acceſſion made no alteration in the ſyſtem of Britiſh politics. The adminiſtration was wiſely continued in the hands of the Whigs, the only true friends to the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, or to the principles of the Revolution. On the fourteenth of June, his majeſty declared in council, that he was firmly reſolved to maintain the religion, laws, and liberties of the kingdom, and to adhere to the alliances, which his father had contracted, and which had contributed in a great meaſure, to reſtore the tranquillity of Europe. On the following day the parliament met, in purſuance of the act of the fourth of queen Anne; but was prorogued, by commiſſion, to the twenty-ſeventh of the month. His majeſty's ſpeech, at the opening of the ſeſſion, gave an early ſpecimen of that paternal care, which he ever after exerted for the happineſs and welfare of his people, and of his tender regard for their rights, privileges, and poſſeſſions. It appeared, however, that his plan of internal government would be ſimilar to that of his father, and that he was determined to purſue ſimilar ſteps with regard to foreign alliances.

Addreſſes of condolence and congratulation having been preſented, the commons, in a committee of the whole houſe, took into conſideration a motion for the eſtabliſhment of the civil liſt. Sir Robert Walpole obſerved, that the annual ſum of ſeven hundred thouſand pounds, which had been ſettled on the late king, had annually fallen ſhort; that the houſe had been obliged to ſupply the deficiencies; and that his preſent majeſty's expences would unavoidably increaſe, on account of the accumulation of his family. He therefore moved, that the entire revenues of the civil liſt, which produced about eight hundred and thirty thouſand pounds, ſhould be ſettled on the king during his life.

This motion was violently oppoſed by all the anti-courtiers, particularly by Mr. Shippen, who

* He is thus laconically characterized by Mr. Ruſſel. —"He was a prudent and virtuous prince, whoſe attachment to his German dominions, which has been much magnified, was made uſe of by the Tories to render him odious to the Engliſh nation." *Mod. Eur.* v. 19.

† George the Firſt married Sophia Dorothy, daughter and heireſs of the duke of Zell, by whom he had his ſon and ſucceſſor George the Second, and a daughter who became queen of Pruſſia. She died on the ſecond of November of the preceding year, at the caſtle of Ahlen, in the electorate of Brunſwick, where ſhe had been confined for ſeveral years. The king's body was conveyed to Hanover, and repoſited among his anceſtors.

had made it an invariable maxim, for ſeveral years, to ſpeak indiſcriminately againſt all miniſterial meaſures. He launched out into high encomiums on the frugality and integrity of queen Anne's adminiſtration, and drew a parallel between that and the preſent government, which was, by no means, in favour of the latter*.

His arguments would, at any other time, have been both anſwered and refuted; but, as the miniſtry, were deſirous rather of healing than extending diviſions, the houſe came to an unanimous reſolution to grant his majeſty the ſame civil liſt, which his father had enjoyed. A bill was prepared for this purpoſe; and at its ſecond reading, a meſſage was delivered from the king, deſiring the houſe would make further proviſion for the queen, his conſort, in caſe of his majeſty's demiſe. The ſucceſs of this meſſage was conſidered as the touchſtone of the miniſter's power; nor did it remain long in ſuſpence: the commons, having taken the requeſt into conſideration, reſolved, that, if ſhe ſhould ſurvive his majeſty, the annual ſum of one hundred thouſand pounds ſhould be ſettled upon her for life, charged upon the revenues of the civil liſt, together with his majeſty's palace of Somerſet Houſe, and the lodge and lands of Richmond Old Park. A bill was framed, agreeable to this reſolution, which, as well as the other, paſſed both houſes, and received the royal aſſent, on the ſeventeenth of July; when the king, in a ſhort ſpeech to both houſes, expreſſed his ſatisfaction with their conduct; thanked them for the proviſion they had made for the ſupport of his family and houſehold; and congratulated them upon the wealth and glory of the nation, by which it had acquired ſuch weight in holding the balance of Europe. The lord chanceſlor then prorogued the parliament to the twenty-ninth of Auguſt: but, on the ſeventh of that month, it was diſſolved by proclamation, and writs were iſſued for convoking another.

In the mean time, his majeſty proceeded to ſettle his miniſtry, his council, and his houſehold; and his manner of filling up the ſeveral vacancies in theſe ſeveral departments, plainly evinced that he was reſolved to give the preference to the friends of his family, and of public liberty. The duke of Newcaſtle, and lord Townſend

* The ſame Tory faction, which had ſo frequently attempted to thwart the meaſures, and overturn the throne, of the Firſt George, continued their violent oppoſition in parliament, during the more early part of the reign of George II. The heads of this faction were, ſir William Wyndham, Mr. Shippen, Mr. Hungerford, and others, who being men of great talents, were ſoon joined by certain diſguſted courtiers, of equal, if not ſuperior talents, who expected, by ſuch coalition, to humble their ſucceſsful rivals, and get into their own hands the higheſt employments of the ſtate. Mr. Pulteney, reputed the fineſt ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, and lately a member of a miniſtration, already made one of their number. Lord Carteret, and the earl of Cheſterfield, the moſt diſtinguiſhed orators in the houſe of peers, afterwards joined the phalanx. This powerful body, by continually oppoſing the meaſures of government, and paſſionately railing againſt continental connexions, ſoon acquired great popularity, and at laſt became formidable to the throne. The patriotic, or country party, as the members in oppoſition affected to call themſelves, were always predicting beggary and ruin in the midſt of the moſt profound peace, and the higheſt national proſperity; and a ſmall ſtanding army, which it was thought prudent to keep up, was repreſented as an engine of deſpotiſm. The liberties of the people were believed by many to be in danger. But thoſe liberties, or at leaſt the freedom of the conſtitution, has ſuffered more from a pernicious ſyſtem of domeſtic policy, which that violent oppoſition at firſt made neceſſary, than from the ſo-much-dreaded military eſtabliſhment.

When the wheels of government are clogged, and the machine rendered almoſt ſtationary, by the arts of an ambitious faction, the whole influence of the crown muſt be employed to accelerate their motion. The force of oppoſition muſt be broken: its ableſt members muſt be drawn over to the ſide of royalty, by the emoluments of office or the ſplendor of titles; by the higheſt honours and employments of the ſtate. If this cannot be effected; if the heads of oppoſition cannot be taught ſilence, or induced to change ſides, without a total change of adminiſtration, the king muſt either reſign his miniſter, or that miniſter muſt ſecure a majority in the national aſſembly by *other means*. No miniſter ever underſtood theſe means better than ſir Robert Walpole. Poſſeſſed of great abilities, and utterly deſtitute of principle, he made no ſcruple of employing the money voted by parliament, to corrupt its members. Having diſcovered that almoſt every man had his price, he bought many; and, to gain more, he let looſe the wealth of the treaſury at elections. The fountain of liberty was poiſoned in its ſource.

Some men of patriotic principles have fondly imagined, that a good miniſter muſt always be able to command ſuch a majority, merely by the rectitude of his meaſures; but experience has evinced, that in factious times, all the weight of government is often neceſſary to carry even the beſt meaſures.

"To deſtroy Britiſh liberty," ſays lord Bolingbroke, "with an army of Britons, is not a meaſure ſo ſure of "ſucceſs as ſome people may believe. To corrupt the "parliament is a ſlower but a more effectual method." *Diſſert. on Parties*, letter x.

Townſend, were declared ſecretaries of ſtate: Mr. Pelham, the duke's brother, was nominated ſecretary at war. The duke of Rutland was conſtituted chancellor of the duchy of Lancaſter. Sir Robert Walpole retained the offices of chancellor of the exchequer, and firſt lord of the treaſury; and, by the coalition of theſe two important appointments in his perſon, was conſidered as prime-miniſter of ſtate. The other lords of the treaſury were, ſir Charles Turner, ſir George Oxenden, Mr. Doddington, and Mr. Clayton. Lord Torrington was placed at the head of the board of admiralty, the other members of which were, lord Malpas, ſir John Norris, ſir Charles Wager, ſir Thomas Littleton, Mr. Cockburn, and Mr. Molyneux. The earl of Cheſterfield was ſelected as ambaſſador to the States General, and lord Carteret obtained the place of lord lieutenant of Ireland. On the eleventh of October, the coronation of the king and queen was performed at Weſtminſter, with the uſual ſolemnity.

In the mean time, the elections for the new parliament, were proceeding on, throughout the whole kingdom, with great vigour and diſpatch, and every where ſucceeded in favour of the miniſtry. The two houſes meeting on the twenty-third of January*, the commons choſe for their ſpeaker, Arthur Onſlow, eſquire, knight of the ſhire for Surry, a gentleman of diſtinguiſhed abilities, and unblemiſhed integrity; grave, eloquent, venerable, and in all reſpects qualified for the diſcharge of that important office, to which he was now advanced. The king, in his ſpeech to the parliament, obſerved, that he was very ſenſible of the diſagreeable ſituation in which their affairs were at preſent placed, and ſincerely regretted the inconveniences of a war attending his ſubjects, without having an opportunity of reſenting the injuries they had ſuſtained; or gaining, in return, any of thoſe advantages, which the vigorous proſecution of ſo juſt a cauſe, and the ſucceſs of his arms, might probably have ſecured to them: that many difficulties had occurred to impede the execution of the preliminaries; and, though there was reaſon to believe that the congreſs would ſoon be opened, and all obſtructions removed, it was abſolutely neceſſary to continue their warlike preparations. That he was extremely deſirous of reducing the national expences, and would engage in ſo neceſſary and important a work, as ſoon as the intereſt of his people would permit: that he begged leave to recommend to their conſideration, the increaſe and encouragement of ſeamen in general, that they might be invited, rather than compelled, to enter into the ſervice of their country: that he hoped they would make an addition to the fund of Greenwich hoſpital; and proceed in all their deliberations, with unanimity, zeal, and diſpatch.

Loyal and affectionate addreſſes having been preſented by both houſes, the commons took into conſideration the eſtimates for the enſuing year, and granted the ſupplies, but not till after a violent altercation had taken place.

On the fourth of May, ſir Paul Methuen, treaſurer of the houſehold, delivered a meſſage from his majeſty to parliament, deſiring they would advance him a ſum of money, to enable him to fulfil the engagements he had contracted, with the advice and concurrence of the laſt parliament. This meſſage was productive of a long and intemperate debate, but, notwithſtanding all the efforts of the oppoſition, it was carried by a majority of two hundred and thirty-ſeven againſt one hundred and one, that his majeſty's requeſt ſhould be granted, and a vote of credit was accordingly paſſed for that purpoſe.†.

About this time, the Proteſtant intereſt in Germany ſuſtained a conſiderable loſs, by the death of his royal highneſs, Erneſt Auguſtus, biſhop of Oſnaburgh, duke of York and Albany, and only ſurviving brother of George the Firſt‡.

The

* A. D. 1728.

† The king amuſed himſelf, during the ſeſſion, with a tour to Newmarket, which produced a viſit to the univerſity of Cambridge. Before the prorogation, he augmented the number of peers, by enobling four knights of the bath, Hobart, Monſon, Coke, and Wentworth, the two laſt of whom received the titles of Lovel and Malton.

‡ He was a prince of a moſt amiable diſpoſition, and, though reigning over a country inhabited almoſt equally by Papiſts and Proteſtants, he approved himſelf, during the whole courſe of his adminiſtration, the common father of all his people. It is remarkable, that, notwithſtanding his inconſiderable revenue, and the ſplendor of his court, which was always ſuitable to his rank and quality, he

The congreſs opened at Soiſſons for adjuſting the differences among the powers of Europe, proved ineffectual. Such obſtacles and objections were ſtarted by the ſeveral plenipotentiaries, particularly by thoſe of Spain, that the contracting parties in the alliance of Hanover, propoſed a proviſional treaty, concerning which no definitive anſwer was yet given by the courts of Vienna and Madrid. The fate of Europe, therefore, continued in ſuſpenſe: the Engliſh fleet lay inactive in the Weſt Indies: the ſailors periſhed in great numbers, without daring to revenge their country's wrongs; the miniſtry being averſe to engaging in a war: and, in the mean time, the Spaniſh guarda coſtas committed the moſt wanton and daring depredations on the commerce of Great Britain.

The queen of Spain, deſirous of recovering Gibraltar and Port Mahon, and procuring a ſettlement for her ſon in Italy, ſeemed perfectly indifferent with regard to a pacification with England: ſhe had cultivated a good underſtanding with France, and ſtrengthened her intereſt by a double marriage with the royal family of Portugal. The infanta of this houſe was betrothed to the prince of Aſturias, while the Spaniſh infanta, formerly affianced to the French king, was now beſtowed upon the prince of Brazil, eldeſt ſon of his Portugueſe majeſty.

The parliament of Great Britain meeting on the twenty-firſt of January, the king, in his ſpeech, acquainted both houſes, that the plan of a proviſional treaty, had already been approved by him and his allies; but that no ſatisfactory anſwer had yet been returned by the courts of Vienna and Madrid: that this circumſtance created a ſtate of uncertainty, which gave him great uneaſineſs; but he hoped they would believe, that nothing, but a regard for the intereſt of his people, could have prevailed upon him, rather to ſuffer ſome temporary inconveniences with the daily proſpect of obtaining a ſafe and honourable peace, than precipitately to kindle a war in Europe, and plunge the nation into greater difficulties.

A pamphlet had lately been circulated in favour of the miniſter, and under his immediate countenance and inſpection. It was ſuppoſed to be the work of a prelate who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his political tracts againſt the Tory miniſtry towards the concluſion of the reign of Anne. This pamphlet, though written with claſſical elegance, contained ſome egregious inaccuracies, which the miniſter, who in matters of that kind was inexcuſably careleſs, had ſuffered to paſs uncorrected.

It was known however to be a work of authority; Mr. Thomſon and ſome others of the court party, ventured to quote it in defence of the adminiſtration: in particular they mentioned ſome paſſages, tending to vindicate the miniſtry in the unpopular part of their conduct, in keeping admiral Hoſier's fleet ſo long inactive on the coaſts of America.

Nothing could be more impolitic than this proceeding; for, it was not only unparliamentary, but alſo gave the oppoſition great advantages. Mr. Pulteney, by expoſing one palpable inconſiſtency in this performance, that of confounding the Spaniſh flotilla with the galleons, converted the whole of the miniſterial writings into ridicule; and conſequently weakened the influence, which they might otherwiſe have had upon the public. The extracts contained in the pamphlet, from admiral Hoſier's inſtructions, and thoſe of other ſea officers, were deemed unfair, as the whole of their orders had not been exhibited. Captain, afterwards admiral Vernon, diſtinguiſhed himſelf in this debate. As he was thoroughly acquainted with the nature of the ſervice, and few in the houſe being able to contradict him from their own experience, he endeavoured to prove, that the extracts from Hoſier's inſtructions were ſpurious, or, if not ſpurious, that the inſtructions themſelves were abſolutely impracticable. The oppoſition were

was ſo good an œconomiſt, as to leave behind him, at his death, one hundred thouſand pounds in ſpecie. He was ſucceeded in the biſhopric by the elector of Cologn, according to the pactum by which Oſnaburgh is alternately poſſeſſed by the houſe of Brunſwick, and that elector.

In the beginning of December, his majeſty's eldeſt ſon, prince Frederick, (and father of George III.) arrived in England from Hanover, where he had hitherto reſided: he was introduced into the privy council, and created prince of Wales. Signior Como, reſident from the duke of Parma, was ordered to quit the kingdom, his maſter having invited the pretender into his dominions, and granted him the honours and diſtinctions due to the king of Great Britain.

alſo aſſiſted in this diſpute by ſir Joſeph Jekyll, maſter of the Rolls, of whoſe acceſſion to their party they were not a little vain. He was eſteemed an upright judge, and an impartial ſenator. His affection for the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, and the intereſt of his country, was never called in queſtion; and his profeſſional knowledge both in law and equity was acknowledged to be great. With all theſe qualities, he was but a weak politician, and a very indifferent ſpeaker, He was, however, ſo much eſteemed for his integrity and patriotiſm, that the oppoſition thought they had gained a conſiderable point in bringing him over to their ſide. His prepoſſeſſions in favour of the old Whig principles were ſo ſtrong, that he could not endure the thoughts of England's detaching herſelf from the houſe of Auſtria, and joining her intereſt with that of Bourbon. This was a revolution in politics, which he could not comprehend, and which, in his opinion, endangered the conſtitution of the kingdom, the ſecurity of which, he ſaid, ought to be dearer to them than the ſecurity of commerce. In a word, the ableſt ſpeakers on both ſides, exerted their utmoſt abilities in this trivial debate; but the queſtion being at laſt propoſed, whether the addreſs ſhould ſtand in its original form, it was carried in the affirmative by a majority of two hundred and ninety four againſt eighty-ſeven.

The next object of their attention, was the maintenance of twelve thouſand Heſſian troops engaged in the ſervice of great Britain. This meaſure, however, was violently oppoſed, even by ſome of the old Whig members, who thought it both diſgraceful and grievous to the nation. But notwithſtanding all their objections, the houſe reſolved, by a great majority, to continue the pay of the twelve thouſand Heſſians, as well as the ſubſidies to Sweden and Wolfenbuttel.

The depredations of the Spaniards continuing, and even increaſing, the anti-courtiers laboured to perſuade the people, that theſe outrages were entirely owing to the timid and puſillanimous conduct of the Britiſh miniſtry, who were afraid of coming to a rupture with Spain. The truth is, the miniſtry had been rather too backward in adopting hoſtile meaſures. They believed, indeed, and not without reaſon, that moſt of the captures were of ſuch ſhips as had been concerned in an illicit trade; and therefore they thought it impolitic, on account of theſe veſſels only, to plunge the nation into an expenſive war. It happening, however, that the Spaniards had taken a few ſhips engaged in a lawful trade, the oppoſition eagerly ſeized this circumſtance, and improved it ſo much to their own advantage, and the prejudice of the miniſters, that the people in general were rouzed with indignation. Petitions were preſented to the houſe of commons by the merchants of London, Liverpool, and Briſtol, complaining of the interruption they had ſuffered in their trade, for ſeveral years, by the depredations of the Spaniards in the Weſt Indies. Theſe being conſidered, the houſe ordered the lords of the admiralty to produce the other memorials of the ſame kind, which they had received, that they might be laid before the congreſs at Soiſſons; and addreſſed his majeſty for copies of all the letters and inſtructions which had been diſpatched to admiral Hoſier, and thoſe who ſucceeded him in the command of the Weſt India ſquadron.

This neceſſary information being obtained, they enquired into particulars, examined evidence, and drew up an addreſs to his majeſty, requeſting he would be graciouſly pleaſed to exert his utmoſt endeavours for preventing ſuch depredations; for procuring juſt and reaſonable ſatisfaction; and for ſecuring to his ſubjects the free exerciſe of commerce and navigation to and from the Britiſh colonies in America. The king aſſured them of his readineſs to anſwer the deſires and expectations of his people, in an affair of ſo much importance; and they, in reply, thanked him for his gracious anſwer*.

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* The attention of the commons was now diverted to an object of a more private nature. Mr. Oglethorpe, having been informed of ſhocking cruelties and oppreſſions exerciſed by gaolers upon their priſoners, moved for an examination into theſe practices; and was choſen chairman of a committee appointed to enquire into the ſtate of the gaols of the kingdom. They began with the Fleet Priſon, which they viſited in a body: there they found ſir William Rich, baronet, loaded with irons, by order of Bambridge, the warden, to whom he had given ſome trivial cauſe of offence. They made a diſcovery of many inhuman barbarities practiſed by that ruffian, and

The buſineſs of the ſeſſion being finiſhed, the king came to the houſe of peers on the ſeventeenth of May, when, after a conciſe ſpeech, in which he ſignified his intention of viſiting his German dominions, he ordered the chancellor to prorogue the parliament.

His majeſty having appointed the queen regent of the realm, ſet out for Hanover on the twentieth of the ſame month, to remove a trivial diſſention, which had occurred between that electorate and the court of Berlin. Some Hanoverian ſubjects had been preſſed or decoyed into the ſervice of Pruſſia; and the regency of Hanover had ſeized ſome Pruſſian officers by way of repriſal. The affair was immediately adjuſted, under the arbitration of the dukes of Brunſwick and Saxe-Gotha.

Though the congreſs at Soiſſons proved ineffectual, conferences were begun at Seville, between the plenipotentiaries of England, France, and Spain; and a treaty was concluded on the ninth of November, importing, among other particulars, that all former conventions between Great Britain and Spain, ſhould be as amply confirmed, as if they had been expreſsly repeated.

Such were the principal contents of the treaty of Seville, which, aided by other events that ſoon after happened, produced a conſiderable change in the ſtate of affairs in Europe. The Britiſh parliament meeting on the thirteenth of January*, the king, in his ſpeech to both houſes, informed them, that he had concluded an abſolute peace with Spain, and ſo far prevented the miſeries and calamities inſeparable from a war. He aſſured them, that the peace was conformable to the intention of former treaties, and calculated to render effectual the ſtipulations of the quadruple alliance: and that ſufficient proviſion had been made for the indemnification and future ſecurity of the trading intereſt.

The commons having returned to their houſe, the treaty of Seville† was laid before them; and the court party moved for a very particular and loyal addreſs of thanks. This motion was violently oppoſed by the country party, who propoſed in general terms, to aſſure his majeſty of the ſteady and zealous attachment of the houſe to his royal perſon, government, and family; and of their readineſs to ſupport him in all meaſures which ſhould be neceſſary for the honour and dignity of his crown, and for the intereſt and welfare of his people.

In ſupport of this alteration, they threw out many ſevere invectives on the ſubſtance of the

and detected the moſt iniquitous ſcenes of fraud, villainy, and extortion.

When the report was made by the committee, the houſe unanimouſly reſolved, that Thomas Bambridge, acting Warden of the Fleet, had wilfully permitted ſeveral perſons to eſcape; had been guilty of the moſt notorious breaches of truſt, great extortions, and the higheſt crimes and miſdemeanors in the execution of his office: that he had arbitrarily and unlawfully loaded with irons, put into dungeons, and deſtroyed priſoners for debt, under his charge, treating them in the moſt barbarous manner in direct violation of the laws of the kingdom.

A reſolution of the ſame nature was paſſed againſt John Huggens, late Warden of the Fleet Priſon; alſo againſt James Barnes, William Pindar, John Everett, and Thomas King, who had been their accomplices in theſe cruelties. The houſe preſented an addreſs to the king deſiring he would order his attorney-general to proſecute theſe delinquents, who were committed to Newgate. A bill was prepared, diſabling Bambridge to execute the office of warden: another for the better regulating the Fleet Priſon; and for more effectually preventing and puniſhing arbitrary and illegal practices of the warden of the ſaid priſon.

A laudable attempt was made to reſtrain the practice of corruption in parliamentary elections, by the introduction of a penal bill againſt the givers and receivers of any reward whatever for a vote, or thoſe who ſhould only make an agreement for ſuch recompence. The lords augmented, to the ſum of five hundred pounds, the ſmall forfeiture impoſed by the commons on theſe delinquents, and improved, in other particulars, the probable efficacy of the bill. But this and other precautions againſt the ſame evil, have been groſsly eluded by the mercenary ſpirit of electors.

* A. D. 1730.

† In conſequence of the treaty of Seville, confirmed by another at Vienna, Don Carlos took quiet poſſeſſion of the duchies of Parma and Placenza, on the ſucceſſion becoming vacant, the emperor withdrawing his troops. By the treaty of Vienna, the emperor alſo agreed, that the Oſtend company, which had given ſo much offence to France, England, and Holland, ſhould be totally diſſolved, on condition that the contracting powers, in the treaty of Seville, ſhould guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction, or domeſtic law, by which the ſucceſſion to the hereditary dominions of the houſe of Auſtria were ſecured to the heirs female of the emperor Charles VI. if he ſhould die without male iſſue. The propoſal was acceded to; and the peace of Europe continued undiſturbed, till the death of Auguſtus II. king of Poland.

treaty,

treaty, which had for ſome time been ſubmitted to the candour of the public. Sir John Hind Cotton, a ſarcaſtic, though a ſuperficial ſpeaker, was generally conſidered as one of the chief Tories in the houſe, and was always eager to join in any oppoſition to the government. He declared, that the miniſtry had impoſed upon his majeſty in calling the peace an *abſolute one;* when the moſt important intereſts of Great Britain were left to a future diſcuſſion. The miniſter contended that the peace was abſolute; and that no difficulties could happen in the execution of it, unleſs the Spaniards and other powers were encouraged to raiſe them, by the diſſenſions which might occur in Great Britain. The queſtion being at laſt propounded, whether the addreſs ſhould be drawn up in the original form, it was carried in the affirmative by a majority of two hundred and ſixty-two, againſt one hundred and twenty-nine.

When the houſe of lords took the treaty of Seville into conſideration, a violent debate enſued; in which the anti-courtiers, foiled in point of reaſoning, had recourſe to the uſual expedient, that of making motions. The ultimate reſult of which was carried in favour of the miniſtry. It was reſolved, that the treaty of peace, union, and friendſhip, concluded at Seville, contained all the neceſſary ſtipulations for maintaining and ſecuring the honour, dignity, rights and poſſeſſions of the crown; and that all due care was taken therein for the ſupport of the trade of the kingdom, and for repairing the loſſes ſuſtained by the Britiſh merchants.

By this time Vandermeer, the Dutch ambaſſador in Spain, had acceded to the treaty; and the ratification of this act was laid before the parliament on the twenty-third of January. This acceſſion, however, was not obtained, till their Britannic and moſt Chriſtian majeſties had prevailed upon the king of Spain to join them in their endeavours to procure for the republic, the moſt perfect ſatisfaction with regard to the trade and navigation of the Eaſt India Oſtend company, and the ſettlement of the affairs of Eaſt Friſeland.

Theſe negociations gave the anti-courtiers in the lower houſe, a pretext for ſaying, the miniſtry were playing a myſterious game; in conſequence of which, they moved for an addreſs to his majeſty, entreating him to communicate to the houſes any engagements he might have contracted for the payment of ſubſidies to foreign princes, or the hire of foreign troops, which had not already been ſubmitted to their inſpection. This motion, being conſidered as highly indecent, and implying a mean ſuſpicion of his majeſty, was thrown out upon a previous queſtion by a majority of two hundred, againſt one hundred and ſeven.

The commons having examined the eſtimates for the enſuing year, voted ſeventeen thouſand ſeven hundred and nine men for the land ſervice. They continued the ſubſidies to the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel and the duke of Brunſwic Wolfenbuttel; and to defray theſe and other neceſſary expences, they granted the ſum of two millions two hundred and eighty thouſand pounds. The members of oppoſition oppoſed theſe meaſures with immoderate vehemence and warmth; but not being willing to make any diviſion which would have expoſed the weakneſs of their party, they were obliged to content themſelves with ſeveral invidious motions, which were uniformly rejected.

The miniſtry, though perhaps juſtifiable in conducting the more important affairs of government, were extremely remiſs with regard to the interior police of the kingdom. This neglect was attended with a wonderful profligacy of life and manners among the inferior claſſes of the people. The roads were infeſted with robbers and aſſaſſins, who frequently ſeized the property, and maimed or murdered, the innocent and inoffenſive travellers.

A new ſpecies of villains alſo, unknown to former times, ſtarted up about this period. They made it a practice to circulate letters, demanding ſums of money from certain individuals, on pain of reducing their houſes to aſhes; and ſometimes, when their demands were not complied with, they actually carried their threats into execution. A more exalted fraternity of ruffians were employed in libelling the moſt laudable meaſures of government; and, what is more aſtoniſhing, they were encouraged by men, who conſidering their character in other reſpects, could

could hardly be ſuſpected of any deſigns againſt the peace of their country*.

The month of November was rendered remarkable by the death of pope Benedict the Thirteenth, who was ſucceeded in the papal chair by Laurence Corſini, under the name of Clement the Twelfth. About this period the inhabitants of Corſica, ſmarting under the yoke of their mercileſs ſovereigns, the Genoeſe, roſe in arms, and publiſhed a manifeſto, importing, that their ſole intention was to aſſert the liberties and privileges of their country†.

In England, the power of the miniſter was ſo far from being diminiſhed by the clamour raiſed againſt his adminiſtration, that his influence and authority ſeemed continually on the increaſe; and his friends regularly ſucceeded to every vacancy that happened in the government. His brother Horatio Walpole was made cofferer of the houſehold, in the room of the late earl of Clinton: Mr. Pelham was appointed paymaſter of the forces, in the room of Spencer Compton, now lord Wilmington, who was honoured with the cuſtody of the great ſeal; lord Trevor was nominated preſident of the council. The earl of Cheſterfield was conſtituted ſteward, lord Hervey vice-chamberlain, and ſir Conyers D'Arcy comptroller of the houſehold. The duke of Dorſet ſucceeded lord Carteret as lord lieutenant of Ireland. The celebrated lord Torrington preſided at the admiralty, and the earl of Weſtmoreland was declared firſt commiſſioner of trade and plantations.

So great a profuſion of favours, laviſhed upon the friends of one man, could not fail to diſguſt ſome of the old ſervants of the crown, who thought their importance eclipſed, or their merits under-rated. Of this number was Charles lord Townſend, a nobleman of diſtinguiſhed abilities and unimpeached integrity, who reſigned the ſeals as ſecretary of ſtate, together with the lieutenancy of the county of Norfolk. The laſt of theſe was beſtowed upon his ſon, who, at the ſame time, was conſtituted maſter of the jewel office. He was ſucceeded in the office of ſecretary, by colonel Stanhope, now created earl of Harrington, whoſe knowledge in foreign affairs, and approved ability in conducting negociations, rendered the reſignation of lord Townſend the leſs alarming to the public.

Such was the poſition of the affairs of Europe, and ſuch the ſtate of the government of England, when the parliament aſſembled on the twenty-firſt of January‡. The emperor's obſtinacy ſeemed daily on the increaſe, and to menace the continent with a new war. He ſtill continued his exclamations againſt the allies; and had ordered a large body of troops to

* This year was diſtinguiſhed by ſome foreign important events, which had a conſiderable effect upon the political ſyſtem of Europe. In the month of September, Victor Amadæus, king of Sardinia, reſigned his crown to his ſon Charles Emanuel, prince of Piedmont. This ſtep was occaſioned by his becoming enamoured, in the ſixty-fourth year of his age, with the counteſs Dowager of St. Sebaſtian, whom he married in her retirement.

In October, Peter the ſecond, Czar of Muſcovy, and grandſon of Peter the Firſt, died at Muſcow; and was ſucceeded on the throne by the princeſs Anne Ivanowna, ſecond daughter of John Alexiowitz, elder brother of the firſt Peter, and widow of Frederick William, duke of Courland.

† The earl of Kinnoul had been ſent ambaſſador to the court of Conſtantinople, where he met with a diſtinguiſhed reception from the Grand Signior and the Vizier; but during his abode in that city, a moſt ſurprizing revolution was effected in the government, without bloodſhed or confuſion. A few inferior Janiſſaries diſplayed a flag in the ſtreets, exclaiming, that all true Muſſelmen ought to follow them, and aſſiſt in reforming the ſtate. They ſoon increaſed to the number of one hundred thouſand; marched to the Seraglio; and demanded the heads of the Grand Vizier, the Kaja, and the Captain Baſſa. Theſe unhappy miniſters were immediately ſtrangled. Their bodies were afterwards delivered to the inſurgents, dragged through the ſtreets, and afterwards thrown among the dogs to be devoured. Not ſatisfied with this outrage, the revolters depoſed the Grand Signior, Achmet, who was confined to the ſame priſon, from whence they brought his nephew, Mahomet, and raiſed him to the throne, after he had remained a priſoner upwards of ſix years.

France was at this time ſo diſtracted with religious diſſenſions, that nothing but the profound veneration, which the people of that country had for the perſon of their ſovereign, could have poſſibly prevented the flames of a civil war. Cardinal Fleury, who was himſelf a mere inſtrument of the Pope and the Jeſuits, had prevailed on Lewis the Fifteenth to compel his ſubjects to accept of the conſtitution Unigenitus. This divided the whole kingdom into conſtitutioniſts and anticonſtitutioniſts. The former conſiſted of the king, the cardinal, ſome bigotted prieſts, and venal courtiers; the latter of all the parliaments and men of underſtanding in the kingdom. The regal power, however, bore down all oppoſition; and the birth of the duke of Anjou, ſecond ſon of the king of France, happening at the height of the diſpute, the people loſt their reſentment in their congratulations.

‡ A. D. 1731.

march into Italy in order to oppoſe the introduction of the Spaniſh garriſons ſtipulated by the treaty of Seville. The king at the opening of the ſeſſion, mentioned theſe circumſtances in his ſpeech, in which he particularly exhorted the parliament to enable him to execute the treaty by force, if gentle meaſures ſhould not prove effectual.

The two parties were at this time exaſperated againſt each other to the higheſt degree of animoſity and reſentment. The court writers accuſed the minority of ſedition and defamation, and adopted every art which could alienate the attention of his majeſty's ſubjects from his perſon and government. They challenged them to ſhew a ſingle inſtance of any violation of the laws, of any encroachment upon the liberties of the people, of any infringement of the act of ſettlement, or any deviation from the true intereſt of Great Britain.

The minority, inſtead of making a reply, reſolved to reiterate their attacks. They retained in their pay one Amherſt, a man of profligate principles, needy, bold and, ſcurrilous, poſſeſſed of ſome academical learning, a ſmall portion of wit, and a very inconſiderable ſhare of political knowledge. Such was the perſon, who was ſelected to be the oſtenſible author of the Craftſman; an antiminiſterial paper, which appeared about this period. But the defects of the regular author were amply ſupplied by occaſional writers, who furniſhed him with their effuſions; they were indeed the leaders of the oppoſition themſelves.

A ſingle periodical paper, however well conducted, was found inſufficient for diſcharging all the arrows which the minority aimed at the government: a great number of occaſional pamphlets were therefore iſſued; which were anſwered with equal acrimony, but with leſs humour, wit, and ſatire, and leſs knowledge of politics and hiſtory, than appeared in the writings of the other party*.

The depredations of the Spaniards in America, and their tardineſs in executing the treaty of Seville, had ſo far provoked the Engliſh miniſtry, that they made propoſals to the court of Vienna for a private negociation, which was ſoon after brought to maturity.

In the mean time, the emperor continued to exclaim againſt that treaty, which he repreſented as an inſult upon him, as head of the empire. He alledged that Don Carlos ought to have been eſtabliſhed in Italy, and the ſucceſſion of his dominions ſecured to him, by his receiving the inveſtiture of them from the emperor, and by the

* About this time, his majeſty expunged the name of Pulteney from the liſt of privy-counſellors, and ordered that he ſhould be excluded from all commiſſions of the peace. It was not only the parliamentary oppoſition of that ſenator to the meaſures of the court, which occaſioned theſe marks of royal diſpleaſure; but his concern in various publications, which ſeverely ſatirized the miniſtry, and was productive of ſeveral duels.

Among the reſt, a performance iſſued under the title of "A proper Reply to a late ſcurrilous Libel, called, "Sedition and Defamation diſplayed?" This laſt was ſuppoſed to have been the production of lord Hervey, who taxed Mr. Pulteney with being the author of the Reply. The latter ſeeming to acknowledge the charge, ſome recriminations paſſed between the gentlemen, and the animoſity, from a political, was ſoon converted into a perſonal quarrel. Lord Hervey challenged Mr. Pulteney to meet him in the Green Park: the challenge was accepted: Mr. Fox, member for Shafteſbury, was ſecond to lord Hervey; ſir John Ruſhout to Mr. Pulteney. Fortune declared againſt the noble combatant; he received two ſlight wounds, and narrowly eſcaped a deciſive ſtab through the body, but the antagoniſts being parted, no farther injury enſued to their perſons.

About this time, the people of England began to ſeek redreſs for a grievance, under which they had long laboured. They thought it abſurd and oppreſſive, that, after having in a great degree extirpated a religion which had been taught them in an unknown tongue, they ſhould ſtill be harraſſed with law proceedings in the ſame language, or, what was worſe, an unintelligible jargon of it. The firſt petitions on this head came from Yorkſhire; and the committee to whom they were referred, reported to the houſe, that the proceedings in the law being in law Latin, abbreviated and wrote in court hands and characters, unintelligible and even not legible to moſt of the perſons concerned, eſpecially in criminal caſes, were a great delay to juſtice, and occaſioned many dangerous frauds: that ſpecial pleadings were very expenſive, intricate, and dilatory; and highly prejudicial to the property of the ſubject: that the number of attornies admitted into the court of king's bench, amounted to eleven hundred and fifty-ſeven; and the number of thoſe in the court of common pleas exceeded three thouſand.

To a ſet of reſolutions, founded, like theſe, upon the plaineſt and moſt obvious principles of common ſenſe, it ſeems almoſt impoſſible to advance any ſolid, or even plauſible objection. Yet were there not wanting ſome in the houſe of commons, who argued ſtrenuouſly againſt the propoſed alteration, and maintained the neceſſity of retaining the old Latin jargon. A bill, however, was framed and enacted, ordaining that all proceſſes and proceedings in law, ſhould be entered in the Engliſh language.

conſent

conſent of the empire; both which were ready when demanded: and he aſſerted, what was afterwards juſtified by the event, that the acceſſion of Don Carlos to the duchies of Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia, was not the ultimate view of the court of Madrid.

In the beginning of the year, the duke of Parma died, after having made a will, in which he declared, that his ducheſs was three months advanced in her pregnancy; entreating the powers of Europe to have compaſſion on his people, and defer the execution of their projects, till his conſort ſhould be delivered. If the child ſhould be ſtill-born, prove a female, or, if a male die ſoon after the birth, he bequeathed his dominions and allodial eſtates to the infant Don Carlos of Spain; and appointed five regents to govern the duchy.

The Engliſh miniſtry now challenged the moſt daring of their enemies to mention a ſingle circumſtance neceſſary for the peace of Europe, or the proſperity of Great Britain, that had been neglected. His majeſty expreſſed the ſame ſentiments in his ſpeech at the opening of the parliament which met on the thirteenth of January*. He ſaid the general tranquillity of Europe was now reſtored and eſtabliſhed, and all his expectations on that head fully anſwered: that from the time of concluding the quadruple alliance, the ſeveral courts of Europe had been engaged in finding means to execute the meaſures, which the contracting powers had concerted for; ſecuring the ſucceſſion of Tuſcany and Parma in favour of the infant of Spain; but the various contending intereſts, the ambitious hopes of obtaining on every ſide farther advantages; together with the natural jealouſies and ſuſpicions ariſing among the ſeveral powers concerned, had occaſioned ſuch troubles and diſturbances as had embarraſſed the affairs of Europe for many years, and particularly affected the intereſt of this nation: that the preſent happy ſituation of affairs, would, he promiſed himſelf, inſpire them with ſuch temper and unanimity, and ſuch ardent zeal for the public welfare as became a parliament ſenſible of the valuable bleſſings they enjoyed: that the duty and affection of his ſubjects was all the return he deſired for his parental care and concern for them: that his government had no ſecurity but what was equally conducive to the happineſs and to the welfare of his people; and their happineſs had no foundation but in the defence and ſupport of his government: "Our ſafety," ſaid he, "is "mutual: our intereſts inſeparable."

From the general tenor of this parental addreſs, it is evident, that his majeſty and his miniſters ſuppoſed, the wiſdom and ſucceſs of their conduct muſt have ſilenced the tongue of oppoſition; and have given perfect ſatisfaction to the nation. The oppoſition, it is certain, during the receſs of parliament, had repeatedly affirmed, both in their writings and converſation, that Don Carlos could never be quietly ſettled in Italy: that the nation was on the eve of a war with France; and the negociations muſt prove abortive, or injurious to Great Britain. Happily for the public, they were diſappointed in all their conjectures. Notwithſtanding this circumſtance, their oppoſition ſtill continued with unabated violence; nor did they ſeem diſcouraged by the loſs.

The commons had no ſooner returned to their houſe, than a motion was made for an addreſs of thanks, congratulating his majeſty on the wiſdom and ſucceſs of his meaſures in effecting, without bloodſhed, the ſettlement of Don Carlos in Italy, and procuring a permanent peace to Great Britain. The minority were ſomewhat at a loſs how to oppoſe theſe plain propoſitions, or deny the merit that was due to the miniſtry, after having ſo frequently predicted the impoſſibility of their ſucceeding. They thought proper, therefore, to recur to other topics. They inſiſted upon the continuance of the Spaniſh depredations, and upon their ignorance of the nature of the treaties, which had not yet been laid before the houſe; and they thence inferred the impropriety of the motion.

Mr. William Pulteney thought the guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction had been delayed too long; and expreſſed his apprehenſions, that the court of Verſailles would accuſe the Engliſh miniſtry of a breach of good faith, in concluding the treaty of Vienna, without their participation. Sir William Wyndham affected to ridicule the miniſtry for the inconſiſtency of their negociations, as he termed it; and complimented the Imperial court, which, by its wiſdom and firmneſs, had accompliſhed its own ends.

* A.D. 1732.

The

The motion was defended by Mr. Pelham, and Mr. Horace Walpole. The former obſerved, that decency required them to return his majeſty thanks for the aſſurances he had given them: that it was their duty to believe theſe aſſurances to be true, till they ſhould be convinced of the contrary: that, ſhould ever that be the caſe, they would then be at liberty to diſapprove, notwithſtanding any reſolution they might now embrace. Mr. Walpole, in a long elaborate ſpeech, juſtified the miniſtry in every ſtep they had taken. After much altercation, the motion for an addreſs was carried without a diviſion; and the ſame example was followed by the lords*.

The next ſubject of importance which came before the commons, was the number of land-forces. When the ſupply fell under conſideration, ſir William Strickland, ſecretary at war, moved, that the ſame number of troops which had been maintained in the preceding year, ſhould be continued in the preſent. The motion was ſupported by ſir William Young and lord Hervey, who endeavoured to ſhew, that ever ſince the Revolution, the government had never reduced its forces, without having cauſe to repent it, by the encouragement which ſuch reductions afforded to their foreign and domeſtic enemies. They expatiated on the wiſdom of his majeſty, and his tenderneſs for the liberties of his people, together with the jealouſy of the parliament, which would never ſuffer any parliamentary army to ſubvert either the freedom or the property of the ſubject.

The motion was oppoſed by ſir William Wyndham, who, after a tedious recapitulation of what had happened under king William, denied that the reduction of the army induced him to agree to the partition treaty, which ſir William Young affirmed to be the caſe. He extolled the native bravery of the Britiſh nation, which was able to defend itſelf againſt all invaſions, without having recourſe to a ſtanding army.

He denied that a parliamentary army was leſs dangerous to the conſtitution than any other; for, if it continued to be kept from year to year, it became, to all intents and purpoſes, a ſtanding army, and was fraught with all the evils which were to be dreaded from ſuch an army. He alledged, that the people might, in the end, be driven into the deſperate reſource of fighting for their liberties, even againſt the parliament; but, added he, in concluſion, "woe "to thoſe men, who adviſe ſuch meaſures as "may produce ſuch fatal effects! I wiſh that "neither God nor man may ever pardon the "authors of ſo much miſery."

Mr. Pelham, ſtruck with this expreſſion, exclaimed, "And I join moſt ſincerely with the "honourable member in wiſhing that neither "God nor man may forgive thoſe, who have "been, or ſhall be the authors of our being "obliged to fight for our liberties. The caſe "has happened. We have been, and that "within theſe twenty years, obliged to fight "for our liberties, and all that can or ought to "be dear to us: and notwithſtanding that cir-"cumſtance, many of thoſe, who had been the "chief authors of that calamity, have been for-"given; I mean, ſir, by man at leaſt." The Tories exclaimed againſt the ſeverity of this ſpeech, which they termed ſcurrility; but thoſe, who remembered ſir William's conduct in the

* A very remarkable incident diſtinguiſhed this year in England, in an affair of ſuicide; an act of deſpair ſo frequent among the Engliſh, that in other nations it is conſidered as a national reproach: though it may generally be termed the effects of lunacy, proceeding from natural cauſes operating on the human body. In ſome few inſtances it ſeems to have been the reſult of cool deliberation. Richard Smith, a book-binder, and priſoner for debt, within the liberties of the king's bench, perſuaded his wife to follow his example in terminating her exiſtence, after they had murdered their little infant. This wretched pair were in the month of April found hanging in their bed-chamber, about a yard's diſtance from each other; and in a ſeparate apartment the child lay dead in a cradle. They left two papers incloſed in a ſhort letter to their landlord, whoſe kindneſs they implored in favour of their dog and cat. They even left money to pay the porter who ſhould carry the incloſed papers to the perſon to whom they were addreſſed. In one of theſe the huſband thanked that perſon for the marks of friendſhip he had received at his hands, and complained of the ill treatment he had experienced from a different quarter. The other paper, ſubſcribed by the huſband and wife, contained the reaſons which induced them to act ſuch a tragedy on themſelves and their offſpring. They declared that they withdrew themſelves from poverty and rags; evils that, through a train of unlucky accidents, were now become inevitable. They juſtified the murder of their child, by ſaying, it was cruelty to take her with them, than to leave her friendleſs in the world, expoſed to ignorance and miſery. Theſe unfortunate ſuicides had been always induſtrious and frugal, invincibly honeſt, and remarkable for conjugal affection.

different periods of his life, thought the chaſtiſement not improperly inflicted.

All the arguments againſt a ſtanding army, which have been mentioned in the courſe of this hiſtory, were repeated on the preſent occaſion. Hiſtory, ancient and modern, was ranſacked for invidious parallels. The Roman armies, who had ſubverted the liberties of their country, were alſo mentioned, with ſarcaſtical applications.

The courtiers replied, that there was no ſimilarity between the caſes, alledging that the preſent army was kept on foot by the parliament, whereas the armies which had formerly ſubverted the conſtitution of England, had been tolerated againſt the conſent of parliament. The minority inſiſted, that the very army, which deſtroyed the conſtitution under Oliver Cromwell, was more a parliamentary army than the preſent, as it was raiſed at firſt to defend the parliament againſt the king; but that it turned againſt the parliament, as much as againſt the king, when its leaders perceived that the parliament intended to force them into its meaſures and then diſband the army. After ſir Robert Walpole, Mr. Plummer, ſir William Strickland, and Mr. Pelham, had ſeverally ſpoken in the debate, the houſe reſolved to continue the army without any reduction, notwithſtanding the utmoſt efforts of the minority.

On the firſt of June, the king cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which, among others, were the following expreſſions: "It is unneceſſary for me, to repreſent to you the ſtate "and ſituation of public affairs both at home "and abroad: you muſt all be ſenſible of what "is univerſally ſeen and felt in the full enjoy"ment of a general peace." Before he concluded, he acquainted them with his intention of viſiting his German dominions, and took the earlieſt opportunity of gratifying his inclination.

The ſituation of affairs on the continent, ſeemed perfectly to correſpond with his majeſty's declaration. The States General had ſucceeded in accelerating the project of a marriage between the eldeſt archduchefs of Auſtria and the duke of Lorraine: by which means the indiviſibility of the Auſtrian dominions, the great object of the Pragmatic Sanction, was ſecured, without ſubjecting Europe to any apprehenſions of danger from her becoming the conſort of a more powerful prince. They had obtained a full and perpetual abolition of the Oſtend company; and all their diſputes with the emperor in Eaſt Frieſland, were adjuſted to their entire ſatisfaction.

The court of Vienna ſeemed cordially to return to its ancient ſyſtem of harmony and friendſhip with Great Britain; but carried its perſecutions againſt its Proteſtants ſubjects to ſuch a height of cruelty, that the king of England was obliged to interpoſe in their behalf. France, by the bigotry of cardinal de Fleury, and the implicit deference of the ſovereign to that miniſter, ſtill continued to be diſtracted with religious diſſenſions, which, while they deſtroyed her own internal tranquillity, rendered her incapable of diſturbing that of her neighbours*.

To give the reader a diſtinct and perfect view of the tranſactions of the enſuing parliament, it may be neceſſary to remind him, that the firſt duties upon beer, ale, cyder, perry, and other liquors, made and vended in this country, were impoſed in the reign of Charles the Second, and were conſidered as an equivalent to his majeſty for the court of wards, the purveyances, and other rights of the crown, which he reſigned, and which had hitherto rendered the prerogative too powerful for the liberty of the ſubject. As the crown had hitherto rejected every propoſal of a commutation of this kind, and as the king could have no other ſecurity for the performance of the contract, than the faith and honour of parliament, the two houſes were ſo anxious to perform their engagements to the utmoſt extent, that the laws they enacted for collecting the exciſe, ſeemed, in many inſtances, to encroach on the property and liberty of the people. Thoſe, who had ſuffered by theſe laws, conceived themſelves much injured, and the number of complainants multiplied ſo extremely, that the clamour againſt that mode of taxation was become almoſt univerſal.

Such were the diſpoſitions of the public with regard to this important article, when the par-

* Victor Amadæus, the abdicated king of Sardinia, having, at the inſtigation of his wife, engaged in ſome intrigues, in order to re-aſcend the throne, his ſon, the reigning king, ordered his perſon to be ſeized at Montcalier, and conveyed to Rivoli, under a ſtrong guard. His wife, the counteſs of Sebaſtian, was confined to Ceva.

liament met on the ſixteenth of January. The king's ſpeech was ſhort and general. He recommended the raiſing of the ſupplies in the moſt eaſy and popular manner; exhorted the members to avoid altercations and animoſities; and earneſtly adviſed them not to ſuffer any ſpecious pretences to divert them from purſuing the true and genuine intereſt and welfare of their country.

This ſpeech, though mild and inoffenſive, occaſioned a debate in the houſe of commons. A motion having been made for an addreſs of thanks, aſſuring his majeſty they would comply with his requeſt, ſir John Barnard propoſed an amendment, importing, that the manner of raiſing the ſupplies ſhould alſo be ſuch as might be conſiſtent with the trade, intereſt, and liberty of the ſubject. He was ſupported by Mr. Sandys and Mr. Shippen, who added, that it ſhould alſo be ſuch as might be conſiſtent with the honour and juſtice of parliament.

Sir Robert Walpole manifeſted his contempt for theſe two motions, by riſing up to ſecond them; and after having diſclaimed all knowledge of any intention to injure the trade of the nation, he intimated that very unfair methods had been taken to induce the people to complain without the leaſt ſhadow of reaſon. This charge was highly reſented by ſir Thomas Alſton, who affirmed, that the people had too much reaſon to complain: that the French were employed in fortifying and repairing the harbour of Dunkirk, contrary to the faith of the moſt ſolemn treaties; and that the Britiſh merchants had received no redreſs for the depredations committed by the Spaniards. He added, that the parliament could not conſcientiouſly inform his majeſty, that they were ſatisfied with the ſituation of affairs at home: for his own part, he was far from being ſatisfied with the preſent ſituation of affairs either at home or abroad: and therefore he moved, that no ſuch aſſurance ſhould be given to his majeſty. This motion, however, being declined as informal, the addreſs with the two amendments was drawn up, preſented, and received a moſt gracious anſwer.

The miniſter, ſenſible of the popularity he had acquired with the landed-gentlemen by the revival of the ſalt duty, reſolved to increaſe his intereſt with that part of the nation by giving ſome farther eaſe in another particular. With this idea he moved, that towards raiſing the ſupply granted to his majeſty, the ſum of five hundred thouſand pounds ſhould be iſſued out of the ſinking fund, beyond what had been applied to the payment of one million for diſcharging the national debt, purſuant to an act of the laſt ſeſſion of parliament. He added, that, if the houſe ſhould not approve of this motion, he or ſome other member would deem it neceſſary to move for a land-tax of two ſhillings in the pound; as there was no other expedient of providing for the current ſervice of the year.

Thoſe who gloried in the character of country gentlemen, were highly offended at the indignity offered them by this motion; which ſeemed to inſinuate, that they would rather encroach upon the ſacred depoſit of the ſinking fund, than be obliged to pay a land tax of two ſhillings in the pound. "The honourable gentleman," ſaid Mr Pulteney, "has often been termed, and he "once had the vanity to aſſume the title himſelf, "—the father of the ſinking fund; but, if "Solomon's judgment be right, he, who is thus "for dividing the child, can never be deemed "the real father. He may claim, and I will "allow him, the honour of being the father of "two other children lately brought forth in this "nation, a ſtanding army and an exciſe; but, "with reſpect to the ſinking fund, he ſeems now "to renounce all pretenſions of being its real "parent."

What Mr. Pulteney gained in brilliancy, he loſt in argument by this ſarcaſm. The exciſe and the army, it was well known, continued upon the ſame footing as they had been before the miniſter came into parliament. With regard to the ſinking fund, ſir Robert Walpole obſerved, that he remembered the time, when the eſtabliſhment of that ſcheme was declared a ridiculous project, and then he was obliged to adopt it; but no ſooner was it found to be a meaſure which tended to the intereſt of the nation, than other gentlemen endeavoured to rob the real father, whoever he was, of the honour of producing ſuch a child.

The motion was oppoſed by ſir William Wyndham, who ſaid, that, though five hundred thouſand pounds ſeemed at preſent to be retained in the pockets of the landed gentlemen, that ſum muſt, ſome time or other, be paid by the

the nation. If it was not paid the enſuing year, they muſt then advance twenty thouſand pounds more for it: if not till two years after, they muſt pay forty thouſand pounds more for it: and if it was not paid till the expiration of fifteen or ſixteen years after, they muſt then, according to the rate of compound intereſt which in ſome caſes muſt take place, pay upwards of a million for the five hundred thouſand pounds, of which the landed gentlemen were now pretended to be eaſed.

Theſe objections were anſwered by Mr. Scroop, ſecretary to the treaty; and, after a long and intemperate debate, the motion was approved, and the ſum granted*.

The people were at this time much alarmed with the apprehenſions of the EXCISE SCHEME, which the miniſter had openly declared he intended to bring forward; and their diſpleaſure was increaſed by a variety of other circumſtances. The Spaniſh depredations in America were ſtill continued: the penſion bill had been ſeveral times rejected in the houſe of lords: a bill for ſecuring the freedom of parliaments, by limiting the number of officers in the houſe of commons, had met with a ſimilar fate: ſuch alſo had been the iſſue of a motion to bring in a bill to repeal the act for ſeptennial parliaments, and limit their continuance to the term of three years according to an act of the ſixth of king William and queen Mary.

The truth is, the anti-courtiers neither deſired nor expected that theſe popular motions ſhould be approved. Their only intention in making them was to injure the credit of the miniſter, by repreſenting their miſcarriage as the conſequence of his influence; and in this attempt they had all the ſucceſs which they could poſſibly have wiſhed. The miniſter was by theſe methods rendered ſo unpopular, that every ſcheme he concerted was inſtantly condemned, even before it had been preſented to the public.

Such were the diſpoſitions of the people, when, on the fourteenth of March, in a committee of the whole houſe, ſir Robert Walpole opened the project, which he had ſo long been meditating. He began by aſſuring the houſe, that the ſcheme he intended to lay before them, according to the beſt of his knowledge, would be an annual improvement of the revenue of twenty or thirty thouſand pounds,

After fully ſtating the particulars of his plan, and the abuſes in the tobacco trade, and other *exciſable* articles, concerning which a long and intereſting debate enſued, a motion was made and carried, for a bill to be brought in for the purpoſes expreſſed in the ſtatement†.

Againſt this bill a petition was preſented by the lord mayor, aldermen. and common council of the city of London, who ſaid, that they preſumed in all humility to expreſs to the houſe, as they had already done in ſome meaſure, by their inſtructions to their members, the univerſal ſenſe of the city, concerning any farther extenſion of the laws of *exciſe*: that the burden of taxes already impoſed on every branch of trade, however cheerfully ſubmitted to, was ſeverely felt; but the petitioners apprehended, that this burthen would become too heavy to be borne, if it was increaſed by ſuch vexatious and oppreſſive methods of levying and collecting the duties, as, they were aſſured by melancholy experience, the nature of all exciſes muſt neceſſarily produce: that the merchants, tradeſmen, and manufacturers of the kingdom, had ſupported themſelves under the preſſure of the exciſe-laws now in force, by the comfortable and reaſonable expectation, that laws, which nothing but public neceſſity could be a motive to enact, would be repealed in favour of the trade of the kingdom and of the liberty of the ſubject, whenever that motive ſhould be removed, as the petitioners preſumed it effectually was, by the undiſturbed tranquillity which the nation enjoyed at home, and the

* This bill alſo contained a proviſion for the grant of eighty thouſand pounds, as the portion of Anne, the king's eldeſt daughter, to whom propoſals of marriage had been made by the prince of Orange; but the union did not take place till the ſpring of the year 1734. By the ſame bill, ten thouſand pounds were appropriated to the exigencies of the infant colony of Georgia.

† On the day of the expected motion, multitudes repaired to the environs of the houſe, eager to influence the members againſt the ſcheme. Theſe were repreſented by the exaſperated miniſter, as coming under the denomination of *ſturdy beggars*; an expreſſion which drew on him the cenſure of ſir John Bernard. Having enumerated the frauds which were adopted for the evaſion of duty, and urged the neceſſity of preventive endeavours, he ſtated the particulars of his plan, recommending a junction of the laws of EXCISE and CUSTOMS.

general

general peace which was ſo permanently eſtabliſhed abroad: that if this expectation ſhould be diſappointed; if the exciſe laws, inſtead of being repealed, were extended to other ſpecies of merchandize not yet exciſed, and a door opened for extending them to all, the petitioners could not, in juſtice to themſelves, to the merchants, tradeſmen, and manufacturers of the whole kingdom, and to the general intereſt of their country, conceal their apprehenſions, that the moſt fatal blow, which ever was given, would be inflicted on this occaſion, to the trade and navigation of Great Britain: that by ſuch means the great ſpring, from which the wealth and property of individuals flowed, would be obſtructed, the mercantile part of the nation would be rendered leſs able to trade advantageouſly, and be deterred even from engaging in any kind of trade; ſince no perſon, who could enjoy the privileges of a Britiſh ſubject without commerce, even with a ſmall fortune, would voluntarily reſign ſome of the moſt valuable of thoſe privileges, by ſubjecting himſelf to the laws of exciſe: that the petitioners were able to ſhew, that theſe apprehenſions were founded both in experience and reaſon; and therefore they hoped, that the houſe would hear them by their counſel againſt the bill. This laſt requeſt was refuſed by a majority of two hundred and fourteen, againſt one hundred and ninety-ſeven.

The ſuperiority of the court, however, in this important queſtion, was ſo trivial, and the hopes of increaſing it were ſo inconſiderable, the petition itſelf being inforced by others of ſimilar import from Briſtol, Nottingham, Coventry, and moſt of the trading towns and corporations in the kingdom, had produced ſuch vehement clamours againſt the conduct of the adminiſtration; the minds of the people had, by various arts and contrivances, been incited to ſuch a pitch of fury and reſentment; that the miniſtry thought proper, for the preſent, to lay aſide the further proſecution of the ſcheme. Accordingly, on the eleventh of April, when a motion was made for reading the bill a ſecond time, ſir Robert Walpole propoſed, that it ſhould be poſtponed till the twelfth of June, in conſequence of which it was never after reſumed. The miſcarriage of the ſcheme was celebrated with public rejoicings in London and Weſtminſter; the Monument was illuminated; the miniſter burned in effigy; and no ſpecies of inſult was omitted againſt the friends and abettors of the meaſure*.

On the eighth of May, his majeſty tranſmitted a meſſage to the commons, importing, that having received from the prince of Orange, propoſals for a marriage between the princeſs royal and that prince; and having been pleaſed to lend a favourable ear to thoſe propoſals; he had thought proper to communicate the affair to his faithful commons; and as he hoped ſuch a marriage would be approved by all his good ſubjects, he promiſed himſelf the aſſiſtance and concurrence of the houſe, in enabling him to give ſuch a portion to his eldeſt daughter, as ſhould be ſuitable to the preſent occaſion; and might contribute towards ſupporting, with honour and dignity, an alliance that would tend ſo materially to the farther ſecurity of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion on the throne of theſe realms, and the farther ſtrengthening the Proteſtant intereſt on the continent of Europe.

A new war was about this time excited in Europe by a vacancy on the throne of Poland. Auguſtus the Second dying at Warſaw in the beginning of February, the neighbouring powers intereſted themſelves ſtrongly in the choice of a new ſovereign. The elector of Saxony, ſon of the late king, and Staniſlaus, whoſe daughter was married to the French monarch, declared themſelves candidates.

Staniſlaus, being highly popular among his

* The behaviour of the populace during the whole progreſs of this affair, had been ſo intolerable, that the houſe could not avoid expreſſing their indignation againſt it. They reſolved, therefore, that the aſſaulting, inſulting, or menacing any member of the houſe, in coming to, or going from it, on account of his behaviour in parliament, was a high infringement of the privilege of the houſe, a moſt outrageous and dangerous violation of the rights of parliament, and a high crime and miſdemeanor. The ſame cenſure was paſſed againſt the aſſembling or collecting of any number of perſons, in a riotous, tumultuous, and diſorderly manner, either to hinder or promote the paſſing of any bill or other matter, depending before the houſe.

Such was the concluſion of a project, which all candid and impartial reaſoners believed would have contributed greatly to the intereſt of the fair trader, and to the increaſe of the revenue; an opinion, indeed, which was ſo well founded, that the moſt exceptionable parts of the ſcheme have, in another ſhape, been enacted in ſubſequent ſtatutes, even at the requeſt, and upon the application of thoſe very perſons who were then moſt forward in oppoſing the meaſure.

countrymen, was choſen to the vacant ſovereignty; but the partiſans of his competitor proteſted againſt the election; and the interference of a Ruſſian army obtained the crown, by an irregular appointment, for Auguſtus, the new elector of Saxony. Though the king of France, who was ſon-in-law of Staniſlaus, had eſpouſed the cauſe of this prince, he found himſelf unable to maintain his election. This conteſt gave occaſion to a war, in which the French monarch was otherwiſe inclined to engage. Confiding in the aid of Spain, he wiſhed to humble the emperor; and, while this potentate aſſembled his forces for the ſupport of Auguſtus, a Gallic army appeared on the Rhine.

During theſe tranſactions, the French king concluded a treaty with Spain and Sardinia, by which theſe powers engaged to declare war againſt the emperor. Manifeſtoes were reciprocally publiſhed by all the parties. The duke of Berwick paſſed the Rhine in October, and laid ſiege to Fort Kehl, which he ſoon reduced: then repaſſing the river, he returned to Verſailles. The king of Sardinia, having declared war againſt the emperor, and being joined by a body of French troops, ſubdued Pavia, Pizzighitone, Cremona, Frezza, Secco, the fort of Fuentez, and made himſelf maſter of the whole duchy of Milan.

His imperial majeſty, dreading the effects of a powerful confederacy againſt him, offered to accommodate all differences with the crown of Spain, under the mediation of the king of England; and Mr. Keene, the Britiſh miniſter at Madrid, was directed to make propoſals for that purpoſe. But ſucceſs did not attend the mediatory endeavours of George, who prudently forbore, however, to take part in this war, notwithſtanding his ſtudious attention to the ſuppoſed balance of Europe*.

The parliament meeting on the ſeventh of January†, the king, in his ſpeech to both houſes, informed them, that, though he was not concerned in the war which had ariſen in Europe, except by the good offices he had employed among the contending powers, he could not remain an idle ſpectator of the preſent events, or be indifferent reſpecting the conſequences of a war undertaken and ſupported by ſuch a powerful confederacy. He declared that he would concert with his allies, more particularly with the States-General of the United Provinces, ſuch meaſures as ſhould be thought moſt adviſeable for their common ſafety, and for reſtoring the peace of Europe.

The ſtate of parties in both houſes continuing nearly the ſame as in the former ſeſſion, addreſſes of thanks were preſented, in anſwer to his majeſty's ſpeech, after a few trivial objections advanced by the oppoſition. On the twenty-third of January, the commons agreed to addreſs his majeſty for a copy of the treaty of Vienna. Sir John Ruſhout moved for another, deſiring that the letters and inſtructions relating to the execution of the treaty of Seville, ſhould be ſubmitted to the inſpection of the houſe.

This motion was followed by a long and intemperate debate. But the queſtion was at laſt carried by a majority of one hundred and ninety-five, againſt one hundred and four.

The oppoſition, not diſcouraged by this defeat, reſolved to renew their attacks againſt the adminiſtration. On the twenty-fifth of January, Mr. Sandy's moved, than an addreſs ſhould be preſented to his majeſty, entreating him to communicate, for the peruſal of the houſe, the ſeve-

* The prince of Orange had arrived in England towards the cloſe of the preceding year, in order to eſpouſe the princeſs-royal; and the marriage, which was for ſome time delayed on account of his indiſpoſition, was at laſt celebrated on the fourteenth of March with great pomp and magnificence.

About this time the earl of Cheſterfield reſigned his place of lord-ſteward of his majeſty's houſehold. The duke of Bolton and lord Cobham were deprived of their ſituations in the army. The duke of Montroſe relinquiſhed his office of lord privy-ſeal of Scotland; and his example was followed by lord Clinton, who gave up his places as one of the gentlemen of his majeſty's bed-chamber, and lord-lieutenant of the county of Devon.

† Though theſe removals and reſignations were far from being popular, that inconvenience was amply compenſated by ſome promotions in the law, which gave perfect ſatisfaction to the public. Mr. Talbot, ſolicitor-general, one of the moſt accompliſhed and impartial judges in the kingdom, was conſtituted lord-chancellor of Great-Britain, and created a peer of England. Sir Philip Yorke, attorney-general, was elevated to the office of lord chief juſtice of the king's Bench, and honoured with a peerage. The former was ſucceeded by Mr. Rider, afterwards ſir Dudley Rider: the latter by Mr. (afterwards ſir John) Willes.

† A.D. 1734.

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ral inſtructions ſent to Mr. Woodward, his majeſty's miniſter in Poland, in 1729.

Mr. Sandys was ſeconded by ſir William Wyndham*, and a debate of ſome length enſued; in the courſe of which Mr. Pulteney reflected on the ſcandalous deciſions, as he pronounced them, of majorities in parliament.

The nation was at that time deluged with papers and pamphlets, which daringly aſſerted, that every member who voted for the miniſtry was a mercenary hireling, and bartered his vote for ſome place which he either enjoyed or expected. Liſts had been publiſhed, and circulated throughout the kingdom, of all thoſe who voted for the exciſe ſcheme, with catalogues of the appointments which they poſſeſſed under government. This expedient had produced a wonderful effect upon the minds of the people, who were induced to believe, that every member who had not a place, and yet voted for the miniſtry, received a penſion, or ſome other gratuity or compenſation. After ſeveral other ſpeeches, the queſtion was carried in favour of the court by a majority of eighty-eight voices.

When the commons deliberated on the ſupply, Mr. Andrews deputy-paymaſter to the army, moved for an addition of eighteen hundred men to the number of land forces, which had been continued ſince the preceding war. This augmentation, however inconſiderable, and indeed inadequate to the occaſion, was violently conteſted by the members in the oppoſition; but all their arguments appeared ſo frivolous, that the houſe agreed to the motion by a great majority.

As this was ſuppoſed to be the laſt ſeſſion of the preſent parliament, the oppoſition endeavoured to render the miniſtry as unpopular as poſſible, hoping, by that expedient, to increaſe their numbers at the next election. The removal of the duke of Bolton and lord Cobham from their regiments, was repreſented as an arbitrary act of the miniſter, who was determined, they ſaid, to garble the army to his own ſordid purpoſes, and to ſuffer no officer to continue in it, who ſhould preſume to vote againſt him in either houſe of parliament. To remedy this pretended evil, lord Morpeth moved, that leave ſhould be given to bring in a bill to prevent any commiſſion-officer, not above the rank of colonel, from being removed, unleſs by a court martial, or by addreſs of either houſe of parliament. To ſupport this abſurd and extravagant motion, his lordſhip had recourſe to the government of foreign countries, and particularly mentioned the example of Holland and Sweden. In the former country, he ſaid, no officer could be broken without the ſentence of a court-martial; and in the latter, none could be removed from his commiſſion, without the conſent of the ſenate. He was ſeconded by ſir John Ruſhout, who ſaid, there were then upwards of forty officers of the army members of that houſe, and it was ſecuring their independency upon the miniſter, by the houſe agreeing to the motion.

Theſe objections were anſwered by Mr. Clutterbuck, colonel Bladen, ſir Thomas Robinſon, Mr. Winnington, and ſir Robert Walpole.

The arguments advanced by theſe members were thought ſo ſatisfactory, that the queſtion being put, was carried in the negative without a diviſion. The truth is, the minority neither expected nor deſired, that the motion ſhould ſucceed. They introduced it for no other reaſon than to have an opportunity of inveighing againſt the miniſter, and of introducing another motion, which was more pointedly levelled at his authority. The debate was no ſooner finiſhed, than Mr. Sandys moved for an addreſs to the king, deſiring to know who adviſed his majeſty to remove the duke of Bolton and lord Cobham from their reſpective regiments; and of what crimes they were accuſed.

Though this motion was as unſucceſsful as the the former, it was regular and conſtitutional. Motions of a ſimilar nature had been frequently made in parliament, upon ſimilar occaſions. The king, it was well known, could do no wrong; and therefore, when any crime was committed by government, the blame was imputable to the miniſter, who alone was reſponſible.

The minority were ſenſible of this advantage, and availed themſelves of it with great dexterity

* Sir William Wyndham, towards the concluſion of his ſpeech on this occaſion, exhibited in ſtrong terms of implication, an opprobrious character of Walpole; illiberally reflecting on the obſcurity of his family, and the mediocrity of his fortune; and charging him with being laviſh of the public money among his unprincipled favourites, for the accompliſhment of the moſt pernicious aims.

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and addreſs. Many invidious reflections were thrown out on the conduct of the adminiſtration. Sir William Wyndham declared, that, ſhould any miniſter ſo far engroſs the royal ear, as to be able to perſuade his maſter to diſmiſs a faithful and approved ſervant, merely for oppoſing his pernicious ſchemes, the king, inſtead of being the firſt man, would only be the firſt ſlave in the nation. But neither this nor ſeveral other ſevere invectives, which were copiouſly poured forth againſt the miniſtry, could provoke them into a reply. They knew, that ſuch a ſtep would have introduced a tedious and unintereſting diſpute. They therefore called for the queſtion, and the motion was rejected by a majority of one hundred and one.

But the ſubject, which of all others, in the courſe of this ſeſſion, produced the moſt violent debate between the two parties, was a motion made by Mr. Bromley, for repealing the act for ſeptennial parliaments. But this motion was negatived by a majority of two hundred and forty-ſeven againſt one hundred and eighty-four.

On the twenty-eighth of March, ſir Robert Walpole delivered a meſſage to the houſe, importing, that, as the war, which had lately commenced in Europe, ſtill continued to rage, his majeſty hoped he might be enabled to augment his forces, if ſuch an augmentation ſhould be found neceſſary, between the diſſolution of this parliament and the election of another. Though this meſſage occaſioned a violent diſpute, the majority complied with it; and in conſequence of another meſſage, they paſſed a bill, empowering his majeſty to ſettle an annuity of five thouſand pounds for life on the princeſs royal, as a mark of his paternal favour and affection.

A motion was made in the houſe of peers by lord Carteret, for an addreſs to the king, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to acquaint the houſe, who adviſed his majeſty to remove the duke of Bolton and lord Cobham from their regiments; and of what crimes they were accuſed. This propoſal was alſo rejected.

The public buſineſs being now diſpatched, the king repaired to the houſe of lords on the ſixteenth of April, and having given his aſſent to ſuch bills as were ready, made a ſhort ſpeech, to both houſes, in which, among other things, he declared, that he had nothing to wiſh, but that his people might not be ſeduced or miſguided. The parliament was prorogued, diſſolved, and another convoked by the ſame proclamation.

The war on the continent continued to rage with great violence. The Ruſſian and Saxon army laid ſiege to Dantzic, hoping to ſecure the perſon of king Staniſlaus. The inhabitants at firſt attempted to make ſome reſiſtance, but finding all their efforts ineffectual, they were at laſt obliged to ſurrender. Staniſlaus eſcaped into the Pruſſian territories: the Popiſh lords, who had followed his fortune, ſubmitted to Auguſtus; and that prince having thus overcome his rival, and eſtabliſhed his authority, returned triumphantly to Dreſden.

In Germany, the French met with uninterrupted ſucceſs, but ſuſtained an irreparable loſs in the death of the duke of Berwick*, who was killed by a cannon-ball, in viſiting the trenches, which he had opened before Philipſburg on the twenty-ſixth of April. The celebrated Prince Eugene arrived on the Rhine, to aſſume the command of the Imperial army in that quarter; but he found himſelf ſo much inferior to the enemy, that he was compelled during the whole campaign, to remain upon the defenſive. Marſhal D'Aſfeldt, who ſeconded the duke of Berwick in the command of the French army, continued to proſecute the ſiege of Philipſburg with unremitted vigour; and the gar-

* The duke of Berwick was juſtly reputed one of the greateſt of modern commanders. No general ever had the *coup d'œil* quicker or more accurate; whether, in battle, to diſcover the blunders of an enemy, and mark thoſe deciſive moments that carry victory with them; or, in a campaign, to obſerve and take advantage of poſitions, on which the ſucceſs of the whole depends. His character in private life, though no leſs worthy admiration is leſs known. "It was impoſſible," ſays Monteſquieu, "to behold him, and not to be in love with virtue, ſo evident was tranquillity and happineſs in his ſoul. No man ever knew better how to avoid exceſſes; or, if I may ſo expreſs myſelf, to keep clear of the ſnares of virtue. He had a great fund of religion, and was fond of the clergy, but could not bear to be governed by them. No man ever followed more ſtrictly thoſe precepts of the goſpel which are moſt troubleſome to men of the world; no man, in a word, ever practiſed religion ſo much, and talked of it ſo little. He never ſpoke ill of any one, nor beſtowed any praiſe upon thoſe whom he did not think deſerving of it. In the works of Plutarch I have ſeen, at a diſtance, what great men *were*, in him I behold, at a nearer view, what they *are*." *Sketch of an Hiſtorical Panegyric.*

riſon of that place, after having made a brave and vigorous defence, was at laſt obliged to agree to a capitulation.

The French and their allies were no leſs ſucceſsful in Italy than in Germany. The French, having reduced the caſtle of Milan, and ſeveral other fortreſſes, advanced into the Modeneze: while Don Carlos, at the head of his own and his father's forces, took poſſeſſion of Naples, and inveſted the towns of Gæta and Capua. The Imperialiſts in thoſe quarters, were commanded by count Merci: the Spaniards by the count de Montimar; and theſe two generals having come to an engagement in the neighbourhood of Bitonto, the latter obtained a complete victory over the former.

On the twenty-ninth of June, the battle of Parma took place, in which the German army ſuſtained a total defeat from the French, who killed the Imperial general, a great number of principal officers, and upwards of five thouſand men. In conſequence of this event, the whole kingdom of Naples ſubmitted to Don Carlos, who began to make preparations for attacking Sicily, where ſome Spaniſh troops had already been landed.

During theſe tranſactions, the Britiſh miniſtry exerted themſelves with great vigour in putting the nation in a poſture of defence; a meaſure, conſidering the diſpoſition of ſome of the powers at war, which was both prudent and neceſſary. Of all the allies, the king of Sardinia was the only prince who was ſincere in his profeſſions of friendſhip to this country. Though the prime miniſter of Spain, who was lately dead, had, upon his death-bed, recommended to his maſter the preſervation of peace with Great Britain as the moſt valuable legacy he could bequeath him; yet that bigotted prince paid very little regard to his ſalutary advice. The eldeſt ſon of the pretender was permitted to ſerve in the army of Don Carlos, who had even the imprudence to inſinuate, that, whenever his affairs would permit, he would ſupport the intereſt of the abdicated family. Nor were the French more reſerved in diſcovering their unfriendly ſentiments towards England. They iſſued about this time a ſevere edict, compelling all Britiſh ſubjects either to quit that kingdom, or to enliſt in their armies.

The earl of Waldgrave, the Britiſh miniſter at Paris, preſented a ſevere memorial on that ſubject; and the French miniſtry excuſed themſelves, by alledging that they only meant to execute their edict againſt Britiſh and Iriſh vagabonds, and ſuch as had no viſible means of ſubſiſtence, or ſettled place of abode.

Great Britain continued to enjoy profound tranquillity, with no other interruption, than what aroſe from the new elections, which were carried on with great zeal, induſtry and animoſity, by the two parties; but, notwithſtanding the utmoſt efforts of the oppoſition, the miniſtry obtained a conſiderable majority.

The new parliament meeting on the twenty-ſeventh of January*, the king, in his ſpeech to both houſes, informed them, that having undertaken, in concert with the States-General, to mediate between the powers at war, he had been ſo ſucceſsful, that a plan would ſpeedily be offered to the conſideration of all parties engaged in the war, as a baſis for a general negociation of peace: that he had concluded a treaty with the crown of Denmark, a matter, he conceived of great importance in the preſent conjuncture, and which, being attended with ſome expence, he would order it to be ſubmitted to the conſideration of the commons: that he hoped they would approve of the ſteps he had taken for the ſecurity of the kingdom: and that, while a war continued to rage in Europe, it would be proper for Great Britain to keep herſelf in a poſture of defence.

When the commons returned to their houſe, a motion was made for an addreſs to his majeſty, thankfully acknowledging his wiſdom and goodneſs in purſuing ſuch meaſures as tended towards peace and tranquillity, rather than to involve Great Britain, and all Europe, too precipitately, in a general and bloody war. This motion, as uſual, was attended with a warm debate: after which the addreſs was voted by a majority of two hundred and ſixty-five, againſt one hundred and eighty-five.

When the new treaty with Denmark came under the conſideration of the houſe, Mr. Horace Walpole moved, that the ſum of fifty-ſix thouſand pounds ſhould be granted to his majeſty, as a ſubſidy to the Dane, purſuant to the ſaid treaty. This motion was not carried with-

* A. D. 1735.

out a violent oppoſition. It was however approved by a very great majority.

In the courſe of this ſeſſion, the mutiny bill received a material alteration. By this act, any juſtice of the peace was formerly enabled to confine a poor fellow in a dungeon, if, after receiving the enliſting money, while perhaps he was intoxicated, he refuſed to take the oaths, even though he offered to return the money, and to diſcharge any expences that might have occurred in conſequence of his having enliſted. To remove this grievance, ſo inconſiſtent with the principles of a free government, ſir Walter Bagot moved, for a clauſe, importing, that every officer, who ſhould hereafter enliſt any men to ſerve in any regiment, ſhould, within a certain number of days, conduct the perſon enliſted before one of the next juſtices of the peace, where the man ſhould be at full liberty to declare his diſſent to ſuch an act, and his having repented of the ſtep he had taken; and on his ſo doing, and returning the officer the enliſting money, and the expences incurred in the progreſs of the affair, ſuch juſtice ſhould inſtantly diſcharge him: and that an officer, guilty of any failure or neglect in this particular, ſhould be liable to the ſame penalties, which were inflicted on thoſe, who were chargeable with falſe muſters. A clauſe was alſo propoſed to be added, ordaining, that if any perſon ſhould receive the enliſting-money, knowing it to be ſuch, and ſhould abſcond, or refuſe to be taken before a magiſtrate, in order to declare his aſſent or diſſent to the enliſting, ſuch perſon ſhould be deemed to be enliſted, to all intents and purpoſes. Theſe clauſes met with no oppoſition from the miniſtry; and they were accordingly approved without a diviſion.

The next affair which came before the houſe, was a matter more curious than intereſting. The minority to increaſe the popular clamour againſt the miniſter, had propagated a report, that their letters were opened at the poſt-office; and a motion was made for a copy of his majeſty's warrant, permitting the letters of all members to paſs free from poſtage. The warrant was accordingly ſubmitted to the inſpection of the commons; and from this it appeared, that the privilege of franking was granted by the crown to the great officers of ſtate, and to both houſes of parliament.

Sir Robert Walpole declared, that he was far from vindicating the practice of opening the letters of members; but he begged leave to obſerve, that, if the miniſtry had not a diſcretionary power, in times of public danger, of ordering letters to be opened at the poſt-houſe, there would be no poſſibility of diſcovering any conſpiracies againſt the government: and that, for the truth of this aſſertion, he might ſafely appeal to the experience of the nation and of that houſe, in the caſe of the biſhop of Rocheſter, and of almoſt all the conſpiracies, which had been entered into againſt the ſtate, ever ſince the inſtitution of the poſt-office. At length it was moved, that a committee ſhould be appointed to enquire into a matter of ſuch importance; and this motion was readily approved, to the great diſappointment of the minority, who made it, and who ridiculouſly imagined it would be ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by all the friends of the adminiſtration.

This enquiry led to the diſcovery of a remarkable ſcene. It appeared, that when the commons paſſed the bill, granting the poſt revenue to Charles the Second, they annexed to it a clauſe, reſerving to themſelves the privilege of franking. When this bill was preſented to the upper houſe, the lords finding in it no ſuch proviſion for them, and thinking it a money-bill, to which they never permitted any clauſes to be annexed, paſſed it without the addition. This omiſſion would certainly have occaſioned its miſcarriage in the lower houſe, to which it was ſent back, had not the miniſtry aſſured the members, that their letters ſhould be permitted to paſs free of poſtage. Thus by the jealouſy, not of the crown, but of the two houſes, the members of both were obliged to depend, for the privilege of franking, which they meant to have reſerved to themſelves by an expreſs law, upon the ſole will and pleaſure of the ſovereign*.

Some of the nobility endeavoured to reſtrain

* The privilege of letters coming free of poſtage to and from members of parliament, was regulated and confirmed by ſtatute 4 G. III. c. 24; and the ſtatutes 24 G. III. and 35 G. III. and many regulations, rendered neceſſary by the great abuſes crept into the practice of franking.

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the influence of the court in the choice of the ſixteen Scottiſh peers. With that view, the marquis of Tweedale moved, that the election ſhould be managed by ballot: but the duke of Argyle alledged, that this would be a breach of the act of union; and, when the houſe divided, the motion failed. The duke of Bedford propoſed a reſolution, intimating, that "it was a "great inſult on the juſtice of the crown, an "encroachment on the freedom of elections, "and highly injurious to the honour of the "peerage," for any perſon to influence the voters of the electors of the ſixteen peers, either by threats or promiſes. The earls of Stair and Cheſterfield, and lord Carteret, declared, that the houſe could not teſtify too ſtrong an abhorrence of the dangerous practices of artful miniſters. The dukes of Argyle and Newcaſtle, and Talbot (a man of great merit, who had lately been promoted to the dignity of chancellor) oppoſed the motion with ſucceſs, as unneceſſary and ill-founded. Soon after this debate, the earl of Stair, who had already loſt ſome of his poſts, received a diſcharge from the command of a regiment of dragoons, for his obnoxious conduct in parliament.

At this period the affairs of Europe were in a very critical ſituation. The emperor expreſſed the utmoſt ſurprize at the moderation of his Britannic majeſty, who, he had long flattered himſelf, would ſpeedily eſpouſe his quarrel. The king, indeed, would probably have taken ſuch a ſtep, could he have been convinced, that the court of Vienna deſerved ſuch a favour at his hands, or that ſuch a meaſure could be ſafely embraced, when the Dutch were ſo ſtrongly attached to the French intereſt. His majeſty, however, never loſt ſight of the common cauſe, but continued to ſupport it with his accuſtomed ſpirit; and it was ſolely owing to his conduct, that the balance of power was not, at this time, irretrievably ruined.

The French had formed ſo powerful a party at the Ottoman court, that ſome divans had been actually held to deliberate on a war with the emperor. The Britiſh and Dutch ambaſſadors were no ſooner informed of this circumſtance, than they tranſmitted an account of it to their reſpective maſters, who ſent them expreſs orders to counteract the deſigns of the French agents; and theſe miniſters were ſo ſucceſsful in their endeavours, that the Grand Signior declined his hoſtile intentions, and his Britannic majeſty received the thanks of the emperor for this friendly interpoſition. Nor were the meaſures of the Britiſh miniſtry leſs effectual in preventing the flames of war from ſpreading into other parts of Europe. A miſunderſtanding having taken place between the courts of Madrid and Liſbon, the king of Spain began to make ſuch preparations for war, that his Portugueſe majeſty had recourſe to the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh nation. The miniſtry lent a favourable ear to his application, and reſolved to afford him that relief which he ſeemed ſo much to require. Towards the latter end of May, ſir John Norris ſet ſail with a fleet of twenty-eight ſhips of war, and, in a few days, arrived at Liſbon, where he was received by the inhabitants as their guardian and deliverer. The court of Spain affected to be greatly enraged at this meaſure of the Engliſh miniſtry, and threatened immediately to invade Portugal with a numerous army; but, notwithſtanding all their menaces, they thought proper to iſſue orders for countermanding their military preparations.

In the mean time, the powers at variance upon the Continent were equally weary of the war; but none of them would condeſcend to make the firſt advances towards a peace. At length, by the good offices of the Britiſh miniſtry and the States General, a ceſſation of arms was procured, and conferences were opened for a general pacification, which was ſoon followed by certain preliminary articles.

The king of Great Britain returned from Hanover in November; and on the fifteenth of January*, opened the parliament with a ſpeech; in which he informed them, that the plan of pacification formed by the French and Imperialiſts, was in ſubſtance, the ſame with that, which had been concerted between him and the States-General. His majeſty had no ſooner retired, than a motion was made, in the upper houſe, for an addreſs. An addreſs, after ſtrong conteſts, was accordingly voted, preſented, and graciouſly received. The example of the lords was followed by the commons, and was alſo favourably received.

* A. D. 1736.

The lower houſe, having determined ſome controverted elections, proceeded to conſider the ſupply, and ſir Charles Wager moving, that fifteen thouſand men ſhould be employed for the ſervice of the enſuing year, the propoſal was approved without a diviſion.

On the eleventh of February, a petition was delivered to the houſe by the juſtices of the county of Middleſex, repreſenting, that the drinking of geneva, and other pernicious diſtilled ſpirituous liquors, had, for ſeveral years paſt, increaſed to a ſurpriſing degree, eſpecially among the people of inferior rank: that the exceſſive uſe of theſe liquors had already deſtroyed thouſands of his majeſty's ſubjects; rendered great numbers incapable of uſeful labour and ſervice; corrupted their morals; and plunged them into every ſpecies of vice and immorality: that theſe deſtructive liquors were now ſold, not only by diſtillers, and the keepers of geneva-ſhops, but by many other perſons of inferior trades; by which means, journeymen, apprentices, and ſervants, were induced to intoxicate themſelves with this bewitching drug: that the petitioners apprehended, that the public welfare and ſafety, as well as the trade of the nation, would be greatly affected by this practice, which was ſo dangerous to the health, ſtrength, peace, and morals, and tended ſo much to diminiſh the labour and induſtry of his majeſty's ſubjects; and therefore they prayed, that the houſe would take the matter into their ſerious conſideration, and apply ſuch remedy, as to them, in their wiſdom, ſhould ſeem moſt proper..

This affair being examined by the houſe, a motion was made for reſolving, that a duty of twenty ſhillings per gallon ſhould be impoſed upon all ſpirituous liquors; and that fifty ſhillings ſhould be paid to his majeſty for a licence, to be taken out annually by every perſon, who ſhould vend, barter, or utter any ſuch ſpirituous liquors. Many plauſible objections were advanced againſt theſe heavy impoſitions. It was ſaid, that they amounted to a prohibition; and, as this extended to rum, it might prove injurious to the Britiſh ſugar iſlands, which were already in a declining condition: that many thouſands of his majeſty's ſubjects depended upon the Britiſh diſtillery for their ſupport: and that it was abſurd to argue againſt the uſe of any thing from the abuſe of it.

It was urged on the other hand, that nothing but the extreme danger of the public, from the abuſe of ſpirituous liquors of all denominations, could have prevailed on gentlemen to move for the reſolutions which had now been mentioned: that they were fully ſenſible of the difficulties to which great numbers of his majeſty's ſubjects would be reduced, by the duties propoſed to be laid on ſuch liquors; but the intereſt of individuals muſt give way to the general intereſt; and, where the preſervation of the community was ſo eſſentially concerned, the inconveniences which ſome few particular perſons might ſuffer, were not to be regarded: that, nevertheleſs, all poſſible care would be taken of thoſe, who might be affected by the duties intended to be laid on the retailing of ſpirituous liquors, ſo as they might be enabled to engage in ſome other kind of buſineſs: that, with reſpect to rum and brandy, it was likewiſe very certain, that they had been often drank to a very great exceſs, notwithſtanding the high duties impoſed upon them, and were as pernicious both to the health and morals of the people, as any home-made ſpirit: that it would be ridiculous to impoſe a higher duty upon ſpirits, which were the manufacture of the ſubjects of Great Britain, than upon rum and brandy, eſpecially the latter; and that, if the Britiſh ſugar iſlands ſhould ſuffer a little by leſſening the conſumption of rum, they could not complain, when they conſidered, that it would tend to preſerve the morals of the people; the general intereſt of which was always to be preferred to the particular intereſt of any particular colony.

The reſolutions were accordingly approved, and a bill was ordered to be brought in for impoſing the duty. Againſt this bill petitions were preſented by the traders to the ſugar colonies, and by the merchants of Briſtol and Liverpool, repreſenting the injuries they muſt ſuffer by a law, which amounted to a prohibition of rum and ſpirits diſtilled from molaſſes. In conſequence of theſe remonſtrances, a mitigating clauſe was inſerted in favour of the compoſition known by the name of punch; and diſtillers were permitted to exerciſe any other employment.

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The ſum of ſeventy thouſand pounds was voted for making good the deficiences that might probably happen in the civil liſt by this bill, which at length paſſed, though not without a ſtubborn oppoſition.

In the month of February, the king had ſent two members of the privy council to the prince of Wales, with a meſſage propoſing a marriage between his royal highneſs and the princeſs of Saxe-Gotha. The propoſal being agreeable to the prince, lord Delaware was diſpatched to the court of Saxe-Gotha to demand the princeſs, who arrived in England on the twenty-fifth of April; two days after which the nuptials were celebrated*.

The ſpirit of bequeathing lands to pious and charitable uſes, frequently to the prejudice of worthy heirs and indigent relatives, had become ſo prevalent, and been carried to ſuch a dangerous height, that it was thought neceſſary to check this growing evil, by ſome ſalutary regulations. For this purpoſe, a bill was brought in by ſir Joſeph Jekyll, maſter of the Rolls, to reſtrain the diſpoſition of land in Mortmain, whereby they became unalienable.

The principle, upon which the bill was founded, that of preventing lands from going into Mortmain or *dead hands*†, had been long a favourite maxim with the Engliſh commons; and indeed, nothing could be better ſuited to the genius of a free and trading nation. The two univerſities, however, took the alarm. That of Cambridge, delivered a petition, repreſenting, that, the univerſity and colleges in it were founded for maintaining proper perſons in the ſtudy of uſeful knowledge, and the education of youth in learning, virtue, and religion: that in general, the intentions of the founders had been anſwered; but the petitioners apprehended, that, if the bill depending paſſed without amendment, it would be attended both in the preſent and in futurity, with very prejudicial conſequences; as it would deprive them of donations, to ſupply preſent or future deficiencies, or for any other wiſe or great purpoſes, how-uſeful ſoever or neceſſary they might be thought: that a conſiderable part of their revenues aroſe from annuities and certain other payments, iſſuing out of lands and other eſtates; and that many of thoſe payments, having been fixed in the reign of queen Elizabeth, and ſtill continuing invariably the ſame, were now, by the great depreciation of money ſince that period, ſunk ſo far below their original value, as to be inſufficient to anſwer the purpoſes, for which they were intended: that many poor ſtudents had neither ſcholarſhip nor exhibition to aſſiſt towards their maintenance: that the number of advowſons, in moſt colleges, was very ſmall, in proportion to the number of fellows; and therefore, hoped the houſe would exempt that univerſity, and the ſeveral colleges therein, out of the bill now before the houſe.

The petition from Oxford was nearly to the ſame effect: in conſequence of which an exempting clauſe was inſerted, in favour of the two univerſities, and the colleges of Eaton, Wincheſter, and Weſtminſter: but with this proviſo, that no colleges ſhall be at liberty to purchaſe more advowſons than are equal in number to one moiety of the fellows or ſtudents upon the reſpective foundations‡. Several other amendments were made in the bill, which at length paſſed through both houſes, and received the royal aſſent§.

By this time all the belligerent powers in Italy

* Upon this occaſion Mr. Pulteney moved for an addreſs of congratulation to his majeſty, and was ſeconded by Mr. George Lyttleton and Mr. William Pitt, who took this opportunity of pronouncing elegant panegyrics on the prince of Wales and his amiable conſort.

† William the Conqueror demanding the cauſe why he himſelf conquered the realm by one battle, which the Danes could not do by many; Frederic, the abbot of *St. Alban's* anſwered, that the reaſon was, becauſe now the land which was the ſubſiſtence of martial men, was given and converted to pious employments, and for the maintenance of holy votaries; to which the Conqueror replied, that if the clergy are ſo ſtrong, that the realm is enfeebled of men for the war, and ſubject by it to foreign invaſions, he would aid it. And therefore he took away many of the revenues of the ſaid abbot, and of others alſo. *Speed*, 418. *b*.

‡ See ſtat. 9. *G.* II. *c.* 36. called the ſtatute of Mortmain.

§ In the courſe of this year, a remarkable riot happened at Edinburgh, which greatly engaged the attention of the public. One Wilſon, a ſmuggler, a fellow of a reſolute ſpirit, had been tried and convicted by the lords of ſeſſion, for robbing one of the officers of the revenue; and having afterwards been guilty of one of the moſt daring actions that ever was attempted, that of reſcuing out

Italy had agreed to the preliminaries of peace concluded between the emperor and France. The duke of Lorraine had married the emperor's eldeſt daughter, the archduchefs Maria Thereſa, and ceded Lorraine to France, even before he ſucceeded to Tuſcany. Don Carlos was crowned king of Sicily: Staniſlaus abdicated the crown of Poland: and Auguſtus was univerſally acknowledged ſovereign of that kingdom. The preliminaries were approved and ratified by the diet of the empire; the king of Spain diſpatched orders for his troops to evacuate Tuſcany, and the provinces in Italy yielded to the houſe of Auſtria.

Prince Eugene, who had acted as the Imperial plenipotentiary on this occaſion, did not live to behold the happy fruits of his negociation. He died at Vienna, in April, at the age of ſeventy-three, leaving behind him the character of an invincible hero, an accompliſhed general, and a conſummate politician.

About this time Great Britain ſuffered a national loſs in the death of lord chancellor Talbot, who had executed that high office with equal ability and integrity. He died, univerſally lamented, at the age of fifty-two; and was ſucceeded as chancellor by lord Hardwicke†.

A diſpute happened in the lower houſe, in the courſe of this ſeſſion, concerning a bill ſent down from the lords, for puniſhing the magiſtrates and city of Edinburgh, on account of the murder of John Porteus. In the beginning of the ſeſſion, lord Carteret obſerved, that notwithſtanding the powers, with which the civil magiſtrate was armed, the military force had been employed in ſuppreſſing the late diſturbances, none of which, he ſaid, had proceeded from any ſpirit of diſaffection to the government, but very different cauſes: that the murder which had been committed by the populace of Edinburgh, was of the moſt atrocious nature, and that the conſpiracy which had effected it was the more to be dreaded, as it was attended with no other diſorder than the perpetration of the crime, and ſeemed to have been formed by ſome perſons of rank and conſequence: that, in his opinion, their lordſhips ought to make the moſt diligent and ſevere enquiry into this affair; to bring the delinquents to condign puniſhment; and even to puniſh the city of Edinburgh, if it ſhould appear that the inhabitants and magiſtrates had not exerted their utmoſt endeavours to ſuppreſs the inſurrection.

He was anſwered by the duke of Newcaſtle and lord Hardwicke, who affirmed, that there was an abſolute neceſſity for employing the military force in quelling the late commotions. The earl of Ilay undertook to prove, from the nature of the union, and the government in general, that the city of Edinburgh, in its corporate capacity, could not be diſfranchiſed for any crime of its magiſtrates, even ſuppoſing them to be guilty. He agreed, however, with the miniſterial peers in thinking that the late diſturbances had proceeded from a ſpirit of diſaffection in the populace; and inveighed, with

of the hands of juſtice, his brother convict in the time of divine ſervice, and in the midſt of his guards, the magiſtrates of Edinburgh were particularly active in ſeeing the law enforced in the execution of the ſentence againſt this deſperate criminal. When the executioner was cutting him down from the gallows, ſtones and dirt, picked from the ſtreet by the boys and rabble, were thrown at him, as uſual. This circumſtance ſo provoked Porteus, captain of the trained bands, a man of a brutal diſpoſition and abandoned morals, who attended the execution, that he ordered his men to fire among the people; by which precipitate order, ſeveral innocent perſons were killed, and many others wounded.

Porteus, who had no warrant for this barbarous deed, was committed to priſon, tried for murder, convicted upon ample evidence, and condemned to be hanged: but as the ſmugglers were, at this time, remarkably numerous, and ſeemed to ſet the civil and military power at defiance; and as ſome favourable circumſtances appeared on the trial of Porteus, the queen (*the king was then at Hanover*) thought proper to indulge him with a reprieve.

The common people of Edinburgh reſented this lenity extended to a criminal, who was the object of their deteſtation. They formed a conſpiracy with the moſt amazing ſecrecy: and they reſolved to terminate the life of Porteus on the very day which the judges had fixed for his execution. They aſſembled in different bodies about ten o'clock in the evening, and blocked up the gates of the city, to prevent the admiſſion of the troops, which were quartered in the ſuburbs. They ſurprized and diſarmed the town guard: they broke open the priſon doors; dragged Porteus from thence to the place of execution; and leaving him hanging by the neck on a dyer's pole, quietly diſperſed to their reſpective habitations. This exploit was performed with ſuch regularity and circumſpection, as ſeemed to be the reſult of a plan concerted by perſons of conſequence: it therefore became the object of a very ſevere and ſerious ſcrutiny.

† A. D. 1737.

great ſeverity, againſt the inſidious arts which had been practiſed to alienate the minds of the people from his majeſty's perſon and government.

At length, the houſe having procured all the intelligence that could poſſibly be obtained, a bill was brought in to diſable Alexander Wilſon, eſquire, lord-provoſt of Edinburgh, from enjoying any office of magiſtracy in the city of Edinburgh, or elſewhere in Great Britain; for impriſoning the ſaid Alexander Wilſon; for aboliſhing the guard of that city, and for taking away the gates of the Nether-bow Port, ſo as to open a communication between the city and the ſuburbs in which the king's troops were quartered.

This bill was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the duke of Argyle, and others; but notwithſtanding the objections ſtated by his grace and other Scottiſh lords, the bill paſſed, and was ſent down to the commons, where it produced a long and obſtinate conteſt. At length, after vehement diſputes and violent altercations, the whole was reduced to a ſimple act, diſabling Alexander Wilſon, the lord provoſt, from enjoying any office or place of magiſtracy in the city of Edinburgh, or elſewhere in Great Britain, and for impoſing a fine of two thouſand pounds upon the corporation for the benefit of Porteous's widow. Even the bill, though thus mitigated, was ſo ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the Scottiſh members, and by all who favoured their cauſe, that it paſſed by a majority only of twenty-ſeven voices. It was then tranſmitted to the lords, by whom it was approved, and ſoon after confirmed by the royal ſanction*.

The attention of the public was now engroſſed by an affair of a very delicate and intereſting nature. The princeſs of Wales had advanced to the very laſt month of her pregnancy, before the king and queen had received any intelligence of her having conceived. She was twice conveyed from Hampton Court to the palace of St. James's, when her labour-pains were ſuppoſed to be approaching; and at length was delivered of a daughter, the princeſs Auguſta, about two hours after her arrival.

The king, appriſed of this event, ſent a meſſage by the earl of Eſſex to the prince, congratulating him on the birth of the princeſs, but at the ſame time expreſſing his diſpleaſure at the conduct of his royal highneſs, as an indignity offered to himſelf and the queen. The prince deprecated his majeſty's anger in ſeveral ſubmiſſive letters, and implored the queen's mediation. The princeſs joined her intreaties to thoſe of his royal highneſs; but all their ſupplications proved ineffectual. The king, in another meſſage tranſmitted by the duke of Grafton, obſerved, that the whole of the prince's conduct had long been ſo entirely deſtitute of duty to him, that he muſt reaſonably ſuppoſe him to be highly offended at his deportment: that till he ſhould withdraw his regard and confidence from thoſe, by whoſe inſtigation and advice he was directed and encouraged in his unwarrantable behaviour to him and the queen, and till he returned to his duty, he ſhould not reſide in his palace; which he would not ſuffer to be made the reſort of thoſe, who, under the ſpecious appearance of an attachment to the prince, fomented the diviſion which had ariſen in his family, and weakened the common intereſt of the whole: that in this ſituation, he would admit of no reply; but when his actions ſhould manifeſt a proper ſenſe of his duty and ſubmiſſion, that circumſtance might induce him to pardon what, at preſent, he ſo juſtly reſented: that, in the mean time, it was his pleaſure, that the prince ſhould quit St. James's with all his family, as ſoon as it could be done without prejudice or inconvenience to the princeſs: and

* The miniſter and his friends were about this time ſo provoked at the torrents of abuſe which had been poured forth againſt them on the ſtage, that they reſolved to diſcourage or ſuppreſs it. For this purpoſe a bill was brought in for limiting the number of playhouſes, and for ſubjecting all dramatic performances, exhibited on the ſtage, to the inſpection of the lord-chamberlain of his majeſty's houſehold, without a licence from whom they ſhould not be ſuffered to be performed. In ſupport of this bill, ſir Robert Walpole produced a comedy, abounding with treaſon and ſedition, which had been put in his hands, and which had been offered to the theatre in order to be exhibited. The meaſure, however, was ſtrongly oppoſed by all the anti-courtiers, who repreſented it as a direct violation of the liberty of the preſs: but notwithſtanding their utmoſt efforts, the bill was enacted into a law: nor has it been productive of any of thoſe dreadful conſequences, which the minority, at that time, pretended to foreſee.

that

that he ſhould, for the preſent, leave to the princeſs the care of his grand-daughter, till a proper time called upon him to conſider of her education.

In obedience to this meſſage, the prince retired to Kew, and made farther efforts to be readmitted into his majeſty's favour, which, however he could not regain. Nevertheleſs, he ſent lord Baltimore, one of his domeſtics, to lord Grantham, the queen's chamberlain, entreating to know whether *ſhe* would receive a letter from him, in extenuation of his conduct. Her majeſty declined the expedient; that princeſs wrote a humble and ſubmiſſive letter to the king, who returned an anſwer full of affection and civility to her highneſs; though it plainly appeared, that his diſpleaſure at the conduct of the prince was rather increaſed than abated. The princeſs alſo wrote a ſubmiſſive letter to the queen, who anſwered it in a very affectionate manner; but, at the ſame time intimated, that the king had more reaſon to be diſpleaſed with the prince, than either ſhe or the public apprehended *.

However unjuſtifiable the prince's conduct might have been, the puniſhment appears to have been too ſevere, if not rigorous and cruel; for he was not even admitted into the preſence of the queen his mother, who had been ſeized with her laſt indiſpoſition, to implore her forgiveneſs, and receive her final bleſſing †. She died on the twentieth of November, in the fifty-fifth year of her age, regretted as a princeſs of diſtinguiſhed merit, great penetration, extenſive generoſity, and a pattern of conjugal affection and fidelity.

In the courſe of this year a rupture happened between the Turks and Ruſſians, the laſt of whom were aſſiſted by the emperor, who alſo declared war againſt the Grand Signior. The Ruſſian army was commanded by count Munich, who conducted the campaign with equal ſpirit and ſucceſs. He took Aſoph on the Black Sea, and reduced Oczakow, one of the ſtrongeſt places in the Turkiſh dominions, and defended by a garriſon of twenty thouſand men. Theſe conqueſts, however, which were, in a great meaſure, to be attributed to the valour of general Keith, brother to the earl marſchal of Scotland, coſt the Ruſſian army ſo dear, that Munich was unable to improve the advantages he had gained. But another body of Muſcovites, under the command of general Laſci, penetrated into Crim Tartary, and overcame the greateſt part of it with amazing rapidity.

The Imperialiſts, who attacked the Turks in another quarter, were far from being equally ſucceſsful. The duke of Lorraine had the nominal command of the army; but the operations were directed by count Seckendorf, an old officer and a Proteſtant. The emperor had inveſted him with this ſituation, in compliment to the diet of the empire, by whom he was aſſiſted in proſecuting the war. His firſt attempt was againſt Widin upon the Danube; but finding it too advantageouſly ſituated to be reduced without a fleet, he ſuddenly attacked Niſſa, which he ſoon compelled to ſurrender. This, however, was the extremity of his good fortune. A conſiderable part of his army was deſtroyed by the exceſſive heats; and, in conſequence of the intrigues of the Roman Catholics, he was deprived of the neceſſary ſupplies. This obliged him to divide his army. With one part of which, he formed the blockade of Widin, which, after a few ineffectual attempts, he was obliged to abandon, with ſome loſs.

The baron de Raunach, another Imperial general, having penetrated into Croatia, at the head of ſix thouſand men, was totally routed; and the prince of Saxhilburghauſen, who had undertaken the ſiege of Bagnalac, was defeated by a ſuperior body of Turks, who ſlew the greater part of his army.

Theſe ſudden and repeated loſſes threw the court of Vienna into the utmoſt conſternation. Seckendorf was recalled to account for his conduct; and the chief command of the

* Such was the concluſion of a correſpondence, which was ſoon after publiſhed by authority, and made various impreſſions on the minds of the public. The candid and impartial part of the nation believed, and openly declared, that both the king and the prince were impoſed on by thoſe, who were intereſted in creating a difference between them.

† She had ſo far yielded to the paternal reſentment of his majeſty, that ſhe declined an interview with the prince, who was particularly ſhocked at the thoughts of loſing his mother before he had recovered her forgiveneſs and regard.

army

army was conferred upon velt-mareſchal Phillippi. The Turks, however, notwithſtanding their great ſucceſſes, were extremely deſirous of a peace; conferences were opened on the ſubject at Niemeren; but, as the Ruſſians inſiſted on keeping poſſeſſion of Aſoph and Oczakow, no accommodation could be effected; and the troops of the ſeveral belligerent powers were conſequently diſtributed in winter-quarters.

Such was the ſituation of affairs in Europe, when the king of Great Britain opened the parliament, on the twenty-fourth of January*, with a ſhort ſpeech, recommending the diſpatch of the public buſineſs with prudence and unanimity. Each houſe preſented a warm addreſs of condolence to his majeſty on the queen's death, with which he appeared to be extremely affected. The firſt, and indeed the principal buſineſs that came before them in the courſe of this ſeſſion, was an enquiry into the Spaniſh depredations.

His majeſty had referred this ſubject to a committee of the privy council, where the merchants endeavoured to make good their allegations. Their cauſe was ſpecious and popular: the public readily eſpouſed their quarrel: they were defended by the oppoſition in both houſes, who wanted to force the miniſtry into a war with Spain: and, encouraged by all theſe favourable circumſtances, they delivered a very ſpirited petition to the lower houſe, repreſenting that the Spaniards had ſhewn ſo little regard to his majeſty's moſt gracious endeavours to obtain juſtice to his ſubjects, that they had continued their depredations, almoſt ever ſince the treaty of Seville: and that, therefore, as the meaſures hitherto purſued had proved ineffectual, they humbly hoped the houſe would take the matter into their moſt ſerious conſideration, and provide ſuch means, as to them ſhould ſeem moſt proper, for procuring relief to the unhappy ſufferers, and for preventing inſults and depredations on the Britiſh ſubjects for the future.

This petition, reinforced by others of a ſimilar nature from moſt of the trading towns in the kingdom, had ſuch influence upon the houſe, that a motion was made to addreſs his majeſty for copies of all the repreſentations, ſent by the miniſtry of England to that of Spain, ſince the firſt of November laſt, and of ſuch anſwers as had been returned to theſe remonſtrances. Sir Robert Walpole expreſſed his ſentiments upon this ſubject, and the houſe were ſo well ſatisfied with the frankneſs and candour of his ſpeech, that he carried his point by a majority of one hundred and ſixty four, againſt ninety-nine voices.

Regardleſs of this repulſe, the minority reſolved to renew their attacks in another ſhape. With this idea, Mr. Pulteney moved, that leave ſhould be given to bring in a bill for the more effectual ſecuring and encouraging the trade of his majeſty's ſubjects in America. The intention of this act was to give the property of all prizes, taken from the Spaniards after the declaration of war, to the officers and ſailors preſent in the action; to allow to the ſailors five pounds, by way of head money, for every Spaniard taken at ſea; and to veſt in the captors, by his majeſty's patent, the property of all the places conquered from the Spaniards.

Little oppoſition was made to this bill at its firſt reading; but when a motion was made for reading it a ſecond time, ſir Robert Walpole alledged, that with regard to the firſt article, if hoſtilities were immediately to commence againſt Spain, and a ſquadron of Engliſh ſhips of war was to take the whole plate fleet of the Spaniards, with all their regiſter ſhips, every ſhilling of the money muſt become the property of the Engliſh ſeamen, though it was notorious, that not a fifth part of that treaſure belonged to the Spaniards, but was the property of the French, the Dutch, and other trading nations of Europe; and as it was not to be ſuppoſed, that the ſailors would willingly part with what was once declared to be their due, the government muſt either violate the preſent act in order to make them refund the effects of the neutral nations; or the parliament muſt load the people with new taxes, to make good that money; or, ſhould none of theſe expedients be adopted, Great Britain muſt expect to involve herſelf in a war with all the different nations whoſe property ſhe had thus invaded: that with reſpect to the granting head-money, as it was called, for every Spaniard taken at ſea, he thought it a proper meaſure, and therefore he would readily agree to it as ſoon as war ſhould be declared: that with regard to the third article he thought it

* A. D. 1738.

it of a moſt dangerous nature; and that, if it paſſed into an act, it muſt effectually cut off all poſſibility of concluding any ſafe and honourable peace; becauſe, in all negociations, ſome places on both ſides were uſually given up, in order to facilitate the treaty; a method, which could not be purſued, if his majeſty, by letters patent, ſhould beſtow the property on others.

Theſe, and many other arguments, advanced by the miniſter and his friends, were deemed ſo ſtrong and forcible, that the bill was rejected by a conſiderable majority. A ſet of reſolutions, however, propoſed by Mr. Pulteney, and amended by ſir Robert Walpole, were unanimouſly approved, and preſented to his majeſty*.

On the twentieth of May, his majeſty concluded the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he obſerved, that agreeable to what had appeared to be the concurrent opinion of both houſes of parliament, he had given orders to repeat, in the ſtrongeſt and moſt impreſſive manner, his inſtances at the court of Spain for obtaining ſatisfaction for the many injuries and loſſes ſuſtained by his trading ſubjects in America, and for effectually ſecuring their rights for the future; and he hoped, from the juſtice and equity of the Catholic king, to procure and eſtabliſh a free and uninterrupted exerciſe of trade and navigation between the ſubjects of the two crowns, agreeable to treaties and the law of nations.

Four days after the concluſion of the ſeſſion, the princeſs of Wales was delivered of a ſon, who was baptized by the name of George, and who now ſo worthily adorns the throne. His birth was celebrated with uncommon rejoicings; congratulatory addreſſes were preſented to the king by the two univerſities, and moſt of the cities and corporations in the kingdom. The prince of Wales, however unfortunately continued under the diſpleaſure of his majeſty, who had expreſsly ordered the lord chamberlain to ſignify in the Gazette, that no perſon who viſited the prince, ſhould be admitted into his majeſty's preſence at any of the royal palaces†.

In the mean time, the vigorous reſolutions of the laſt parliament had alarmed the court of Madrid to ſuch a degree, that advances were made by his Catholic majeſty for compromiſing all differences between the crown of Great Britain and Spain. Theſe propoſals, being favourably received by the Britiſh miniſtry, ſoon produced the convention which afterwards excited ſo much rumour, and which was conſidered as a previous ſtep towards a general accomodation. This convention was concluded at Pardo on the fourteenth of January ‡. Though the

* An act paſſed at this time, for building a bridge acroſs the river Thames, from the Woolſtaple Weſtminſter, to the oppoſite ſhore in Surry, now denominated Weſtminſter Bridge; and ſome farther regulations were made for preventing the abuſe of ſpirituous liquors.

† The act to diſcourage the retail conſumption of ſpirituous liquors had enraged the populace to ſuch a degree as to occaſion perpetual tumults in the cities of London and Weſtminſter. They were ſo addicted to the uſe of that pernicious compound, ſo well known by the familiar appellation of gin, that they ran all riſks rather than ſuffer the mortification of being deprived of it; and ſo little regard was paid to the law, by which it was prohibited, that, in leſs than two years, twelve thouſand perſons were, within the bills of mortality, convicted of having ſold it illegally. Near half that number was caſt in the penalty of one hundred pounds; and three thouſand perſons advanced ten pounds each, to avoid the diſgrace of being committed to the houſe of correction.

A dangerous ſpirit appeared, at the ſame time, in the weſtern counties of England, where a number of journeymen and ſervants, who ſuppoſing they had received ill treatment from their maſters, roſe in a tumultuous manner, and committed the moſt terrible outrages againſt the perſons and properties of thoſe who had incurred their reſentment. To quell theſe diſturbances, and prevent the flames of ſedition from ſpreading into other counties, a body of troops was quartered at Bradford, Trowbridge, Melkſham, Chippenham, Wetſbury and Yarmouth.

About the ſame period a moſt alarming inſult was committed upon juſtice, by a party of ſailors, at Wapping, who cut down from the gibbet, and reſtored to life, one Buchanan, who had been ſentenced to ſuffer death for murder; and notwithſtanding the atrocity of the crime and the danger of the example, ſo much were the offenders favoured by the public, that not one of them could ever be diſcovered.

‡ A. D. 1739. In the houſe of lords, about this time complaint was made by lord Delaware, of a ſatire, entitled, *Manners*, written by Mr. Whitehead; in which ſome characters of diſtinction were ſeverely laſhed, in the true ſpirit of poetry. It was voted a libel; a motion was made to take the author into cuſtody, but, he having withdrawn himſelf, the reſentment of the houſe fell upon R. Dodſley, the publiſher of the work, who was committed to the uſher of the black rod, though the earl of Abingdon, lord Carteret, and lord Talbot, ſpoke in his behalf.

terms

terms of this treaty were neither ſo honourable nor ſo advantageous to Great Britain as might have been expected, they were the beſt that could be obtained, without involving the kingdom in a war with Spain, and eventually with France, as was foreſeen by that miniſter.

The chief article of the convention provided, that his catholic majeſty ſhould pay to the ſubjects of Great-Britain the ſum of ninety-five thouſand pounds ſterling, within four months, as an indemnification for their loſſes, in conſequence of the ſeizures made by the guarda-coſtas. This was, in reality, acknowledging the injuſtice of thoſe ſeizures; but no proviſion being made againſt future violences, the grand queſtion, "Whether Britiſh veſſels, navigating "the American ſeas, ſhould be any where, or "under any circumſtances ſubject to *Search?*" being left to be diſcuſſed by a congreſs, the intereſts of the country were therefore ſuppoſed to be betrayed, and the whole nation was thrown into a ferment*. Petitions againſt the convention was ſent from all the principal trading towns in the kingdom, and the univerſal outcry was, "A free ſea or a war!" Sir Robert Walpole found himſelf under the neceſſity of reſigning, or of yielding to the voice of the multitude: and the king of Spain by neglecting to pay the ſtipulated ſum on the day appointed, furniſhed him with a decent pretext for declaring war, without abandoning his pacific principles. On the contrary, he affirmed, that the convention-treaty would have been attended with all the advantages which could be procured by the moſt ſucceſsful war†; and that future ages would do juſtice to the counſels that produced it.

But though the pacific diſpoſition of ſir Robert Walpole, and his perfect knowledge of the eſſential intereſts of his country, made him averſe to war, he no ſooner reſolved upon hoſtilities than the vigour of his meaſures was as remarkable as his former moderation. A powerful fleet, under admiral Haddock was ſent to cruize off the coaſt of Spain; and admiral Vernon, an officer who ſtood high in the public favour, was appointed to the command of a ſquadron in the Weſt-Indies. This gentleman had rendered himſelf conſpicuous in the houſe of commons, by exclaiming againſt the meaſures of the miniſter, and bluntly and boiſterouſly declaring his ſentiments on every occaſion. As he had once commanded a ſquadron in the Weſt-Indies, he was well acquainted in thoſe ſeas; and in a debate upon the Spaniſh depredations, he declared that he would undertake to reduce Porto Bello with ſix ſhips. That offer was echoed from the mouths of all the members in oppoſition, and reverberated from every corner of the kingdom. Vernon became the idol of the people: and the miniſter, to gain their confidence, ſent him to fulfil his boaſt; not perhaps without hopes that he might fail in the attempt, and incur diſgrace on himſelf, and on his party.

The minority did not fail to avail themſelves of the opportunity. They extolled Vernon as another Drake or Raleigh. The event, however, juſtified the admiral's aſſertion. He ſailed from Jamaica with no more than ſix ſhips, and two hundred and forty ſoldiers on board‡. Yet ſuch was the conduct of the Spaniards, and the romantic bravery of the Britiſh tars, who mount-

* A moſt violent altercation took place in the houſe, and petitions were preſented againſt the treaty by the merchants trading to America, by the city of London, and by almoſt all the towns and corporations in the kingdom. That of the merchants particularly aſſerted, that the Spaniards were ſo far from abandoning their unjuſtifiable practice of viſiting and ſearching Britiſh ſhips ſailing to and from the Britiſh plantations, that they appeared to have claimed the power of doing it as a right, by having inſiſted, that the differences which had ariſen concerning it ſhould be referred to the diſcuſſion of plenipotentiaries, without having even agreed to decline ſuch viſitation and ſearch, during the continuance of this diſcuſſion.

† It would at leaſt have been productive of more advantages than the war which enſued. And if it ſhould be ſaid, that it was impoſſible to foreſee the ſubſequent misfortunes, which aroſe from a variety of cauſes, it may be added in reply, That the intereſt of a few merchants concerned in a lucrative contraband trade was not a ſufficient object to engage the two great nations in a war, the ſucceſs of which muſt be doubtful, and which muſt be proſecuted at a vaſt expence of blood and treaſure. It was the unſubmitting pride of the two nations that involved them in hoſtilities: and that pride, on the part of England, was inflamed by a ſet of ambitious men in both houſes of parliament, who aſſumed the deluding name of patriots; but who, ſince time has elucidated their characters, appear to have been only a deſperate faction, ſtruggling for the emoluments of office.

‡ A. D. 1740.

ed

ed the walls of the fortifications in a manner thought impracticable, that Porto Bello was taken almoſt without bloodſhed*.

The town of Porto Bello, on the iſthmus of Darien, is diſpoſed in the form of a creſcent, on the declivity of a mountain. The harbour was well defended by forts, all which were taken and blown up by admiral Vernon, who immediately abandoned his conqueſt. It could only be important to the maſters of Peru, as its opulence depended only on its ſituation; and even that opulence could not induce many inhabitants conſtantly to reſide on the ſpot; it is, indeed, ſo unhealthy, that it has been denominated the *grave of the Spaniards*. But during the annual fair, which continued forty days, Porto Bello was a theatre of the richeſt commerce that was ever tranſacted on the face of the earth. Seated on the northern ſide of the iſthmus which divides the two ſeas, thither were conveyed from Panama, on the Pacific Ocean, the gold, ſilver, and other valuable productions of Chili and Peru, to be exchanged for the manufactures of Europe; and there arrived the galleons from Old Spain, laden with every article of neceſſity, accommodation and luxury. The inhoſpitable and almoſt deſerted town, was then filled with people; its port was crowded with ſhips; and the neighbouring fields were covered with droves of mules, almoſt ſinking under the weight of precious metals. Inſtead of ſilence and ſolitude, nothing was to be ſeen but buſtling multitudes, bales of goods, and cheſts replete with treaſure†.

But that rich commerce, as well as the contraband trade, has ſince been ruined by the abolition of the galleons, and ſubſtituting in their place regiſter-ſhips; which ſailing round Cape Horn, paſs immediately to the ports of Chili and Peru, with a ſupply of European goods, and return to Europe with the treaſure by the ſame courſe‡.

The joy of the Engliſh nation on the taking of Porto-Bello was exceſſive. The two houſes of parliament congratulated his majeſty on the ſucceſs of his arms: the people were confirmed in their opinion of Vernon; and his good fortune induced the miniſter to continue him in the command of the Britiſh fleet in the Weſt-Indies.

This compliance with the wiſhes of the people, cauſed the popular members of the houſe of commons to be more clamorous. They conſidered it as a partial victory, and reſolved to puſh their advantage: they attempted the entire removal of the miniſter; and a motion was even made to that purpoſe. Picqued at this ungenerous return, as he conſidered it, ſir Robert Walpole concluded a maſterly ſpeech (in which he refuted every charge brought againſt him) with the following keen expreſſions, which ſtrongly mark the character of thoſe contentious and venal times, "Gentlemen," ſaid he, "have talked a great "deal of *patriotiſm*; a venerable word, ſir!

* The practice of impreſſing ſeamen to man the navy had long been a ſubject of complaint in England. Many expedients had been propoſed for extirpating this evil; but as all of them had been found to be attended with conſequences more dangerous than the practice itſelf, none of them had ever been adopted by government. The minority, however, who never failed to ſeize every plauſible pretext of condemning the meaſures of the court, raiſed at this time a moſt violent outcry againſt the miniſtry on account of this arbitrary cuſtom, which admits of no palliation but from its neceſſity. To ſilence their clamours, a bill was introduced by ſir Charles Wager, for regiſtering all ſeamen, watermen, fiſhermen, lightermen, keelmen, bargemen, and ſea-faring men, capable of ſervice at ſea, throughout his majeſty's dominions. The minority exclaimed againſt this practice as of French origin, and tending to enſlave the moſt uſeful body of men in the kingdom. Sir Charles Wager acknowledged that the ſcheme was borrowed from the French government, but declared, at the ſame time, that it was the beſt expedient he could find, and perhaps the only one that could be deviſed for remedying the evil of impreſſing ſeamen. The meaſure, however, was rendered ſo odious by the violent declamations of the anti-miniſterial party, that it was judged moſt prudent to decline it for the preſent.

The king having, by meſſage, communicated to the houſe his intention of diſpoſing of his daughter the princeſs Mary in marriage to prince Frederic of Heſſe; and expreſſed his hope, that the commons would enable him to give a ſuitable portion with her; they unanimouſly agreed to grant forty thouſand pounds for that purpoſe.

† Ulloa's Voyage, Vol. I.

‡ In conſequence of a new regulation adopted in 1748, the trade of Panama and Porto-Bello has been almoſt reduced to nothing; and theſe two towns, formerly called the keys of communication between the North and South Sea, between Spain and her moſt valuable colonies, now ſerve only as a paſſage for the negroes who are carried to Peru, and ſome other inconſiderable branches of decaying traffic. *Robertſon's Hiſt. of America*, book viii.

" when rightly underſtood! But I am ſorry to " obſerve, that of late it has been ſo much " hackneyed, that it is in danger of falling into " diſgrace; the very idea of true patriotiſm is " loſt, and the term has been proſtituted to the " very worſt of purpoſes. A patriot! why pa- " triots ſpring up like muſhrooms: I could raiſe " fifty of them within the four-and-twenty " hours. I have raiſed many of them in a night. " It is but refuſing to gratify an unreaſonable " or an inſolent demand, and up ſtarts a patriot. " I have never been afraid of making patriots, " ſir; but I diſdain and deſpiſe all they can do. " —No man, I believe, who ever had the ho- " nour of ſerving the crown, ever had ſuch an " attack made upon him as the preſent motion; " a motion, which gentlemen have been ſo long " meditating, ſo long threatening, and which " they had ſo much deſire to ſupport: but, ſir, " has it been ſupported, has it been attempted " to be ſupported, with even the ſhadow of " evidence?—Yes, ſir, I have long heard of " this motion, and let gentlemen contradict me " if they can, when I ſay, I could have pre- " vented it. By what means, I leave the houſe " to judge. But I chooſe, ſir, they ſhould do " their utmoſt; and I rejoice in this debate, let " the iſſue of it be what it will, more than I " ever did in any one thing, that has happened " to me in the courſe of my life*."

The reduction of Porto Bello was only a prelude to greater enterpriſes. Nothing leſs was reſolved upon than the utter deſtruction of the Spaniſh ſettlements in the New World. With this view, an Engliſh ſquadron was diſpatched to the South Sea, under commodore Anſon, to ravage the coaſts of Peru and Chili; while a fleet of twenty-ſeven ſail of the line, commanded by ſir Chaloner Ogle, beſides frigates, fire-ſhips, bomb-ketches, ſtore-ſhips, victuallers, and tranſports, with ten thouſand land forces on board, was diſpatched to the Weſt Indies, to reinforce admiral Vernon, and co operate with Anſon, by means of intelligence to be conveyed acroſs the iſthmus of Darien. The land forces were commanded by lord Cathcart, a nobleman of approved honour, and experience in military affairs: and the ardour of the ſoldiers and ſailors to proceed to action was exceſſive. This evidently appears in a letter from lord Cathcart to admiral Vernon, from theſe words. " In the troops I " bring you, there is ſpirit, there is good will; " which, when properly conducted, will pro- " duce, I hope, what the nation expect from " us—will make us the glorious inſtruments of " finiſhing the war, with all the advantages to " the public that its happy beginning promiſes; " and with this diſtinguiſhing circumſtance, that " thoſe happy effects have been owing to a per- " fect *harmony* between the *ſea* and *land-* " *forces*."

The want of that harmony unfortunately proved the ruin of the armament. As lord Cathcart died ſoon after his arrival in the Weſt Indies, the command of the land forces devolved upon brigadier-general Wentworth, an officer without experience, reſolution, or authority. He poſſeſſed all the obſtinacy of Vernon, and had as great a contempt for the ſea, as the admiral had for the land ſervice†. Theſe two ill-aſſociated commanders, whoſe powers were diſcretionary, after being reinforced with troops from the Engliſh colonies in America, determined to attack Carthagena.

The city of Carthagena is ſeated on a peninſula, or ſandy iſland, which is joined to the continent by two artificial necks of land, the broadeſt of which is about ſeventy yards wide. Its fortifications are regular, and erected in the modern ſtile. The houſes are principally compoſed of ſtone, and the ſtreets are broad, ſtrait, and well paved. The inhabitants are ſuppoſed to amount to about twenty-five thouſand. At a little diſtance a hill of a middling height preſents itſelf, on which is built the citadel of St. Lazarus. This fort commands the town, and, part of the harbour, which is the ſafeſt in the American dominions of Spain. It is two leagues in extent, and has a ſafe and excellent bottom. Though its trade has lately declined, the excellence of its harbour, and its vicinity to the rich provinces of Santa Fé, Popayan, and Choco, muſt ever render it a place of great importance.

In conſequence of the reſolution of the Engliſh commanders to attack this ſtrong and opulent city, a deſcent was made on the iſland of Tierra Bomba, near the entrance of the harbour, which is known by the name of Bocca Chica, or *Little Mouth*, from its narrowneſs, and which was fortified with caſtles, batteries, booms,

* Parliamentary Debates, 1740.

† A. D. 1741.

booms, chains, cables, and ships of war. Several of the smaller castles were speedily reduced by sir Chaloner Ogle, to whom that service was committed; and batteries being erected against the principal fortifications, the Boradera battery and Fort St. Joseph were successively taken by storm. A breach was made in Castillo Grande, and the British troops, supported by the seamen, advanced to the assault. Contrary to expectation, they found the works abandoned. The Spanish ships, which lay across the mouth of the harbour, were either taken or destroyed; the passage was opened; the fleet entered without farther opposition, and the troops were disembarked within a mile of the city.

After thus easily surmounting so many difficulties, the besiegers thought they had only to take possession of Carthagena. A ship was instantly dispatched to London with the agreeable intelligence, and public rejoicings took place at Jamaica, and over all the English islands in the West Indies. But the animosities which broke out between Vernon and Wentworth, disappointed the hopes of the nation, as well as the sanguine expectations of those concerned in the expedition. Each seemed more eager for the disgrace of his rival, than zealous for the honour of his country. The admiral was continually reminding the general of the necessity of cutting off the communication between the town and the country, and of attacking the citadel of St. Lazarus, by which it was defended. Resolutions, in a council of war, were formed for that purpose, but nothing was ever undertaken in consequence of those resolutions. A shameful inactivity, which partly proceeded from the climate, seems to have possessed the troops*. The general, by way of recrimination, threw the blame of the delay upon the admiral; and the admiral retorted upon the general†.

The expedition under Anson was disastrous in the beginning; and accident only prevented its terminating in equal disgrace. Being attacked by a furious storm in passing Cape Horn, two of his ships were obliged to return in distress; one was lost; another received so much injury, as to be abandoned soon after; and the greater part of his people were swept away by the sea-scurvy, before he reached the island of Juan Fernandez, a place appointed for their rendezvous. In this delightful abode the remainder of his crew recovered their health and spirits; and the Centurion, his own ship, being still in tolerable repair, he soon put to sea, took several prizes off the coast of Chili, and plundered the town of Paita, on the coast of Peru, where he obtained a booty of silver, amounting to thirty thousand pounds. From his prisoners he received information, that, notwithstanding his reduced force, he had nothing to fear in those latitudes; as Don Joseph Pezarro, who commanded a Spanish squadron destined to oppose him, had been obliged to return to Rio de la Plata, after having lost two ships and two thousand men, in attempting to double Cape Horn.

But that consolatory intelligence was balanced by information of a less pleasing nature. Anson also discovered, from some papers on board his prizes, that the English expedition against Carthagena had miscarried. Discouraged by this intelligence, he declined attempting to pur-

* The heat is intolerable and perpetual at Carthagena: and the torrents of water that are incessantly pouring down, from May to November, have this singularity, that they never cool the air which is sometimes a little moderated during the dry season, by the north-east winds. The nights are equally sultry. Hence the inhabitants, wasted by profuse perspiration, appear sick and emaciated; all their motions are languid, and sluggish; their speech soft and slow, and their words are generally broken and interrupted. Every thing relative to them indicates a relaxed habit of body. *Ulloa Voy.* lib. i. cap. v.

† After the re-embarkation of the troops, the diseases peculiar to the climate and season began to rage with increased fury. Nothing was heard from ship to ship, but complaints and execrations; the groans of the dying, and the service for the dead! Nothing was seen, but objects of woe or images of dejection, and the commanders, who had agreed in nothing else, were unanimous in pleading the expediency of a retreat from this scene of misery and disgrace. The fortifications of the harbour of Carthagena were accordingly demolished, and the English fleet sailed for Jamaica, to the astonishment and confusion of the mother country, as well as of the colonies. The people were depressed in proportion to that exuberant joy with which they had been elevated; nor was any thing afterwards done by the conductors of this unfortunate enterprise, to retrieve the honour of the British arms. Though Vernon was reinforced with several ships of the line, and Wentworth with three thousand soldiers from England; and although they successively threatened St. Jago de Cuba, and Panama, they returned home, without effecting any thing of consequence, notwithstanding the loss of near twenty thousand men. *Russell's Hist. Mod. Eur.* v. 55.

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fue his inſtructions reſpecting Panama, and bore away for Acapulca, in hopes of intercepting the Manilla galleon, which he underſtood was then at ſea*.

The archduchefs Maria Thereſa had taken quiet poſſeſſion of that vaſt inheritance, which was ſecured to her by the Pragmatic Sanction †. She received the homage of the ſtates of Auſtria at Vienna; and the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia ſwore allegiance to her by their deputies, as did the Italian provinces. Poſſeſſed of a popular affability, which her predeceſſors had ſeldom practiſed, ſhe gained the hearts of her ſubjects, without diminiſhing her dignity. But above all, ſhe ingratiated herſelf with the Hungarians, in voluntarily accepting the ancient oath of their ſovereigns; by which the ſubjects, ſhould their privileges be invaded, are permitted to defend themſelves, without being treated as rebels.

The anceſtors of this princeſs having ever been backward in complying with ſuch engagements, the early taking of that prudent ſtep was attended with wonderful popularity. The Hungarians, who, after two hundred years paſſed in ſeditious broils and civil wars, ſtill ſuffered with impatience the Auſtrian yoke, ſubmitted with pleaſure to the government of Maria Thereſa, whom they almoſt adored, and who was worthy of their eſteem. Her firſt care, after conciliating the affections of her people, was to procure for her huſband a ſhare in all her crowns, under the title of co-regent: and ſhe flattered herſelf, that the conſequence, thus conferred upon the Grand Duke, would ſoon advance him to the Imperial throne ‡. But ſhe did not conſider that ſhe was deſtitute of money; that a number of pretenders, for the whole or a part of the Auſtrian ſucceſſion, were preparing to aſſert their claims; and that her troops, though far from inconſiderable, were diſperſed over her extenſive dominions.

The firſt alarm was given by a formidable, but unexpected pretender. Frederic III. king of Pruſſia, had lately ſucceeded his father, Frederic William, a politic prince, who had, by rigid œconomy, amaſſed immenſe treaſure, though he maintained, for his own ſecurity, an army of ſixty thouſand men, which he prudently left his ſon to employ. "If we may be ſaid to owe "the ſhade of the oak," obſerves the royal hiſtorian, "to the acorn from which it ſprung, in "like manner we may diſcern, in the ſagacious "conduct of Frederic William, the ſource of "the future greatneſs of his ſucceſſor §." This ambitious, enlightened, and enterpriſing monarch ‖, revived certain antiquated claims of his family to four duchies in Sileſia; and, inſtead of having recourſe to preliminary manifeſtoes, he began his march at the head of thirty thouſand troops, to enforce his right. When he found himſelf in the heart of that rich province, and in poſſeſſion of Breſlaw, its capital, he manifeſted a diſpoſition to negociate. He offered to ſupply Maria Thereſa, then generally known by the name of the queen of Hungary, with money and troops; to protect, to the utmoſt of

* Happily for the Spaniards, ſhe had reached that port before his arrival. He endeavoured to intercept her in her return, but without effect. At laſt, finding himſelf deſtitute of every neceſſary, he ſailed for the river Canton, in China, where he arrived, after a long and diſtreſſing voyage, in 1743. Having refitted his ſhip, and procured a ſupply of proviſions, he again launched into the Pacific Ocean; and after cruiſing there ſome time, he fortunately met with and took the annual ſhip from Acapulco, on the coaſt of Mexico, to Manilla, in the iſland of Luconia, laden with treaſure, to the amount of about three hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, beſides other valuable commodities.

Anſon repaired a ſecond time to Canton, where he aſſerted the honour of the Britiſh flag in a very ſpirited manner, and returned to England by the Cape of Good Hope, in 1744, to the great joy of his countrymen, who had been informed of his diſaſters, and concluded that he and his crew had periſhed. The Spaniſh treaſure was carried to the Tower with much parade; and an expedition, which had once ſo diſcouraging an aſpect, was magnified beyond meaſure. Anſon's perſeverance, however, deſerved praiſe, and the ſucceſs of a ſingle ſhip ſeemed to point out what might be performed by a ſtrong ſquadron on the coaſts of the South Sea; but the failure of the formidable enterpriſe againſt Carthagena was ſtill ſo freſh in the memory of the nation, that no farther attempts were made to diſtreſs the Spaniſh ſettlements in America, during the remainder of the war.

† By virtue of the Pragmatic Sanction, as well as the right of blood, the ſucceſſion to the whole Auſtrian dominions, belonged to the archduchefs Maria Thereſa, the late emperor's eldeſt daughter, conſort of Francis of Lorraine, grand-duke of Tuſcany. The kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, the province of Sileſia, Upper and Lower Auſtria, Stiria, Carinthia, Carinola, the Low Countries, Friuli, Tirol, the duchy of Milan, and the duchies of Parma and Placenza, formed that immenſe inritance.

‡ Voltaire. Millet.

§ Mem. de Brandenburg.

‖ A. D. 1741.

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his power, the reſt of her dominions in Germany, and to exert his intereſt to place her huſband on the Imperial throne, if ſhe would cede to him the Lower Sileſia. Though this would have been a ſmall ſacrifice for peace and ſecurity, the queen of Hungary was ſenſible, that, by yielding to the claims of one pretender, ſhe encouraged thoſe of others. She therefore rejected the offers of the king of Pruſſia, and ſent count Neuperg, one of her beſt generals, to aſſume the command of her troops in Sileſia, and to expel the invaders. The two armies, nearly equal in numbers (each amounting to about twenty-five thouſand) met at Molwitz, a village to the north of Neiſs, and within a league of the river of the ſame name. There a deſperate battle enſued. The action laſted from two in the afternoon, till half an hour after ſix in the evening; when the Auſtrians, in ſpite of the moſt vigorous efforts, found it neceſſary to retire under the cannon of Neiſs, after loſing upwards of four thouſand men.

This victory, which was ſoon after followed with the reduction of Glatz and Neiſs, and the ſubmiſſion of the whole province of Sileſia, was acquired ſolely by the firmneſs of the Pruſſian infantry, and their celerity in firing; in conſequence of a new exerciſe which had been taught them by their young ſovereign. The cavalry was totally routed, by the ſuperiority of the Auſtrians in horſe; the royal baggage was pillaged, and the king himſelf narrowly eſcaped being made priſoner, having been carried off the field, in the more early part of the engagement. But the ſecond line of infantry ſtood immoveable; and by the admirable diſcipline of that body the battle was reſtored *.

The battle of Molwitz, though by no means deciſive, was extremely favourable to his Pruſſian majeſty. His ſucceſs aſtoniſhed all Europe; and the refuſal of Maria Thereſa to comply with his demands, which had lately been dignified with the name of greatneſs of ſoul, was now branded with the appellation of imprudent obſtinacy and hereditary haughtineſs:—ſo apt are we to judge of meaſures by events, and to connect wiſdom with good fortune, and folly with diſaſter!

The councils of France had long been directed by the old cardinal de Fleury, who was now in the eighty-fifth year of his age. He was rather cautious, than cunning, and poſſeſſed the art, above all other men, of engaging the affections of thoſe he converſed with. That air of candour and ſincerity, which in moſt ſtateſmen is affected, and then never fails to create diſguſt, was, in this worthy prelate perfectly natural, and produced the effect, which might reaſonably be expected. Diſtinguiſhed neither by the genius of Richlieu, nor the abilities of Mazarine, he was yet, if permitted to purſue his own plans, a more uſeful miniſter than either to his country. But no ſooner was it known at Verſailles, that the king of Pruſſia had invaded Sileſia, than the cardinal found himſelf unable to withſtand the ardour for war in the French councils. This ardour was increaſed by the battle of Molwitz, and the diſappointment of the Engliſh in their attempt upon Spaniſh America. Aſſured of the aſſiſtance of Spain, which glanced at the Italian poſſeſſions of the queen of Hungary with a longing eye, the young nobility and princes of the blood, eager for an opportunity of diſtinguiſhing themſelves in arms, repreſented to the king, that the period was now arrived of finally cruſhing the power of the houſe of Auſtria, and exalting that of Bourbon on its ruins; by diſmembering the dominions of Maria Thereſa, and placing on the Imperial throne Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, a ſtipendary of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty.

Lewis XV. yielded to arguments ſo alluring to his pride; and to the count, afterwards mareſchal and duke de Belleiſle, and his brother, the chief inſpirers of theſe violent councils, the execution of that ambitious project was committed. They propoſed that fifty thouſand French troops, of which twenty thouſand were to be cavalry, ſhould paſs the Rhine, and advance towards the Danube, before the beginning of June; that another army, of forty thouſand men, ſhould be ſtationed on the ſide of Weſtphalia, to keep in awe the electorate of Hanover, and that proper application ſhould be made to the moſt conſiderable princes of the empire, to concur in the annihilation of the houſe of Auſtria, and to partake of its ſpoils. This meaſure was immediately carried into execution.

In the mean time, the count de Belleiſle, being diſpatched into Germany, in the double capacity

* Voltaire, Siécle de Louis XV. chap. v.

city of ambaſſador and general, had concluded a treaty with the elector of Bavaria at Nymphenburg; by which the king of France engaged to aſſiſt that prince with his whole force, to exalt him to the Imperial throne; and he engaged, that, after his elevation, he would never attempt to recover any part of the empire which the French ſhould have conquered; that he would, in his imperial capacity, renounce the barrier treaty, and conſent that France might retain irrevocably whatever places ſhould be ſubdued by her arms in the Auſtrian Netherlands*.

Theſe treaties being concluded, the French forces were put in motion; and Lewis XV. appointed the elector of Bavaria his lieutenant-general, with the mareſchals Belleiſle and Broglio to act under him. He alſo iſſued a declaration, importing, that the troops of the elector of Hanover being in a menacing poſture, he, as guarantee of the treaty of Weſtphalia, was reſolved to march ſome troops towards the Rhine, to guard the approaching election of an emperor, and to be ready to aſſiſt thoſe princes who might demand the execution of his engagements. Though the fallacy of this declaration was obvious to all Europe, it did not fail of its intended effect. The king of Great Britain, alarmed for the ſafety of his German dominions, and finding that he could not depend upon the ſupport of the Dutch, who were timid and tardy, concluded a treaty of neutrality for Hanover; in conſequence of which, the troops of that electorate, as well as the auxiliary Danes and Heſſians, in Britiſh pay, who had been commanded to march to the aſſiſtance of Maria Thereſa, were ordered to remain in their reſpective countries; and the embarkation of a body of Britiſh troops, collected for the ſame purpoſe, was countermanded. A ſubſidy of three hundred thouſand pounds, granted by the Britiſh parliament, was however tranſmitted to the queen of Hungary, and proved a ſeaſonable ſupply, in the midſt of her multiplied neceſſities†.

The elector of Bavaria being now joined by the French forces under mareſchal Broglio, ſurpriſed the Imperial city of Paſſau, upon the Danube, and the key from Bavaria to Upper Auſtria. He took poſſeſſion of Lintz, the capital of that duchy, where he received the homage of the ſtates. From Lintz, ſeveral detachments of his troops advanced within a few leagues of Vienna; which, being ill fortified, was not ſuppoſed capable of making much reſiſtance againſt the victorious enemy. Many of thoſe who were well acquainted with Germany, and with military operations, conſidered that city as already loſt. The inhabitants, taking the alarm, removed to places of greater ſafety their moſt valuable effects. The Danube was daily ſeen covered with boats, and for this purpoſe, great part of the ſuburbs was pulled down; and a ſummons was ſent to Kevenhuller, the governor, to ſurrender the place.

In this extremity of her fortune, the archduchеſs, committing her deſperate affairs to the management of her huſband and her brave generals, left Vienna, and retired to Preſburg in Hungary; where having aſſembled the ſtates of that kingdom, ſhe appeared before them with her eldeſt ſon, ſtill an infant in her arms, with all that elegance of form, and that dignity of diſtreſs, which never fail to inſpire the beholders with pity, love, and admiration. In no country in Europe is the Latin tongue ſo generally underſtood as in Hungary; and her majeſty, who ſpoke it correctly and gracefully, thus addreſſed the Palatines in that language.—"The perplexed "ſituation to which, by the permiſſion of divine "Providence, I find myſelf reduced, is attended "with ſuch dangerous circumſtances, that I "have no hopes of extricating myſelf from it, "without ſpeedy and powerful ſuccours. Aban-"doned by my friends, perſecuted by my ene-"mies, and attacked by my neareſt relations, I "have no other reſource left than your fidelity "and valour. On you alone I depend for re-"lief; and into your hands I commit, with con-"fidence, my crown, the ſon of your ſovereign, "and my juſt cauſe." Actuated by rage and compaſſion at theſe affecting declarations of con-

* The count de Belleiſle alſo negociated a treaty between Lewis XV. and the king of Pruſſia; in which it was ſtipulated, that the elector of Bavaria, with the Imperial crown, ſhould poſſeſs Bohemia, Upper Auſtria, and the county of Tirol; that Auguſtus III. king of Poland, ſhould be gratified with Moravia and Upper Sileſia; and that his Pruſſian majeſty ſhould retain Lower Sileſia, the town of Neiſs, and the county of Glatz. † Smollet.

fidence, by ſo flattering an appeal to their loyalty, and by the faſcinating appearance of a young, beautiful, and heroic princeſs, in diſtreſs, the Palatines drew their ſabres, and exclaimed, in a tone of enthuſiaſm, "We will die for our "KING*, Maria Thereſa!" Nor was this a momentary ſtart of paſſion. While with tears they ſwore to defend her, they publiſhed a manifeſto againſt the elector of Bavaria; and by a ſolemn act of ſtate, proclaimed a perpetual excluſion of him and his poſterity from the throne of Hungary.

The Hungarian nobility were inſtantly in arms; and old count Palfy, whom the queen honoured with the appellation of *Father*, marched to the relief of Vienna with thirty thouſand men. Kevenhuller, the governor, had raiſed a body of twelve thouſand men: count Nuperg was in Bohemia at the head of about twenty thouſand: the grand duke and his brother prince Charles of Lorraine, who was the delight of the Auſtrian armies, commanded another large body; and prince Lobkowitz, count Berenclau, count Traun, and many other officers, exerted themſelves in raiſing troops for the ſervice of their beloved ſovereign.

Theſe powerful armies, the declining ſeaſon, and the ſtrength of the garriſon of Vienna, induced the elector of Bavaria to moderate his ſoaring ideas. Inſtead of inveſting that capital, he marched into Bohemia: and being there joined by twenty thouſand Saxons, he laid ſiege to Prague. The place was ſtormed, and taken by the gallantry of Count Saxe, natural ſon of Auguſtus II. king of Poland, who had already entered into the French ſervice, and exhibited, on this occaſion, a remarkable inſtance of his generoſity and humanity. He not only preſerved the town from pillage, but the perſons of the inhabitants from any violence or inſult. And the elector of Bavaria, having been crowned king of Bohemia at Prague†, proceeded to Frankfort, where he was elected emperor, under the name of Charles VII. and inveſted with the Imperial enſigns.

A new parliament met on the fourth of December, when his majeſty, in his ſpeech to both houſes, informed them, he had ordered the chief operations to be carried on in the Weſt Indies: that the powerful confederacy which had been formed againſt her Hungarian majeſty, was a matter too generally known to require any particular explanation: that had other powers, who were under the ſame obligations as himſelf, been as punctual in fulfilling their engagements, the ſupport of the common cauſe would have been attended with leſs difficulty: that he had, purſuant to the advice of his parliament, ever ſince the death of the late emperor, exerted himſelf in ſupport of the houſe of Auſtria; that, although his endeavours had not hitherto had the deſired effect, he ſtill hoped, that a juſt ſenſe of the common and imminent danger would produce a more favourable turn in the councils of other nations: that he hoped the parliament would think it expedient to put the nation in ſuch a condition as might enable it to aſſiſt its friends, and defeat its enemies; and he flattered himſelf they would make it their ſtudy to proceed with unanimity, vigour, and diſpatch, in all their deliberations.

It was not long before the miniſter was ſenſible of the great advantage his enemies had gained over him. The addreſs was moved for in very general terms. It gave no aſſurance to his majeſty, that they would aſſiſt him in defending his electoral dominions, if they ſhould happen to be attacked.

It barely promiſed, they would grant ſuch ſupplies, as ſhould enable his majeſty, not only to ſupport his friends and allies, at ſuch times, and in ſuch manner, as the circumſtances of affairs ſhould require, but alſo to oppoſe and defeat any attempts againſt his majeſty, his crown and kingdom.

However exceptionable this addreſs, the miniſter did not think proper to bring it to a diviſion. He even agreed to omit a paragraph, which was recommended by one of the miniſterial members, approving of the manner in which the war with Spain had been proſecuted. The minority manifeſted great exultation on the victory they had gained. Mr. Pulteney attributed the miniſters condeſcenſion to a ſenſe of guilt, and a dread of puniſhment; and, in order to convey inſtructions to the new members, he entered into a long and ſpirited recapitulation of all the charges which had been brought againſt him, from the time of his engaging himſelf in the ſervice of the crown.

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* The Hungarians beſtow the appellation of *king* on their female ſovereign.

The minister repelled these charges urged against him, with the utmost steadiness and resolution. He observed, that it was in every man's power, when an unbounded liberty of speech was granted, to depreciate in general terms, the most unexceptionable characters; and that he had as great a right to make use of a general defence, as his enemies had of a general impeachment: that of all the atrocious charges which had been brought against him, not a single fact had been attempted to be proved; but he was willing to come to close quarters; and, if the gentlemen on the other side of the question would name a day for considering the state of the nation, he would readily second the motion. This challenge was accepted; the address, without any mention of the Spanish war, was voted: and the twenty-second of January was fixed for taking into consideration the state of the nation.

The coldness of the address tended greatly to the prejudice of the minister. His mercenary friends, suspecting his power was on the decline, began gradually to forsake him; and those, who adhered to him from principle, imagined, that some stronger assurances were due to his majesty, considering the noble efforts which he had lately made, and the danger to which he had exposed his electoral dominions; especially as the French had already violated the stipulated neutrality, and were, at that very time, threatening to take up their winter quarters in the electorate of Hanover.

The enemies of the minister now formed themselves into regular assemblies, and held frequent meetings, to concert the means of maintaining, improving, and pursuing their success; and the minister began to be sensible, that matters were advancing to extremities*.

The Westminster election was the favourite point with the gentlemen in the opposition; as it afforded plausible philippics against corruption and a standing army. Some riots having happened on this occasion, the justices, who presided, had been obliged to call in the assistance of the military power. The cause of the city was managed by Mr. Murray, afterwards earl of Mansfield, and Mr Evans: that of the sitting members was defended by Mr. Clarke, and another lawyer. The matter was long and learnedly debated: at last, after a variety of discussion and investigation, the election was declared void by a majority of two voices. The high-bailiff was taken into custody; and the three justices, who sent for the soldiers, were reprimanded on their knees at the bar of the house.

Notwithstanding this defeat, the minister continued to give his attendance: he even carried several points of no small importance against his enemies: and threw out some significant hints, that he had it still in his power to disappoint their expectations.

Of the truth of this they were but too well convinced. The opposition was composed of very different, and indeed of opposite ingredients. Some of the members were Jacobites; others were Papists, at least in principle: some were violent Tories, who could not be reconciled to the court upon any terms, others were staunch Whigs, of confined views, but upright intentions, who believed the conduct of the minister was really prejudicial to the nation: and there were not a few, who were moderate Whigs, of more enlarged sentiments, who would have had no objection to tread in the steps, which the minister had pursued, and who knew that the principal contest was respecting the possession of power and the enjoyment of places. A correspondence was now opened between the last, and some of the leading persons about his majesty; and a plan was projected for the removal of the minister, and a change in the administration, without producing any civil convulsion.

The minister continued to give his attendance till the second of February†, when the decision

* Had he been guided solely by a regard to his own interest, he might not have continued in a state of suspence. He might instantly have adopted the same expedient, which he soon after embraced. But the remonstrances of his friends, who were destined to follow his fortune, prevailed on him to continue in the house, till a few of the most important controverted elections were decided. Though he knew his person was perfectly safe, he was willing to leave all secure behind him, and to defeat any scheme which might have been planned for attacking him with an impeachment by any violent resolutions. Besides, he wished to obtain for his friends, especially those who had followed him from principle, the best conditions that could be obtained.

† A. D. 1742.

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of the Chippenham election was carried againſt him by a majority of only one vote; and having been, in the courſe of the debate, treated with extreme ſeverity, he came out of the houſe, and in the lobby declared, that he would never enter it more.

This declaration was not ſo ſoon expected either by his friends or his enemies; but his reſolution was founded upon the beſt and moſt liberal principles. He could have divided his enemies, and maintained himſelf in a dangerous uneaſy poſſeſſion of power; but he plainly foreſaw, that ſuch a ſtep would continue, if not extend, the breach in the royal family; a circumſtance which might be attended with the moſt diſagreeable conſequences to his royal aſter.

Doctor Secker, late biſhop of Oxford, and now archbiſhop of Canterbury, had been ſent to the prince of Wales, with a meſſage, declaring, that, if his royal highneſs would write a ſubmiſſive letter to his majeſty, fifty thouſand pounds ſhould be added to his annual income; that two hundred thouſand pounds ſhould be advanced to pay his debts; and that he and his friends ſhould be re-admitted into favour, and have ſuitable proviſions made for them.

The prince replied with the ſtrongeſt proteſtations of duty, that he was willing to throw himſelf at his majeſty's feet; but that he thought ſir Robert Walpole ſo great a bar between his majeſty and his people, that he could agree to no terms, till he was removed. It was this anſwer, which determined the miniſter to withdraw from power, and to reſign his places; which he immediately did, after having been created baron of Haughton, viſcount Walpole, and earl of Orford.

Mr. Sandys, an induſtrious patriot, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his perſeverance in oppoſing the meaſures of the late miniſter was appointed chancellor of the exchequer, in the room of his political antagoniſt; the earl of Wilmington was nominated to preſide at the treaſury; lord Carteret, the Cicero of the houſe of lords, was pronounced ſecretary of ſtate; and the eloquent and patriotic Mr. Pulteney, the moſt popular man in the kingdom, was reſtored to the dignity of a privy counſellor, and ſoon after created earl of Bath. Lord Harrington was dignified with the title of earl; the duke of Argyle was conſtituted maſter-general of the ordnance; the marquis of Tweedale was appointed ſecretary of ſtate for Scotland, and the earl of Winchelſea was preferred to the head of the admiralty.

The moſt popular meaſures were expected from the new miniſtry; nothing leſs was relied on than a total renovation of the conſtitution. A great number of motions to this purport was accordingly made in both houſes of parliament; but, to the aſtoniſhment of the nation, they were all violently oppoſed, diſcountenanced, and quaſhed, by thoſe very men who had lately maintained the principles on which they were founded, and whoſe former harangues had ſuggeſted them. The moſt important of theſe motions were, one for appointing a committee "to enquire into the conduct of affairs during the "laſt twenty years:" one for bringing in a bill "to repeal the act for Septennial Parliaments;" and one for "excluding Penſioners from the "Houſe of Lords," by an act of the whole legiſlature. In this oppoſition, Mr. Pulteney, before he had acquired the title of earl of Bath, and Mr. Sandys, particularly diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the houſe of commons, and lord Carteret in the houſe of peers*.

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* Immediately after the reſignation of the miniſter, a great meeting of all the gentlemen in the late oppoſition was held at the Fountain Tavern, in the Strand, the uſual place of rendezvous upon ſuch occaſions. The intention of this meeting was, to concert the means of bringing the late miniſter to juſtice, and of carrying into execution the great conſtitutional points, for which they had ſo long contended.

The miniſter, who was now compelled to retire from his high ſtation, poſſeſſed ſtrong natural talents, and proved himſelf a dexterous conductor of parliamentary buſineſs. If he was not a polite orator, he was an able ſpeaker, ready to apply, and ſkilful in the management of a debate. He underſtood the detail of finance; and was acquainted with the affairs of commerce, which did not languiſh during his ſway. His adminiſtration, however, was not entirely fortunate to this country. He eſtabliſhed the unconſtitutional practice of maintaining, in time of peace, a conſiderable ſtanding army: he promoted, though he did not approve, that ſyſtem of continental connexion, and that multiplicity of ſubſidiary engagements, by which the burthens of the people were wantonly increaſed: he extended by bribery and intrigue, the influence of the crown; and he contributed

The people exclaimed with great vehemence, that they had been deceived and betrayed; and that an infamous compromiſe had been made between the old and the new miniſters for protecting the earl of Orford. The gentlemen who had accepted of places, profeſſed themſelves ready to enter upon any meaſures for doing juſtice to the nation, and deſired their accuſers in parliament to point out the method, in which they ſhould proceed. This was a circumſtance in which the diſcontented party themſelves were far from being agreed. They reſolved, however, to begin their attack upon the late adminiſtration: and they determined to aſſail them in that quarter, where they imagined they were moſt vulnerable.

Such was the diſpoſition of the houſe, that the moſt trivial circumſtances were magnified into atrocious charges, and ſir Robert Godſchall, lord mayor of London, with ſir John Barnard, were ordered to bring in a bill for the better protecting and ſecuring the trade of this kingdom in the time of war.

Among the many abſurdities contained in this bill, was a clauſe enacting, that none of his majeſty's ſhips, which ſhould be ſtationed at any of our ſettlements abroad, ſhould quit their ſtations, under pretence of going to careen or refit, or under any pretext whatſoever, without an order from the lord high-admiral, or commiſſioners for executing the office of lord high-admiral, for the time being. Notwithſtanding the inhumanity of this clauſe, and the ridiculous nature of every other part of the bill, it paſſed through the lower houſe, and was preſented to the upper. There, however, its defects and inconſiſtencies were ſo well expoſed by the earl of Winchelſea, who was then at the head of the admiralty, that, in ſpite of all the efforts that were made in its favour, it was rejected by a majority of thirty-four voices.

The rejection of this bill gave freſh uneaſineſs to the anti-miniſterial party in both houſes; and ſome of the greateſt enemies of the earl of Orford began ſoon to wiſh, he had not ſo precipitately quitted his power. It is a circumſtance which redounds greatly to his honour, that his friends in parliament ſtill oppoſed every thing, which they would have oppoſed, had he continued at the head of the adminiſtration.

It was generally ſuppoſed, that the motion for repealing the ſeptennial act would have been approved; but when it was made by ſir Robert Godſchal and ſeconded by ſir John Barnard, it was rejected by a majority of twenty voices. Among thoſe, who ſpoke againſt it, were Mr. Pulteney and Mr. Sandys, who having during the late oppoſition, been always the chief promoters of it, were thereby expoſed to much ſevere abuſe.

Lord Limeric, who had a ſeat in the lower houſe, and was conſidered as a man of ſound judgment, moved for a ſecret committee to examine into the conduct of affairs for the laſt twenty years. This motion had ſo much the air of eſtabliſhing a court of inquiſition, that it muſt have deſtroyed all manner of credit with foreign ſtates. Beſides, from the many deaths, alterations, and removals, which muſt naturally have happened in ſo long a period, the enquiry muſt have been extremely imperfect and unſatisfactory. Notwithſtanding theſe and many other abſurdities contained in the motion, it was rejected only by a majority of two voices.

On the twenty-third of March, lord Limeric made another motion for a committee to enquire into the conduct of the earl of Orford, during the laſt ten years of his being at the head of the adminiſtration. Though this motion was leſs exceptionable than the former, it met with a ſtrong oppoſition, The friends of the late miniſter delared, they were ready to agree to the motion, if any particular charge was brought againſt him, but they were of opinion, that an enquiry, formed only upon popular clamour, was inconſiſtent with the juſtice and dignity of the houſe.

to the degradation of the great national council, by rendering it, as far as his efforts could prevail, a mere court of aids, an engine of financial rapine, and an inſtrument of legiſlative oppreſſion; thus aiming at the ſubverſion of the ſpirit of the conſtitution, while, for the purpoſe of delufion, the forms were ſuffered to remain. The imitation of his example, by his official ſucceſſors, cannot juſtify proceedings ſo reprehenſible.

He ſurvived his expulſion from the helm above three years; and during a part of that time, he received an annuity of four thouſand pounds from his ſovereign, as the liberality and convivial gaiety of his diſpoſition had obſtructed his accumulating wealth.

The motion was, however, carried, and the committee voted. This was to conſiſt of twenty-one perſons, to be choſen by ballot, and veſted with power to ſend for perſons, papers, and records; and to examine in the moſt ſolemn manner, ſuch perſons as they ſhould think proper, for anſwering the purpoſes of their enquiry. The committee being accordingly elected, proceeded to immediate buſineſs; chooſing lord Limeric for their chairman; they called for the treaſury-books and papers, and began their ſcrutiny with great application. Being poſſeſſed of ſuch extenſive powers, and enjoying the fulleſt means of information, it was generally expected, that they would make important diſcoveries. It was long, however, before they could find any employment for their zeal. The diſcoveries, which, after a long examination they had been able to make, were extremely inconſiderable, when compared to the atrocity of the charges that had been urged againſt the government; and it was therefore contrived that the failure of the enquiry ſhould be attributed to the arts and obſtinacy of the late miniſter's friends and dependents.

One Paxton, who had ſignalized himſelf by his faithful attachment to the party, had been ten years ſolicitor of the treaſury; and, being poſſeſſed of many ſocial virtues, had been employed, by ſir Robert Walpole, in a great number of thoſe private negociations, which are inſeparable from the power of a firſt miniſter, and firſt lord of the treaſury.

When Paxton appeared before the committee of ſecrecy, he was examined about five hundred pounds, which he had given to one Boteler, in 1735, in order to enable him to carry his election at Wendover. Though there could be little doubt of Paxton's having given the money, he refuſed to acknowledge it; becauſe, as he very properly obſerved, he might thereby accuſe himſelf. By his obſtinate perſiſtance in declining to anſwer, he ſtopped the courſe of the examination.

The committee were at a loſs how to get the better of this difficulty. At laſt, lord Limeric, having reported to the houſe the behaviour of Paxton, a motion was made for committing him to the cuſtody of the ſerjeant at arms, in order, if poſſible, to overcome his obſtinacy. This motion occaſioned ſome debate. The friends of the late miniſter alledged, that the houſe could not ſubject Paxton to any kind of puniſhment, before they knew whether he was criminal; a circumſtance that could not be diſcovered, unleſs they were made acquainted with the nature of the queſtions, which had been propoſed to him.

The motion being carried by a majority of ſixty-one voices, Paxton ſurrendered himſelf into cuſtody, and continued as obſtinate as before; and a motion was therefore made and carried, for committing him cloſe priſoner to Newgate; for debarring him the uſe of pen, ink, and paper; and for allowing no perſon to ſpeak to him without the permiſſion of the houſe.

The other agents of the late miniſter encouraged by this prepoſſeſſion of the public in their favour, reſolved to follow the example of Paxton, who was now extolled for his fidelity to his patron.

Mr. Vaughan, who had long been the confident of ſir Robert Walpole, alſo refuſed to anſwer any interrogatories which might perhaps imply an accuſation of himſelf. But of all thoſe from whom diſcoveries were expected, Mr. Scrope ſecretary to the treaſury, was the moſt conſiderable, as well on account of the importance of his office, as of his own perſonal merit and abilities. The ſum of one million, fifty-two thouſand two hundred and eleven pounds had, within the ſpace of ten years, been traced into his and ſir Robert Walpole's hands; and leave being obtained of the houſe, of which Mr. Scrope was a member, he appeared before the committee. But when he came there, the oath of diſcovery ſeemed to him ſo ſtrong, that he declined taking it; not being ſatisfied, in his conſcience, that he could take a general oath, while particular queſtions might be propoſed to him, which he was reſolved not to anſwer. He declared, at the ſame time, that he could anſwer to no queſtion reſpecting ſecret ſervice money, without permiſſion from his majeſty. This threw the committee into great perplexity; and upon their preſſing Mr. Scrope to declare, whether or not he would conſent to anſwer, he deſired time to conſider of it, and immediately withdrew.

At his next appearance, he acquainted the

committee, that he had conſulted the ableſt lawyers and divines, who had ſtrengthened his ſcruples: that he had no intention to obſtruct the proceedings of the committee; but he could not conſiſtent with his former engagements, and with a ſafe conſcience, reſolve to take the oath: that he had laid his caſe before the king, and was authorized to declare, that the diſpoſal of money, iſſued for ſecret ſervices, by its very nature, required the utmoſt ſecrecy, and was to be accounted for only to his majeſty; and therefore his majeſty would not permit him to diſcloſe any thing on that ſubject; and, finally, that he hoped he ſhould not, by this conduct, incur the diſpleaſure of the committee; the rather as he was willing, if the oath was confined, to take it without heſitation. The committee thinking it unſafe, after ſuch a declaration, to preſs him any farther, permitted him to depart from the bar.

Perceiving, however, that they were embaraſſed with ſuch a number of difficulties, they reſolved to clear the way by a very extraordinary bill, which was introduced into the houſe of commons. This bill was calculated for indemnifying ſuch perſons, as ſhould, upon examination, make diſcoveries concerning the diſpoſal of public money, the diſpoſition of offices, or any payment or agreement for that purpoſe, or, even concerning any other matters that related to the conduct of Robert earl of Orford.

The bill made a rapid progreſs through the lower houſe. The earl of Orford's friends gave it no oppoſition, fully convinced, that it would be rejected by the lords. Nor were they diſappointed in their expectations. When it was read a ſecond time by their lordſhips, and a motion made for its being committed, lord Carteret declared his diſſent*; and, after ſome diſcuſſion, the bill was rejected by a majority of fifty-two voices.

The rejection of this bill, notwithſtanding the late clamour againſt the earl of Orford, was conſidered as no more than an act of juſtice. The ſecret committee, with all their induſtry, had made but few diſcoveries, and thoſe were of a very trivial nature.

Large ſums of money, indeed, had been diſtributed by the miniſter among thoſe who wrote in defence of his adminiſtration; but as it was univerſally known, that no adminiſtration was ever more weakly or wretchedly defended, this circumſtance was treated with ridicule rather than deteſtation. Neither his friends nor his enemies were ignorant, that eaſineſs of temper was his principal failing; and to this propenſity his unſeaſonable liberality, in this as well as in other reſpects, was univerſally attributed.

With regard to the great charge of corruption at elections, all the pains which had been employed could produce but very little againſt him; and even that was ſo ill ſupported, that it could not by any means amount to a direct charge. Some doubtful facts, reſpecting a contract for paying the troops in America, were urged, and the names of Burrel, Briſtow, and ſome other members of parliament, were brought in queſtion; but nothing could be fixed either upon theſe gentlemen or upon the miniſter himſelf, that was reprehenſible.

A motion was made in the courſe of this ſeſſion, which greatly engaged the attention of the public. It was for leave to bring in a bill for taking, examining, and ſtating the public accounts of the kingdom. The motion was carried, and the bill prepared, importing, among other things, that the number of commiſſioners for carrying the bill into execution, ſhould be ſeven: that no perſon ſhould be a commiſſioner, who had any office of profit, or was accountable to his majeſty: that the commiſſioners ſhould be members of that houſe; and that they ſhould be choſen by ballot. The friends of the earl of Orford, alarmed at the nature of this bill, employed all their intereſt, in conjunction with the new miniſtry, to procure on their ſide, a majority of the commiſſioners; and having, in ſpite of all the endeavours of the oppoſite party, ſucceeded to their wiſhes, the patrons of the bill became ſo indifferent about it, that it was laid aſide for

* This nobleman had been long remarkable for his oppoſition to the late miniſter, and had even made the motion, in the upper houſe, for removing him from his majeſty's preſence and councils. Upon this occaſion, however, he ſhewed himſelf to be more a friend to juſtice, than an enemy to ſir Robert Walpole. His arguments againſt the bill were ſtrong and convincing.

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the preſent. The public buſineſs being now finiſhed, and the ſupplies granted, amounting to upwards of five millions and a half, the parliament was prorogued on the fifteenth of July, when the king, in his ſpeech, acquainted both houſes, that he was determined to exert his utmoſt endeavours in ſupporting the cauſe of her Hungarian majeſty. To manifeſt the ſincerity of his profeſſions, a reſolution was immediately taken in council, to ſend a body of Britiſh troops to the continent of Europe. The army was to be commanded by the earl of Stair, and to conſiſt of upwards of ſixteen thouſand men; who, immediately upon their arrival on the continent, were to be joined by an equal number of Hanoverians, and by ſix thouſand Heſſians who were in the Britiſh pay.

The Engliſh, in general, were ſo much prepoſſeſſed in favour of her Hungarian majeſty, that the reſolution of ſending an army to her aſſiſtance, was highly extolled by all ranks of ſociety. Some, however, ſeemed to be of opinion, that, conſidering the averſion, which the Dutch had diſcovered to concur in the common cauſe, ſuch a meaſure was rather premature. In anſwer to this it was alledged, that the Dutch, encouraged by the vigour of the Engliſh councils, would certainly reſolve to fulfil their engagements. It is probable, indeed, that the Britiſh miniſtry expected their joint aſſiſtance in ſupport of the queen of Hungary, and ſome diſpoſitions had been actually made for his majeſty's going ever in autumn to review the confederate army. But the earl of Stair, who had been ſent to the Hague, could not, with all his addreſs, prevail on the Dutch to embrace a reſolution of taking the field, in conjunction with the Engliſh. On his return to aſſume the command of the army, lord Carteret, principal ſecretary of ſtate, was diſpatched to Holland with freſh inſtructions.

He arrived at the Hague, at a very critical conjuncture. The French had declared they intended to ſend thirty thouſand men into the Auſtrian Netherlands, but without the leaſt deſign of attempting any thing to the prejudice of their high mightineſſes. Notwithſtanding this pacific declaration, the Dutch were ſo much alarmed, that they reſolved immediately to augment their forces, both by ſea and land. The Engliſh imagined, that this incident would determine the Dutch to renounce their neutrality, and declare in favour of her Hungarian majeſty, In this expectation, however, they were greatly diſappointed. The French intereſt was ſo prevalent in their councils, that they would not even promiſe to co-operate with the Britiſh troops, upon their arrival in Flanders.

Such was the ſtate of affairs in Holland, when lord Carteret arrived at the Hague, with the following propoſitions, which he immediately laid before their high mightineſſes. The firſt was, that the republic ſhould join with England and her allies, in declaring war againſt Bavaria; the ſecond, that they ſhould garriſon the barrier places belonging to the queen of Hungary: the third, that Great Britain ſhould [illegible] her pay thirty thouſand of the republic troops, who were to be lent to the queen of Hungary: and the fourth contained an offer of a new treaty of commerce between Great Britain and Holland.

According to the account of the Dutch, their high mightineſſes civilly declined all theſe propoſitions. They profeſſed an abhorrence of encreaſing the effuſion of human blood, by becoming parties in the war. They declared their troops were deſtined for their own defence, and were never intended for hire. They expreſſed, indeed, their readineſs to enter into a new treaty of commerce with Britain; but owned, at the ſame time, that, however deſirable that agreement, they ſhould be unwilling to purchaſe it at the expence of engaging themſelves in a deſtructive war. This indeciſion of the Dutch, rendered all the princes of Europe extremely cautious in their conduct. By the great ſucceſs of Kevenhuller, and the Auſtrian generals, and by the large ſupplies of money, thet were conſtantly remitted from England to Vienna, a ſurprizing change had been effected in the face of affairs in Germany, greatly to the advantage of her Hungarian majeſty.

Kevenhuller had defeated mareſchal Thoring at Memberg, and opened to himſelf a road into the heart of Bavaria; where Mentzel, with his detachment, took Munich, the capital of that electorate. The queen of Hungary was no ſooner

ſooner informed of this event, than ſhe wrote a moſt affecting letter to Kevenhuller, and preſented him with the pictures of herſelf and her ſon. The letter was read, and the pictures ſhewn to the officers and ſoldiers, who, tranſported with an enthuſiaſm of zeal for their beloved ſovereign, ſwore they would live and die in her ſervice.

About the ſame time baron Berenclau entered Bavaria by another quarter, with an army drawn from woods and wilds in the moſt remote territories of Auſtria. Their appearance was dreadful, and their living at free quarters rendered them ſtill more terrible to the inhabitants. They were, however, a very uſeful and indefatigable body of troops; they drove count Thoring, with his Bavarians, under the cannon of Ingolſtadt, and performed many other important ſervices to their miſtreſs. To counterbalance, however, in ſome meaſure, theſe great advantages, mareſchal Broglio ſent a body of French and Bavarians, under prince Maurice of Saxony, who took, by capitulation, the town of Egra; while the citadel of Glatz, for want of proviſions, was obliged to ſurrender to his Pruſſian majeſty.

Still, however, the iſſue of the campaign was in favour of the Auſtrians, who, by means of the great number of recruits, which they daily received, were enabled to form a more regular plan of operations. Prince Lobkowitz, at the head of eleven thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe, was appointed to watch the motions of the French in Bohemia; while prince Charles, with an army of thirty thouſand foot and eighteen thouſand cavalry, advanced againſt the Pruſſians and Saxons, who retired with great precipitation from Moravia, and abandoned Olmutz.

This retreat was conſidered as an event of great importance to the Auſtrians, as it gave them an opportunity of uniting their whole force againſt the French under Broglio and Belleiſle, who were too ſtrong for prince Lobkowitz. But the enterpriſing king of Pruſſia, having received a reinforcement of thirty-two thouſand men, under the prince of Anhalt Deſſau, returned to Bohemia, with a view of preventing the junction of the Auſtrians.

By the force of generalſhip the king effected his deſign, and, at laſt, his army and that of prince Charles, came to a pitched battle at Chazlau, about thirty-five miles to the ſouthward of Prague. The regular troops on both ſides were nearly equal in number; but the Auſtrians had the advantage of having a great number of irregulars, who were very ſerviceable in the action. The battle continued four hours with the moſt invincible obſtinacy. The Auſtrians fought bravely, the Pruſſians deſperately. The former contended for their ſovereign, the latter for their ſafety. The courage of the Auſtrians, however, muſt have overpowered the intrepidity of the Pruſſians, had not the rage of plunder ſeized the irregulars, who had actually forced themſelves into the Pruſſian camp. Their example was followed by the regulars of the right wing, who had followed them into the intrenchments; and the main body of the Auſtrians being thus left expoſed, his Pruſſian majeſty ſeized the critical moment, and renewing the attack with impetuous fury, obliged prince Charles to retire with the loſs of five thouſand men.

The king of Pruſſia, whoſe loſs was little inferior to that of the Auſtrians, diſguſted with ſuch bloody victories, and ſuſpecting the ſincerity of the court of France, began ſeriouſly to think of peace; and no leſs politic than brave, he concluded at Breſlaw, without conſulting his allies, a ſeparate and advantageous treaty with the queen of Hungary. By this treaty the archduchefs, Maria-Thereſa, ceded to Frederick III. the Upper and Lower Sileſia, with the city and caſtle of Glatz; and he engaged to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality during the war, and to withdraw his forces from her dominions within ſixteen days after the ſigning of the articles. A treaty of peace was alſo concluded, nearly at the ſame time, between the queen of Hungary and Auguſtus III. king of Poland and elector of Saxony; by which he yielded to him certain places in the circles of Elbogen, Saltzer, Leutmeritz, and Buntzlaw in Bohemia. And he guaranteed to her the poſſeſſion of the reſt of that kingdom*.

The treaty of Breſlaw greatly diſconcerted the

* The king was ſo well pleaſed with the concluſion of this treaty, that he is ſaid to have declared he would willingly part with one of his hands, could he be certain it would never be broken.

French court, whoſe armies, under Broglio and Belleiſle, had ſoon after the battle of Chazlau, gained ſome inconſiderable advantages over the Auſtrians. So great, however, was their conſternation, that they retired with precipitation under the cannon of Prague. The Auſtrians purſued them with incredible celerity: they even obliged them to abandon their baggage and their military cheſt: and the very peaſants deſtroyed their ſtragglers with clubs and pitchforks, or any other inſtrument of annoyance they could procure.

Being ſurrounded by ſuperior forces, the French generals offered to evacuate Prague, Egra, and the other places they held in Bohemia, if they were permitted to retire with their arms, ammunition, and baggage. This propoſal was haughtily rejected by the queen of Hungary, who inſiſted on their ſurrendering priſoners of war. Belleiſle, who had aſſumed the command in Prague, treated the Imperial demand with diſdain; aſſuring his court, that he feared nothing from any enemy but famine; and that if the enemy ſhould prove intolerable, and the Auſtrians continue to preſs the ſiege, he ſhould be able to make a good retreat.

To permit the ſurrender of ſo fine an army, was thought inconſiſtent with the honour of the French nation, as well as with its intereſt. Mareſchal Maillebois, who commanded the French forces on the Rhine, was therefore ordered to march to the relief of Prague, at the head of forty-two thouſand men. When he arrived at Amberg, in Weſtphalia, he was joined by thirty thouſand French and Imperialiſts from Bavaria, under Seckendorff and count Saxe. Thus reinforced, he entered Bohemia without reſiſtance. Appriſed of his danger, the prince of Lorraine turned the ſiege of Prague into a blockade, the care of which he committed to general Feſtitz, with eighteen thouſand men, and advanced with the body of the army towards the frontiers of the kingdom, in order to oppoſe Maillebois. At Hayd he united with the grand Auſtrian army under Kevenhuller, who had followed count Saxe and Seckendorff from Bavaria. Meanwhile the mareſchals Belleiſle and Broglio had formed a plan of a junction with the French army under Maillebois; and Feſtitz being too weak to oppoſe them, they broke out of Prague, and marched to Leutmeritz. Maillebois was then in the neighbourhood of Egra; a junction therefore was by no means impracticable. But prince Charles, by taking poſſeſſion of the paſſes in the interpoſing mountains defeated their purpoſe. Maillebois found it neceſſary to return to the Palatinate, whither he was followed, and haraſſed on his march by the prince of Lorraine; while prince Lobkowitz, with a ſtrong detachment, obliged Belleiſle and Broglio again to ſeek refuge in the capital of Bohemia.

Soon after the ſiege of this important place was reſumed, Broglio eſcaped in diſguiſe, and took upon him the command of the French forces in the Palatinate, Maillebois being recalled. The fate of Prague, towards which the eyes of all Europe were now directed, reſted ſolely on the courage and conduct of Belleiſle, and the remnant of that gallant army, which had given an emperor to Germany. All proſpect of relief was cut off: a retreat ſeemed impracticable; and famine*, accompanied with diſeaſe, its melancholy attendant, made cruel havock among the French troops. The intrepid ſpirit of Belleiſle, however, which bore him up amid all his misfortunes, communicated itſelf to both his officers and ſoldiers; and ſeldom a day paſſed without ſallies, in which the French had generally the advantage.

Theſe ſallies being chiefly occaſioned by the zeal of the French in attacking the Auſtrian magazines in the neighbourhood of Prague, prince Lobkowitz, who conducted the blockade of that city, ordered them to be guarded by the flower of his army, imagining that famine would ſoon compel the enemy to ſurrender at

* The French were at laſt attacked by that enemy whom they ſo much dreaded. Famine now began to ſtare them in the face; their proviſions were almoſt exhauſted; and, without ſome ſignal and immediate relief, they knew not how to ſubſiſt. Neither the honour nor the intereſt of France could ſuffer her to ſacrifice ſo fine an army, without making one effort to ſave it. Fleury, by his late unaccountable conduct, was beginning to forfeit the eſteem of his maſter. Still averſe to hoſtile meaſures, and eager for the re-eſtabliſhment of his pacific ſyſtem, he had continually endeavoured to accelerate the concluſion of the war. With this view he now thought proper to conceal the diſtreſſes of the French army in Prague; hoping they would finally be obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion, and that France would find it neceſſary to conclude a peace on any terms.

diſcretion. Now it was that Belleiſle manifeſted the reſources of his genius. Having ſecretly formed the deſign of a retreat, he had with wonderful diligence remounted his cavalry, and daily ſent troops of them out to forage. At laſt, by making a feint in one quarter of the town for a general forage, he marched out at another, with eleven thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe, getting a day's march of prince Lobkowitz. This project he was enabled to execute with the greater facility, on account of the vaſt extent of its walls; and the better to amuſe the enemy, he left a ſmall garriſon in that city, under monſieur Chevert. He had ten leagues to march before he could reach the defiles. The ground was covered with ſnow, the cold exceſſively intenſe; all the inhabitants of the country were his enemies, and prince Lobkowitz, with an army of twelve thouſand infantry and eight thouſand cavalry, hung on his rear. Under all theſe diſadvantages, however, he reached the defiles with his army before he was overtaken. And with ſo much judgment had he planned his route, that, though the Auſtrians had occupied all the paſſes on the two principal roads which led to Egra, he was enabled to continue his progreſs, by ſtriking through frozen marſhes, which had never perhaps before been trod by the foot of man; he himſelf always pointing out the way, though confined to his coach or ſedan by an excruciating rheumatiſm. After a fatiguing march of twelve days, he reached Egra, which was ſtill in the hands of the French, and entered Alſace, with thirty pieces of cannon, without the loſs of a ſingle man by the hands of the enemy, but upwards of a thouſand in conſequence of the rigour of the ſeaſon.

One of the greateſt misfortunes of the late miniſtry had been, that, though a great number of ſhips were often in commiſſion, it was always found extremely difficult to man them with ſuch expedition as to anſwer the impatience of the public.

To this inconvenience, and to the unfavourable winds and tides, it was entirely owing, that, in the courſe of the laſt year, ſir John Norris loſt ſeveral opportunities of intercepting the Spaniſh galleons in their paſſage from America. Some of his captains indeed performed exploits which greatly aſtoniſhed the enemy, and reflected equal glory on themſelves and their country. Captain Harriſon, in the Argyle, captured four prizes at Rendonnello, near Vigo. The captains Barnet and Balchen, miſtaking, or pretending to miſtake, ſome French men of war for Spaniſh galleons, attacked them with great fury; but the miſtake being diſcovered, they parted good friends, though not till the French had ſuſtained conſiderable injury.

On the death of the emperor Charles the Sixth, the court of Spain laid claim to the whole Auſtrian ſucceſſion in Italy. To ſupport this claim, no ſooner was the treaty for the neutrality of Hanover known, than two hundred tranſports, having on board a body of fifteen thouſand land forces, ſailed from Barcelona, while Navarro, the Spaniſh admiral, departed from Cadiz with thirteen ſhips of the line and four frigates; and, in a ſhort time, the whole fleet, favoured by a dark night, paſſed the Streights.

Admiral Haddock, who was then repairing his fleet at Gibraltar, was ſuperior to the enemy, both in ſtrength and number of ſhips; and the Spaniards been driven back by a contrary wind, he immediately bore down upon them in a line of battle. But, juſt as they were on the point of engaging, the French Toulon ſquadron, conſiſting of twelve ſhips of the line, ſtood in between them, with a flag of truce, and ſent a meſſage to the Engliſh admiral, importing, that, as the Spaniſh and French fleets were engaged in the ſame expedition, the French admiral muſt obey his orders, and could not avoid taking the Spaniſh ſhips under his protection.

Haddock was enraged at ſuch an imperious meſſage, but finding himſelf unable to encounter with the combined ſquadrons of France and Spain, he was obliged, by the reſult of a council of war, to return to Gibraltar, whence he proceeded to Port-Mahon; where he was ſoon after joined by a reinforcement of nine ſhips of the line from England. In the mean time, the tranſports from Barcelona, after weathering a violent ſtorm, landed their troops at Orbitello in Italy, while the French and Spaniſh ſquadrons put into the harbour of Toulon.

The queen of Hungary, ſenſible of the dangers which threatened her, had no other reſource than the counſel and aſſiſtance of the Britiſh miniſtry. By them ſhe was adviſed to apply to the king of Sardinia, who was intereſted

reſted in the preſervation of the preſent ſyſtem of power in Italy, and who, by his ſituation, was beſt able to check the ambitious views of their moſt Chriſtian and Catholic majeſties.

His Sardinian majeſty was then in the prime of life; and, exclufive of the hereditary virtues of his family, he poſſeſſed a conſummate knowledge of the art of war, an unconquerable ſpirit of bravery and reſolution, a profound penetration into the intereſts and connexions of the ſeveral powers of Europe, and a juſt ſenſe of his own dignity and importance. Bleſſed with theſe advantages, his friendſhip was eagerly ſought by all the contending parties; and true policy did not ſuffer him to remain long in a ſtate of indeciſion.

The queen of Spain intimated that it was her intention to erect Lombardy into a kingdom, in favour of her ſon, Don Philip; a young prince of an engaging aſpect and of very promiſing virtues. This was a circumſtance which the houſe of Savoy, from its almoſt hereditary antipathy to that of Bourbon, dreaded above all events. His Sardinian majeſty, however, made the beſt terms for himſelf that could poſſibly be procured. He ſtipulated a ſubſidy from England: he reſerved, in their full force, all the claims of his family upon the Milaneſe; and he obtained ſeveral private ceſſions of places conveniently ſituated for his dominions.

In conſideration of theſe advantages, he conſented to join his forces to thoſe of the queen of Hungary, in order to check the progreſs of the Spaniſh and Neapolitan armies, which were then meditating a junction; and to cover the ſtates of Modena and Mirandola, which were the bulwarks of her Hungarian majeſty's dominions in Italy. He alſo undertook to prevent the Spaniſh troops which had been landed at Orbittello, and which were commanded by the duke de Montemar, from effecting a junction with another body, which had lately arrived in the port of Spezzia. And in theſe operations he was aſſured of being aſſiſted by a ſtrong Engliſh ſquadron, to be ſtationed in the Mediterranean for that purpoſe.

It happened, however, that in ſome of his deſigns he unfortunately failed. The duke de Montemar, having obtained permiſſion from the pope to march through the eccleſiaſtical territories, found means to unite his forces, not only to the other body of Spaniards, but to the Neapolitans; and the whole combined army amounted to about forty thouſand men, commanded by the duke de Montemar, and under him by the duke de Caſtropignano, the Neapolitan general.

The king of Sardinia, informed of this event, publiſhed a manifeſto, declaring his intention to ſupport the queen of Hungary in her poſſeſſion of the Milaneze; and in the beginning of March, he entered that country at the head of thirty thouſand men, who were joined by ſeventeen thouſand Auſtrians, under the mareſchal count Traun. As the duke of Modena, through whoſe dominions it was neceſſary for the king of Sardinia to paſs before he could attack the Spaniards, profeſſed to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality, this circumſtance created at firſt ſome difficulty to the allies; but that obſtruction was ſoon removed by the impolitic conduct of the duke himſelf. Relying on the protection of the Spaniards, he concluded a private treaty with Montemar. When the king of Sardinia was informed of this incident, he entered the duke's territories, drove him out of his dominions, ſeized upon his duchy, and made himſelf maſter of his capital; while the duke, thus ſtripped of his poſſeſſions, was obliged to retire to the Spaniſh army, of which, by his late treaty, he aſſumed the nominal command.

By this time the Engliſh miniſtry had formed a reſolution to keep no farther meaſures with France. The conduct of the French admiral, in the Mediteranean, ſo ſtrongly demonſtrated the intentions of his court, that all their pretexts to a neutrality were become ridiculous. Leſtock, now a rear-admiral, commanded the Britiſh ſquadron in the neighbourhood of Antibes where he watched the motions of the French and Spaniſh ſquadrons in the harbour of Toulon. But as it was determined to ſtrike ſome bold ſtroke in the Mediterranean in the courſe of this ſummer, the ſupreme command of the fleet was beſtowed upon Mr. Matthews, who was promoted to the rank of a vice-admiral, and appointed his majeſty's miniſter plenipotentiary to all the princes and ſtates of Italy.

Though Matthews had obtained his preferment by the intereſt of the new miniſtry, he had never diſtinguiſhed himſelf greatly in their favour.

favour. He was, at the time of his promotion, conſiderably advanced in years, but far from being diſqualified for action. His perſon was remarkably graceful, and his appearance ſufficiently expreſſive of his character, which was compoſed of a due mixture of courage, candour, and ſincerity. Theſe great qualities, however, were tarniſhed by ſome unhappy failings. He either was or appeared to be imperious; and his paſſions were ſometimes ſo violent, as entirely to overcome his reaſon. Beſides, he had always cheriſhed an inveterate antipathy towards Leſtock, who, in every thing but courage, was a perfect contraſt to the other; hence it was judged impolitic in the new miniſtry to place two men in command, who might probably be induced to ſacrifice the good of their country to the gratification of their private averſions.

Mathews was a reſolute ſeaman; and the firſt exploit performed under his command ſhewed that England was determined to ſeek her enemies wherever they could be found. He ſet ſail from Spithead with ſeven ſhips of the line on the ſixteenth of April, and on the fourteenth of June arrived at Villa Franca, where he aſſumed the command of the combined Engliſh ſquadrons. Captain Norris, who was on a cruiſe between that harbour and Cape Rous, hearing that five Spaniſh gallies from Margaretta were then lying at St. Tropez, a French port in the Mediterranean, thought proper to block them up; and the Spaniards beginning, as he declared, to fire upon him, he immediately ordered captain Callis, in the duke fireſhip, to enter the harbour and burn the veſſels; an order which the captain executed with equal bravery and ſucceſs.

The burning of an enemy's ſhips in a neutral port was a thing which had been long unknown in the civilized ſtates of Europe; but the conduct of the French in protecting the Spaniſh fleet had deprived them of all claim to the privilege of neutrality; conſequently the intelligence of this action was received by the Engliſh with particular marks of joy; and the miniſters, if blameable in any particular, were thought to treat the French with too much lenity and indulgence. The next exploit performed by admiral Mathews was ſtill more acceptable to the people of Great-Britain: as the king of Naples had joined his forces to thoſe of his father, the united army amounted to about twenty thouſand: and as the troops of the former were ſuperior to thoſe of the latter, it was a matter of great importance to oblige his Neapolitan majeſty to adhere to the neutrality which he profeſſed to obſerve.

For this purpoſe Mathews ordered captain Martin, as commodore, with five ſhips of war, and eight tenders and bomb ketches, to ſail to Naples, and preſent to that court a meſſage from the king of England, importing, that his Sicilian and Neapolitan majeſty, having violated his neutrality by joining his forces with the declared enemies of Great-Britain, of the queen of Hungary, and the king of Sardinia, with whom his Britannic majeſty was in alliance, he (the commodore) was ſent to require the king of Sicily, not only to withdraw his troops from acting in conjunction with thoſe of Spain, but to promiſe, in writing, not to give them any farther aſſiſtance, adding, that if his Sicilian majeſty ſhould omit or delay the propoſed ſatisfaction, he had orders to bombard Naples.

The inhabitants of that city were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation by this inconſiderable force. Few places lay more convenient for a bombardment than Naples. Though one of the fineſt in Europe, it was intirely defenceleſs towards the ſea; and its gradual aſcent of ſituation expoſed almoſt every building in it to the bombs and firing from the ſhips. The inhabitants were ſtruck with the moſt uneaſy apprehenſions from the firſt appearance of the Britiſh fleet; but their alarm became altogether intolerable, when on the fourth of Auguſt, about four in the afternoon, the commodore caſt anchor before the city.

A few hours before, the duke de Montealegre, his Sicilian majeſty's firſt miniſter, deſired Mr. Allen, the Britiſh conſul at Naples, to go on board the commodore and learn his intentions; and at the ſame time to acquaint him, that his Sicilian majeſty would be glad to receive the Engliſh as friends, being perfectly in amity with the king of Great-Britain. The conſul accordingly repaired on board the commodore, who delivered the meſſage above ſtated: and begged he would accompany and aſſiſt captain L'Angle, who was charged with a commiſſion to carry it to court.

The captain and conſul immediately ſet out, and arriving at the ſecretary's office about five in the evening, delivered the meſſage to the duke de Monteallegre, who, having peruſed it, with great emotion, replied, that an anſwer ſhould be given on his majeſty's return from church. The king returned about ſix, a grand council was immediately ſummoned; and, notwithſtanding all their reſentment at ſo imperious a meſſage, they were obliged to ſubmit.

It is remarkable, that in the courſe of the negociation, which continued only a few hours, the duke de Monteallegre having taken the liberty to mention ſome reciprocal conditions, the commodore replied, that his orders were abſolute, and did not authorize him to grant any ſuch terms; that he expected a compliance in half an hour's time, or at fartheſt in an hour*; or he ſhould immediately begin to bombard the city.

This peremptory anſwer had the deſired effect. An aſſurance was given in writing, by the duke de Monteallegre, in the name of his Sicilian majeſty, that he would immediately withdraw his troops from the army of Spain, and would not, for the future, afford them any aſſiſtance in the proſecution of the preſent war†. Hiſtory affords few incidents of ſuch deciſion and diſpatch in affairs of equal importance.

This promiſe was inſtantly performed. The Neapolitan troops were recalled, and the Spaniſh army being thus weakened, was incapable, during the remaining part of the campaign, to perform any action of importance.

The Genoeſe having ſhewn a manifeſt partiality in favour of the French and Spaniards, vice-admiral Mathews ordered the Britiſh conſul at Genoa, to declare to the ſenate, that as the friendſhip of the king of Great Britain ought to be dear to the republic, it was hoped they would be careful to preſerve it at preſent, by prohibiting their ſubjects from carrying any proviſions to the Spaniſh ſquadron and the coaſts of Provence.

To this intimation the republic replied, that, as they intended to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality, it was not poſſible for them to hinder their ſubjects from trading to the coaſts of Provence: that it was their buſineſs to judge of their riſk by continuing ſuch a practice, when both the Britiſh and Spaniſh ſquadrons were hovering on their coaſt: and that all that the ſenate was capable of doing, conſiſtent with the neutrality, was to refrain from aſſiſting either party themſelves.

In the courſe of this year, admiral Vernon and general Wentworth made an attempt againſt the Spaniards in America. They had received in the ſpring a reinforcement from England, and planned a new expedition, in concert with the governor of Jamaica, who accompanied them in the voyage. Their intention was to land their troops at Porto Bello, and march acroſs the iſthmus of Darien to attack the wealthy town of Panama. They ſailed from Jamaica in the beginning of March, and about the end of the ſame month, arrived at Porto Bello.

The admiral obſerving the confuſion of the inhabitants, and that many of them were preparing to abandon the place, ſent an officer on ſhore to offer them protection. Encouraged by this indulgence, a deputation came from the magiſtrates, thanking him for his humanity, and accepting his offer; and a protection was accordingly granted them by the unanimous conſent of a council of war. It was alſo reſolved, that a detachment ſhould be ſent up the river Caſcahal, to cut off the communication between Porto Bello and Panama, to take poſſeſſion of the cuſtom-houſe, and ſecure it with a guard. This reſolution was immediately carried into execution.

By this time, lieutenant Lowther, the pro-

* Pulling his watch from his pocket, and fixing it to the main-maſt

† The letter, containing this promiſe, was in the following terms:

"SIR,

"The king had already reſolved, and given orders, "that his troops, which he joined with thoſe of Spain, "ſhould withdraw, in order to defend his own dominions. His majeſty commands me to acquaint you that "he will, forthwith, repeat his orders, that his troops, withdrawing from the Romagna, where they are at preſent, immediately return into this kingdom, and that he will not, in any manner whatſoever, aid or aſſiſt thoſe of Spain, any more, in this preſent war of Italy.

"Signed,

"The marquis of SALAS, duke of "MONTEALLEGRE.

' *To captain William Martin, commander "of the Engliſh ſquadron.*"

jector

jector of the ſcheme, and who had been ſent before, as a private trader, to procure intelligence, had rejoined the main fleet, and, in conſequence of his opinion, it was reſolved, in a council of war of the land officers, that the attempt againſt Panama was, for that year, impracticable. This determination was ſoon communicated to Vernon, who complained outrageouſly of the land officers having a majority againſt him in all councils of war; and moſt earneſtly, in his letters to the government, deſired to be recalled.

In ſupport of the opinion of the land officers, a paper was delivered by Wentworth, alledging, that there was not a ſufficient number of men to carry into effect the enterprize againſt Panama; and that this was in conſequence of an omiſſion in one part of the ſcheme. The governor of Porto Bello, he ſaid, with three companies of ſoldiers, and two of mulattos and negroes, had retired to Panama; and, on the cutting off theſe, the ſucceſs of the enterprize, in a great meaſure, depended; eſpecially as the governor was a man of acknowledged courage and abilities, and one in whom the Spaniards perfectly confided. He added, that there was certain intelligence, that a ſtrong reinforcement of troops was lately arrived at Panama, from Lima, and that conſiderable improvements had been made in the fortifications of the city.

In anſwer to theſe allegations, Vernon affirmed, that if, the very day the fleet appeared before Porto Bello, Wentworth had, according to the admiral's advice in a council of war, ſent a detachment up the river Caſcahal, he might have intercepted the governor and his troops, who did not quit the place till the following morning. The reſult of the whole was, that, the plan being impracticable, the fleet and tranſports ſet ſail for Jamaica, where they arrived on the fifteenth of May*.

The parliament of Great Britain met on the ſixteenth of November, when his majeſty acquainted the two houſes, that he had augmented the Britiſh troops in the Low Countries with ſixteen thouſand Hanoverians, and the Heſſian auxiliaries, in order to form ſuch a force, in conjunction with the Auſtrian armies, as might be of ſervice to the common cauſe; and he attributed to the councils of Great Britain, the magnanimity and firmneſs of the queen of Hungary, the reſolute conduct of the king of Sardinia, and the prevention of the Spaniſh invaſion of Italy, to which the Britiſh fleet contributed in ſo great a degree.

It is a maxim, agreeable to reaſon, and confirmed by experience, that leſs ability is required to oppoſe, than to conduct, or even defend, an adminiſtration in England. The diſtinguiſhed talents which had been diſplayed by the gentlemen of the new miniſtry, while they were engaged in the late oppoſition, were all concealed from the eyes of the public, the moment they attained to the direction of affairs.

The truth is, the number of their friends was ſmall, and their intereſt ſtill ſmaller; for, though they were ſupported by the remains of the late adminiſtration, who ſtill continued powerful, yet that advantage was not derived from any kindneſs, which the others entertained for them, but from their common fear or hatred of a third party: and what added to the unpopularity of the new miniſtry, was the diſgrace they had incurred by having changed their party and principles, without being poſſeſſed of any real power.

This, with reſpect to money, was ſtill in the hands of the old adminiſtration, and with regard to meaſures, it was engroſſed by lord Carteret, a miniſter of ſuperior capacity and influence, and independent, in his public conduct, of all party connections. But even the capacity of that able miniſter, however great, was thought inſufficient for juſtifying to the nation the bold meaſures, which had lately been adopted. Sixteen thouſand Britiſh troops were now in Flanders, idle,

* Such was the inglorious concluſion of the moſt important, the moſt expenſive, and the beſt concerted expedition, that ever Great Britain had undertaken. It is ſtill problematical, and perhaps will ever remain ſo, between the ſea and land officers, where the blame ought to be attributed. Vernon's drift ſeems to have been to avoid all legal imputation: and Wentworth ſheltered himſelf behind the opinions of councils of war and points of generalſhip; cautions, which are always diſregarded by a great officer, and which never fail to prove fatal to enterprizes that depend on the rapidity of execution, and the happy ſeizure of an opportunity. In a word, from the failure of this expedition, the Engliſh received a melancholy proof, that as diſſenſion is the misfortune of a free ſtate, ſo it is the ruin of a military project.

unemployed,

unemployed, and quarrelling with the inhabitants; while the Dutch refuſed to fulfil their engagements in favour of the queen of Hungary, a circumſtance which created a ſuſpicion, that England was to take upon itſelf the whole ſupport of the houſe of Auſtria. This ſuſpicion was ſtrengthened, when the Heſſian troops in Britiſh pay were ordered to join the Engliſh in Flanders; and when it became known, that the ſixteen thouſand Hanoverians, ſent upon the ſame deſtination, were likewiſe to be in the pay of Great Britain, the matter ſeemed to be admitted.

All theſe topics, the latter eſpecially, were exaggerated to the public, in a ſeries of the moſt flagitious and indecent writings that ever appeared in this or any other country. The preſs did not now, as formerly, point at the miniſter alone; it was directly levelled againſt the ſovereign himſelf, on account of his double capacity as king and elector: and the people were, by theſe means, inflamed to the higheſt degree of frenzy and diſtraction.

It was eaſily foreſeen, that if the oppoſition in parliament ſhould continue to be as ſtrong as it had been the preceding ſeſſion, it might be attended with conſequences fatal to the internal peace of the kingdom; and theſe apprehenſions were ſtill farther increaſed by the ſpirit of diſcontent, which began to appear among the officers of the army, both at home and abroad, reſpecting the Hanoverian forces.

The miniſter (for ſo lord Carteret was now termed by way of eminence) exerted himſelf with equal ſpirit and ability in defending the meaſures which the government had embraced. He appealed to the reſolutions of the parliament, and to the late deciſions of the people; both of which had concurred in calling upon his majeſty to undertake the ſupport of the houſe of Auſtria. He inſiſted that the cheering ſituation of affairs on the continent, was entirely owing to the vigour and firmneſs of his majeſty's councils; and he continued, in ſpite of all appearances to the contrary, to affirm, that the Dutch would infallibly take an active part in the war, if they ſaw his majeſty perſevere in his conduct.

Many of the moſt conſiſtent friends of the late oppoſition, agreed with the miniſter in theſe ſentiments, and ſome of them were promoted to places of truſt and emolument*. Though theſe promotions were generally agreeable, and ſeemed to indicate a majority to the government; yet, they were far from ſilencing the clamours of the people. The principal preferments had been allotted to thoſe who were conſidered as Tories, or, at leaſt, of moderate principles with regard to any party; and the gentlemen in the oppoſition were not even without hopes, that, when the great points came to be diſcuſſed, ſome of the new courtiers would, as they actually did, vote in oppoſition to the miniſtry.

An addreſs was propoſed, diſcuſſed, and carried in both houſes; and each met with a moſt gracious anſwer from his majeſty. Neither party thought proper to exert his ſtrength on ſo trivial an occaſion: that they determined to reſerve, for a more important object; nor was it long before a field was preſented for the full diſplay of their declamatory talents.

On the ſixteenth of December, a motion was made in the lower houſe, to reſolve, that the ſum of two hundred and ſixty-five thouſand one hundred and ninety-one pounds, ſhould be granted to his majeſty for defraying the expence of five thouſand five hundred and twelve horſe, and ten thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-five foot, of the troops of Hanover, together with the general officers and the train of artillery, in the pay of Great Britain, from the thirty-firſt of Auguſt to the twenty-fifth of December inclusive: that the ſum of three hundred and ninety-two thouſand ſix hundred and ſeven pounds, ſhould be granted to his majeſty, for the payment of the ſaid troops, from the twenty-ſixth of December 1742, to the twenty-fifth of December 1743: and that the ſum of one hundred and ſixty-one thouſand ſix hundred and ſeven pounds, ſhould be granted to his majeſty, for defraying the expence of one thouſand two hundred and ſixty horſe, and four thouſand nine hundred and eight foot, of the troops of his

* Lord Gower, the moſt popular nobleman in the party, was appointed lord privy-ſeal: lord Bathurſt, who had always been conſidered as one of the moſt plauſible ſpeakers in the houſe of peers, was appointed captain of the band of penſioners; and ſeveral gentlemen in the houſe of commons were, at the ſame time, exalted to places under government.

majeſty

majeſty the king of Sweden, as elector of Heſſe Caſſel, in the pay of Great Britain, from the twenty-firſt of December 1742 to the twenty-fifth of December 1743.

The debates which occurred in both houſes upon the two firſt reſolutions, were extremely obſtinate and violent; and the reflections thrown out were more ſevere and perſonal than could well have been expected in aſſemblies, which acknowledged the elector of Hanover for their ſovereign. The late clamours of the oppoſition for compelling the government to eſpouſe the cauſe of her Hungarian majeſty were entirely forgotten; and a new doctrine was ſuddenly adopted, that the endeavours of Great Britain to ſave the houſe of Auſtria were vain and fruitleſs, and calculated only to protect Hanover, and load England with the expence of Hanoverian mercenaries.

It was ſtrongly inſinuated in pamphlets and papers, which were known to have been written by the heads of the party, though acknowledged by minor authors, that the act of ſettlement, which provides againſt Great Britain ever being engaged in a war, on account of the dominions belonging to her king on the continent, had been violated; and broad hints were given, what courſe, in ſuch a ſituation, the people ought to purſue. It was farther pretended, that the whole of the bargain, for the electoral troops, was an impoſition upon the people of England; as thoſe troops could not preſume to act againſt the head of the empire, without expoſing his majeſty to the danger of its ban; and of the propriety of this reaſoning, the late neutrality for the electorate of Hanover, was urged as an irrefragable proof.

It was affirmed, among other accuſations, that the taking ſo great a number of foreign mercenaries into pay, without conſulting the parliament, was highly unconſtitutional, and derogatory to the honour and dignity of that auguſt aſſembly: that it did not appear, that the electorate of Hanover, though more immediately concerned in the event of the war than Great Britain, had contributed any thing to the ſupport of the common cauſe: and finally, that the greateſt part of the ſtanding army, conſiſting of twenty-three thouſand ſoldiers, and eleven thouſand five hundred and fifty marines, who were kept at home, might, had there been an abſolute neceſſity, have ſupplied the place of the expenſive mercenaries now taken into pay.

Such was the ſubſtance of the principal arguments againſt theſe meaſures; which produced ſuch a ferment in the nation, as almoſt to give birth to civil convulſions. The Whigs in the oppoſition, renounced all the maxims of their party during the reigns of king William and queen Anne: their moſt glorious ſucceſſes and victories on the continent were now ſtiled illuſtrious deviations from the true intereſt of England; and a new doctrine was promulgated, that Great Britain ought not, on any conſideration, to engage in a war upon the continent of Europe, except by employing her good offices; or, upon very great and intereſting emergencies, by ſupplying her allies with money, and that too with a very frugal hand.

Finally it was urged, that if the queen of Hungary was not effectually aſſiſted, and that with men, as well as money, it would be much better for Great Britain not to aſſiſt her at all; ſince any aſſiſtance that was not effectual, would be ſo much money thrown away, without rendering any ſervice either to her or to England.

Many other arguments were adduced on both ſides of this important queſtion. At laſt, upon a diviſion, the meaſure was approved in the lower houſe by a majority of two hundred and ſixty againſt one hundred and ninety-three. So ſmall a majority in the houſe of commons, conſidering the number of new placemen in it, was next to a minority, and was conſidered in that light throughout the nation.

The queſtion, however, received a much fuller deciſion in the houſe of peers. On the firſt of February, earl Stanhope made a motion to reſolve, that an humble addreſs ſhould be preſented to his majeſty, to beſeech and adviſe him, that conſidering the exceſſive and grievous expences incurred by the great number of foreign troops, now in the pay of Great Britain; expences, encreaſed by the extraordinary manner, as there was reaſon to apprehend, of making the eſtimates relating to them, and which did not appear to be conducive to the end propoſed; his majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed, in compaſſion to his ſubjects already loaded with ſuch numerous and heavy taxes, to exonerate his

his ſubjects of the charge and burden of thoſe mercenaries, who were taken into the Britiſh ſervice laſt year, without the advice or conſent of parliament.

This motion, which was ſeconded by the earl of Sandwich, gave occaſion to a long and obſtinate debate. Among thoſe who oppoſed it, was the earl of Bath, formerly Mr. Pulteney, and the head of the oppoſition in the houſe of commons.

He alledged that the grounds of oppoſing were removed with the late miniſter, and that it became him to ſupport the preſent meaſures, which were thoſe he had always recommended, while he was in the oppoſition. The affording aſſiſtance to the queen of Hungary, and reducing the power of France, had been always his favourite topics, and he now employed all the powers of his eloquence, which were confeſſed to be great, in defending and enforcing them.

The other principal ſpeakers againſt this motion, were, the lord chancellor, the duke of Newcaſtle, the earl of Cholmondeley, lord Carteret, and lord Bathurſt. The chief ſpeakers in favour of it, excluſive of the earls by whom it was made and ſeconded, were the duke of Bedford, the earl of Cheſterfield, viſcount Lonſdale, and lord Hervey. At laſt, the queſtion being put, it was rejected by a majority of ninety againſt thirty-five.

The commons now proceeded to conſider the eſtimates. and ſettle the ſupplies: when very large grants were voted with little oppoſition, in compariſon with that which attended the meaſure of the Hanoverian troops. Several bills being ready for the royal aſſent, his majeſty came to the houſe of peers, where, after paſſing them, he declared, in a ſpeech to both houſes, that he was glad of the occaſion of expreſſing to them the great ſatisfaction he enjoyed in ſeeing ſo great a progreſs already made in the buſineſs of the ſeſſion: that the readineſs and diſpatch, with which they had thus eaſily provided ſo conſiderable a part of the ſupplies for the public ſervice, demanded his particular thanks; and he doubted not, but the ſame zeal for the common cauſe would induce them to enable him to concert proper meaſures, and to contract or fulfil ſuch alliances and engagements, with other powers, as might be neceſſary for the ſupport of the queen of Hungary, and for reſtoring the balance of Europe: and that he conſidered this happy beginning as a ſure pledge of their ſteadineſs in purſuing the true intereſt of Great Britain, which was, and ever ſhould be, his only view.

An addreſs of thanks, was voted by the commons, and, after ſome debate, a reſolution taken, that five hundred thouſand pounds ſhould be granted to his majeſty, towards enabling him to concert ſuch meaſures, to form ſuch alliances, or to contract ſuch engagements with other powers, as his majeſty ſhould judge neceſſary for the ſupport of the houſe of Auſtria, and reeſtabliſhing the balance of power in Europe.

It was eaſier, however, to grant them to raiſe money; and the commons found ſome difficulty in regulating the funds for that purpoſe. The land-tax and malt bill had already been paſſed; but the amount of theſe was expected to be inſufficient for the purpoſe. At laſt, after various conſultations, a motion was made to alter the duties on ſpirituous liquors.

This, it muſt be acknowledged, was a dangerous expedient; but the truth is, all the remedies, which had been hitherto propoſed and applied for preventing the uſe of thoſe pernicious liquors had been found ineffectual; and the public revenue had ſuffered a great diminution, though the health and morals of the people were not in the leaſt improved. A motion was therefore made to reſolve, that the duty of twenty ſhillings per gallon on ſpirituous liquors ſhould be diſcontinued: and that, towards raiſing the ſupplies granted to his majeſty, there ſhould be paid for every gallon of low wines or ſpirits of the firſt extraction, drawn from any foreign or imported materials, ſixpence over and above all other duties charged or chargeable on theſe liquors. This motion was productive of a long and violent debate. The conſcientious part of the houſe, who had been zealous in promoting the ſpirit act, conſidered the repeal of it to be a kind of licence granted to the people for poiſoning themſelves; in conſequence of which they oppoſed the meaſure with great vehemence. It was urged on the other hand, that the prohibition of ſpirituous liquors had been found impracticable, as no method could be deviſed to prevent the clandeſtine ſale of them: that a high duty

duty was next to a prohibition: and that the duty propoſed was ſufficiently large at firſt, but might be afterwards encreaſed, if deemed expedient. The motion was at laſt approved, and a bill prepared, paſſed, and ſent up to the lords for their approbation.

In the upper houſe it met with a more vigorous oppoſition, than it had experienced in the lower. Lord Hervey propoſed, that ſome phyſicians ſhould be ordered to attend the houſe, to explain to their lordſhips the pernicious conſequence of drinking drams; but, as this motion had too much the air of ridicule, it was rejected by a great majority*.

The bill was oppoſed by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the biſhops of London, Exeter, St. Aſaph, Norwich, Briſtol, Glouceſter, Sarum, Oxford, and Chicheſter, by the duke of Bedford, the earls of Aylesford, Sandwich and Cheſterfield, and the lords Lonſdale, Talbot, and Hervey. It was defended by the duke of Newcaſtle, the earls of Cholmondeley, Ilay, and Bath, and the lords Carteret and Bathurſt.

In a ſpeech delivered by the earl of Cheſterfield, his lordſhip concluded with the following expreſſions: "For my own part, my lords, I "think the tax now propoſed much worſe than "the tax invented by Veſpaſian's ways and "means men: it is not only mean and ſordid, "but it is vicious to the laſt degree; becauſe "it will encourage and promote that vice, "which is the parent of every vice. If your "lordſhips, therefore, ſhould approve of this "bill, when you come to the preamble, I ſhall "propoſe an amendment, which I think a very "neceſſary one, for the ſake of truth, as well "as religion. In that part of the preamble "where it is ſaid, "by and with the advice of "the lords *ſpiritual* and *temporal*," I hope "your lordſhips will leave out the word "*ſpiritual*;" for it will bring a ſcandal upon the "religion of the age, to have it recorded in our "law books, that the reverend bench gave their "conſent to ſuch a bill. Beſides, it is falſe in "fact; for ſome of them have appeared openly "and avowedly againſt it; and I do not find "that any one of them will adviſe or conſent to "it." After a warm and obſtinate diſpute, the bill was paſſed by a majority of twenty-ſeven voices.

The public buſineſs being finiſhed, his majeſty, on the twenty-fifth of April, concluded the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he obſerved, that he had, at the requiſition of the queen of Hungary, ordered his army, in conjunction with the Auſtrian troops, to paſs the Rhine, as auxiliaries to her Hungarian majeſty, to oppoſe any dangerous meaſures which might affect the balance and liberties of Europe, or hinder the reeſtabliſhment of public tranquillity upon juſt and ſolid foundations: that he had continued a ſtrong ſquadron in the Mediterranean, and another in the Weſt Indies, to proſecute the great work of diſtreſſing his enemies the Spaniards, and compelling them to agree to ſafe and honourable terms of peace.

The affairs of Europe were now in a very perplexed and complicated ſituation. The queen of Hungary depended, for ſupport, on the king of England: the emperor upon his moſt Chriſtian majeſty: yet neither Great Britain nor France had hitherto acted as principals in the war. The queen of Hungary, who had been obliged to have recourſe to arms, could not be perſuaded to lay them down: the emperor, who had induced her to adopt that meaſure, was now inclined to ſue for peace: but, though he offered, in his own name, and in that of the French monarch, to evacuate all the Auſtrian dominions, his requeſt was not complied with.

Her Hungarian majeſty and the king of Sardinia, though now united againſt the efforts of the Spaniards, had many latent claims upon each other; nor could any thing but their common dread of the houſe of Bourbon, have prevented them from coming to an open rupture: while Spain, who was a principal in the war againſt England, hazarded even her poſſeſſion of the Weſt Indies, on which the very being of her monarchy depended, to procure a ſovereignty in Italy for the ſon of her ambitious queen.

The princes of the empire beheld with indif-

* Several members of the upper houſe maintained, that the bill would promote intoxication and profligacy, tend to the deſtruction of the health of the people, and weaken the power and reſources of the nation. Lord Hervey expreſſed himſelf with ſuch an air of jocularity on this occaſion, that he would have been very much diſappointed, had not his motion been rejected.

ference, or perhaps with ſecret ſatisfaction, the Imperial dignity ſevered from the houſe of Auſtria, and veſted in a ſovereign who could not render himſelf formidable, and who was daily becoming more burthenſome to his allies, and more deſpicable to his vaſſals.

The king of Pruſſia, though ſurrounded by the tumults of war, was cultivating, in his own dominions, the arts of peace; but, always vigilant and attentive, he never ceaſed to be prepared for action: while Great Britain, bleſſed with domeſtic tranquillity, and fearing no attacks from any foreign foe, whom ſhe had reaſon to dread, was pouring all the thunder of her arms upon countries, ſevered from her by ſituation, and unconnected with her by intereſt.

Matters, however, could not long remain in ſuch a delicate and critical ſituation. The king of England had repeatedly plighted his faith for the ſupport of the Pragmatic Sanction; and no evil, he ſuppoſed, could be deemed ſo dreadful, as the breach of national faith was infamous. Urged by this conſideration, he reſolved, in the courſe of the enſuing campaign, to head his troops in perſon. Accordingly, having appointed a regency to govern the kingdom in his abſence, and made a large promotion of general officers, he ſet out, accompanied by his ſecond ſon the duke of Cumberland, for Hanover, where he arrived on the ſixth of May.

By this time, the campaign had been opened between the ſeveral parties engaged in the war. Prince Lobkowitz, having taken poſſeſſion of Prague, proceeded to Egra, which he immediately inveſted; but that place had been put into ſuch a poſture of defence, that, after a few ineffectual efforts, he was obliged to abandon the enterprize.

The emperor had exerted himſelf with great activity, in recruiting his army; and, having aſſembled about twenty thouſand men, he pitched his camp at Limbatch, in the neighbourhood of Brenau. From thence he ſent repeated meſſages to Broglio, entreating him to advance with the troops under his command; but that general had been ordered, by late inſtructions, to keep on the defenſive, till he ſhould either receive a reinforcement, or find an opportunity of joining the duke de Noailles, who had entered the Palatinate, with an army of twenty thouſand men, and made himſelf maſter of Spires, Worms, Oppenheim, and Heidelburgh, on the Neckar.

In the mean time, the campaign was equally vigorous and active in other quarters. A reſolution having been taken, that the allied army ſhould proceed from Flanders to Germany, to act as auxiliaries to the queen of Hungary, the Britiſh troops began their march thither in February; and, on the nineteenth of May, they paſſed by the town of Aix-la Chapelle, where they were joined by the Hanoverians in the pay of England. They were alſo in expectation of being ſoon reinforced by another body of ſix thouſand troops belonging to that electorate, as well as by the Heſſians in the ſervice of Great Britain.

As Frankfort, where the emperor then reſided, was a neutral city, and afforded a peaceable retreat to all the officers of the different armies; and, as the ſupport of the Pragmatic Sanction, and the deliverance of Germany from the French, were the only motives that had induced the Engliſh to march into the empire; the earl of Stair, who commanded the allies in chief, ſent a meſſage to the emperor, importing, that nothing more was intended by the march of the Britiſh troops into Germany, than to reſtore the public peace and tranquillity: that his Britannic majeſty, upon appointing him to the command of them, had expreſſly charged him to avoid every thing which might, in the leaſt, injure the dignity of the head of the empire: and that, therefore, his Imperial majeſty might aſſure himſelf that the march of theſe troops ſhould be directed in ſuch a manner, as not to diſturb his reſidence at Frankfort. The emperor, however, not thinking it ſafe to remain in a neutral city, retired to Munich, in company with the prince royal, his ſon.

In the month of July, in the preceding year, the ſtates of Holland had prevailed upon their high mightineſſes, to agree to a propoſition of providing forty thouſand foot, and four thouſand ſeven hundred horſe, to be in readineſs for marching on the ſhorteſt notice.

The French king, informed of theſe reſolutions, ordered the mareſchal de Noailles, one of his beſt generals, to aſſemble an army of eighty thouſand men upon the Rhine, and to advance againſt the Engliſh and their allies. In the beginning of June, the mareſchal paſſed the Rhine; and

and after detaching count Segur, with a conſiderable body, to reinforce Broglio, he began to make diſpoſitions for attacking the confederates, who were now encamped in the neighbourhood of Frankfort, above and below the town of Hochſt, upon the Mayne.

The army of the allies, making allowance for all deductions, was ſuppoſed to conſiſt of about thirty-ſeven thouſand men; that of Noailles of fifty-eight thouſand. The French attempted to ſurpriſe Hailborn, a ſtrong town on the Neckar; but were diſappointed by the vigilance of the garriſon. They then paſſed the Rhine, and, by a variety of marches and countermarches, reduced the allies to great difficulties for want of proviſions. They even endeavoured to make themſelves maſters of Aſchaffenburgh, where there was a bridge over the Maine; but the earl of Stair prevented their ſucceeding in that enterprize. Such was the ſituation of the two armies, when, on the nineteenth of June, his Britannic majeſty, attended by the duke of Cumberland and lord Carteret, arrived in the camp of the allies.

The king found his army full of ſpirits, and eager for action; but reduced almoſt to a ſtarving condition for want of ſubſiſtence. The French obtained poſſeſſion of all the upper poſts on the Maine; the boats below, obſtructed by the enemy's huſſars, and the rapidity of the ſtream, were unable to come up with proviſions: and thus the allies, by a concurrence of adverſe circumſtances, were ſurrounded by a ſuperior army, commanded by a cautious and vigilant general, who had taken his meaſures ſo judiciouſly, that he thought the confederates muſt either be obliged to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war, or ſuffer themſelves to be cut to pieces in their retreat.

A retreat, however, to Hanau, was reſolved on, as being neceſſary to procure ſubſiſtence, and to form a junction with a reinforcement of twelve thouſand Heſſians and Hanoverians which had reached Hanau, and was in danger of being cut off; and, accordingly, on the twenty-ſixth of June, the troops were ordered to ſtrike their tents, and to begin their march by break of day. The road they were to take was bounded on one ſide by a mountain, on the other by the river Maine; over which the French had been unaccountably ſuffered to erect ſeveral bridges, and to harraſs the allies with the fire of their artillery.

From the motions of the French, it was generally imagined, that their intention was to paſs the river at Aſchaffenburgh, and to attack the rear of the confederates in their retreat. Of this circumſtance his Britannic majeſty was ſo much convinced, that he himſelf took poſt in the rear; which was brought up by the Engliſh and Lunenburgh guards, and by the Hanoverian cavalry, with a ſmall train of artillery.

It appeared, however, by the ſequel, that this was merely a feint of the French; and that their real intention was to croſs the river at another place, and to oppoſe the allies in front. The confederates had not advanced above three leagues, when they obſerved a body of the enemy, amounting to about thirty thouſand, on the more elevated ſide of the river, and drawn up in order of battle. Before them lay a narrow paſs, the village of Dettingen was on their right, a wood on the left, and a moraſs in the center. Thus ſecured, they might have compelled the confederates either to ſubmit at diſcretion, or to engage at a very great diſadvantage, had not the duke de Gramont, who commanded the enemy, been prompted by the natural impetuoſity of his diſpoſition, to paſs the defile, and offer the allies battle.

The French horſe charged with great impetuoſity, and ſome regiments of Britiſh cavalry were driven in diſorder; but the infantry of the allies behaved with ſuch matchleſs intrepidity, under the eye of their ſovereign, as ſpeedily to determine the fate of the day: the French were obliged to give way, and repaſs the Maine with great precipitation, having loſt about ſix thouſand men killed, wounded, or taken. Terror now ſeized the whole French army, every one crying, "Save himſelf who can!" Had the duke de Noailles been expeditiouſly purſued, the victory of the allies would probably have been complete, and the defeat of the French total*.

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* The earl of Stair propoſed a purſuit; but his maſter, George II. happy in having bravely extricated himſelf from one imminent danger, did not chooſe to run the hazard of another. He was afraid of an ambuſcade.

The loſs of the allies in this action, amounted to two thouſand five hundred men. The generals Clayton and Monroy were killed: the duke of Cumberland, who exhibited uncommon proofs of military proweſs, was ſhot through the calf of the leg: the earl of Albemarle, general Huſke, and ſeveral other officers of diſtinction were wounded. The king expoſed his perſon to a ſevere fire of cannon as well as muſketry: he rode between the firſt and ſecond lines with his ſword drawn, and animated the troops to fight for the honour of their country*.

The two armies continued on different ſides of the river till the twelfth of July: when the French general, receiving intelligence that prince Charles of Lorraine was advancing towards the Neckar, ſuddenly retired, and repaſſed the Rhine between Worms and Oppenheim. His Britannic majeſty was viſited by prince Charles and count Kevenhuller at Hanau, where the future operations of the campaign were concerted.

On the twenty-fourth of Auguſt, the allied army paſſed the Rhine at Mentz, and the king fixed his head-quarters in the epiſcopal palace of Worms. Here they encamped till the latter end of September, when they advanced to Spires, where they were joined by twenty thouſand Dutch auxiliaries from the Netherlands. Mareſchal Noailles having retreated into Upper Alſace, the allies took poſſeſſion of Germerſheim, and demoliſhed the lines which the enemy had formed on the Queich: after which they returned to Mentz, and, in October, were diſtributed into winter quarters.

In September, a treaty had been concluded at Worms, between his Britannic majeſty, the king of Sardinia, and the queen of Hungary. By this treaty, his Sardinian majeſty renounced his pretenſions to the Duchy of Milan, and once more guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction. The queen of Hungary, beſides relinquiſhing in his favour all title to the town and marquiſate of Final, then poſſeſſed by the republic of Genoa, but on which ſhe had ſome claims, agreed to put him in poſſeſſion of the Vigevaneſco, with that part of the duchy of Pavia which lies between the Po and the Teſſin, and to cede to him the towns of Placenza and Bombio, with all the territory from the ſource of the Nura to the lake of Maggiore, and the frontiers of the Swiſs Cantons. She farther engaged to maintain thirty thouſand men in Italy, as ſoon as the ſituation of her affairs in Germany would permit; and the king of Sardinia, on condition of his receiving from Great Britain an annual ſubſidy of two hundred and eighty thouſand pounds ſterling, obliged himſelf to keep up an army of forty thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe.

This treaty, which was ratified by the regency at London, on the twentieth of September, expoſed the Britiſh miniſter, who had conducted it, to much cenſure. The friends of the queen of Hungary alledged, that it ſtripped her of too conſiderable a part of her dominions, in favour of a fickle and mercenary ally; and her enemies affirmed, that nothing could be more ridiculous and unjuſt, then her pretending to cede Final, which was the property of another ſtate, merely becauſe that ſtate was unable to defend it. It was further obſerved, that, by the fourth article of the quadruple alliance, Great Britain had guarantied the poſſeſſion of Final to the Genoeſe; and, as the terror of the Britiſh fleet was the only motive which could compel them to yield it up, the honour of the nation ſeemed evidently in danger. Beſides, it was thought impolitic to provoke even ſo inconſiderable a ſtate as Genoa; eſpecially as ſhe had never been deficient in manifeſting her reſpect to Great Britain.

It was likewiſe ſaid, that the experiment was dangerous; and that the king of Sardinia might as well have claimed the poſſeſſions of Genoa itſelf, as of Final; as that place, if repaired, fortified, and made a free port, would carry away all the Mediterranean trade from the Genoeſe.

The claims of her Hungarian majeſty, to the town and marquiſate of Final, were found, upon examination, to be equally frivolous and abſurd. Final had formerly belonged to the Genoeſe, and had been wreſted from them by the houſe of Auſtria; nor was there the leaſt reſer-

His troops had received little ſuſtenance for ſeveral days: they were come off a fatiguing march; and had been many hours under arms: beſides, the enemy had ſtill a ſuperior army, and a great train of artillery, it was ſaid, to diſpute the paſſage of the river.

* Voltaire affirms, that the loſs on each ſide was nearly equal; but in this aſſertion he is not juſtified by the moſt probable ſtatements.

vation in the contract by which they re-purchaſed it from the emperor. It may alſo be added that, as the king of Sardinia had already three or four ports in the Mediterranean, he was ſtrongly ſuſpected of aſpiring to the rank of a maritime power; a ſcheme in which he ought, by no means, to have been aſſiſted by the miniſtry of Great Britain*.

By this time the earl of Stair had reſigned his command in diſguſt. He was diſſatisfied at the partiality which he ſuppoſed to be ſhewn to the Hanoverian, to the prejudice of the Britiſh officers; and the belief of that groundleſs report, which he found means to infuſe into the minds of the Engliſh, was the only detriment which the public received from his reſignation. In October, the king of Great Britain returned to Hanover, and the army ſeparated. The troops in Britiſh pay marched back to the Netherlands; and the reſt repaired to their reſpective countries.

Denmark, prevailed on by French councils, began to make preparations of war againſt Sweden; but a body of Ruſſian auxiliaries arriving in that kingdom, under the command of general Keith, and the Czarina declaring ſhe would aſſiſt the Swedes with all her forces, the king of Denmark thought proper to diſarm. At the ſame time, a treaty of marriage was concluded between the prince royal of Denmark, and the princeſs Louiſa, youngeſt daughter of his Britannic majeſty, who was conducted to Copenhagen in the month of December†.

Since Broglio retreated out of Germany, the French court affected wonderful moderation. They alledged, that their troops had acted only as auxiliaries, while they continued in the empire; but, being apprehenſive of an irruption into their own dominions, they aſſerted, that theſe troops were no longer to be conſidered in that light, but as ſubjects really acting in the ſervice of France.

The campaign in Italy was inactive and indeciſive, though its beginning promiſed the moſt vigorous exertions. Count de Gages, who commanded the Spaniſh army in the Bologneſe, amounting to twenty-five thouſand men, paſſed the Fanaro, in the beginning of February, and advanced to Campo Santo, where he attacked the Imperial and Piedmonteſe forces, conſiſting of twenty thouſand, commanded by count Traun, and count Aſpremont.

The battle began about eight in the morning, and continued till ſeven at night. The Spaniards loſt three thouſand men; the confederates about two. Some cannon and colours were taken on both ſides; and each party claimed the victory. Count de Gages repaſſed the Panaro; retreated ſuddenly from Bologna, and marched to Rimini, in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, where he continued till October, when his troops were ordered into winter quarters.

The naval tranſactions of the year, ſo far as they regard the operations of the Britiſh fleets, reflect more honour on the courage, than the conduct of the officers. Admiral Mathews ſtill continued to watch the combined ſquadrons of France and Spain off the harbour of Toulon, and, by turns, to amuſe and intimidate the Genoeſe. His cruiſers, however, greatly injured the coaſts of the enemy, and made prize of ſome of their richeſt veſſels. The courts of Verſailles and Madrid, having now formed a plan for extricating their fleets from their confinement, Mathews communicated their project to the Engliſh miniſtry, and begged to be ſupplied with a proper reinforcement.

In the Weſt Indies, ſome unſucceſsful efforts were made by an Engliſh ſquadron, commanded by commodore Knowles. He attacked La Guira, on the coaſt of the Carraccas, in the month of February; but meeting with a warm reception, he was obliged to abandon the enterprize, and make the beſt of his way for the Dutch iſland Curacoa, where he repaired the

* While the allies continued at Worms, colonel Menzel, at the head of a large body of irregulars, belonging to the queen of Hungary, made an irruption into Lorraine, part of which they ravaged without mercy. In September, prince Charles, with the Auſtrian army, entered the Briſgaw, and attempted to paſs the Rhine; but mareſchal Coigni appearing on the oppoſite banks, with a body of fifty thouſand men, he was obliged to abandon that enterprize, and, returning into the Upper Palatinate, quartered his troops in that country, and in Bavaria.

† France was about this time deprived of her ableſt miniſter, in the death of cardinal Fleury, who had, for many years, conducted the affairs of that kingdom. He was conſtantly a friend to pacific meaſures; he endeavoured to accompliſh his purpoſes, by encouraging intrigues at foreign courts; but he is accuſed of having neglected the military glory of France, and of having permitted its naval power to be almoſt annihilated.

damage

damage he had ſuſtained. His ſhips being refitted, he made another attempt upon Porto Cavallo, in April, which proved abortive like the former. Twelve hundred marines being landed in the neighbourhood of the place, were ſeized with ſuch a ſudden tremor, that they fired upon each other, and fled to their ſhips with the utmoſt precipitation. The commodore, finding it in vain to renew the attack, ſailed back to his ſtation at the Leeward Iſlands, where he continued inactive, during the remaining part of the ſeaſon.

The parliament meeting on the firſt of December, his majeſty, in his ſpeech to both houſes, informed them, that the dominions of the queen of Hungary had been evacuated by her enemies; and that the powerful armies, which had marched to her aſſiſtance, had quitted the empire: that, in this conjuncture, it was with great pleaſure he could acquaint them, that he had been joined by a body of troops of his good friends and allies, the States General: that, in further proſecution of theſe meaſures, the definitive treaty between him, the queen of Hungary, and the king of Sardinia, had been happily concluded: that the advantages, which muſt reſult from this alliance to the common cauſe, were ſufficiently apparent; and it would be particularly conducive to the intereſts of his kingdoms, by diſappointing the ambitious views of the crown of Spain: that, as he made no doubt but they would proceed upon theſe foundations, with firmneſs and conſtancy, they might reaſonably hope to ſee the public tranquillity ſpeedily re-eſtabliſhed, and a ſafe and honourable peace obtained: to accompliſh which, he recommended vigorous and reſolute meaſures.

In the upper houſe, lord Sandwich moved for an addreſs, beſeeching his majeſty to diſcontinue the Hanoverian troops in Britiſh pay, as a means of removing the popular diſcontent, and ſilencing the murmurs of the Engliſh troops abroad. In ſupport of this motion it was alledged, that theſe Hanoverians, though in the pay, could hardly be ſaid to be in the ſervice of the Britiſh nation: that ſome of them refuſed to ſerve in the firſt line, at the battle of Dettingen, and retired to the ſecond: that others refuſed obedience to the orders of the Britiſh general, to march in purſuit of the enemy after the battle; and the greateſt number of them, who, together with ſome of the Britiſh guards, compoſed what was called the rear-guard, under the command of an Hanoverian lieutenant-general, took a different route from the reſt of the army in their march from Aſchaffenburg.

Theſe and other charges were attempted to be refuted by lord Carteret, who was on the field of battle, and who, among other things, declared, that from all he had ſeen, and all he could hear from gentlemen, who were preſent in the action, the Hanoverians diſplayed as much true courage, and as much obedience to the commands of their ſuperior officers, as any troops had ever done. Other arguments were adduced by his lordſhip, which, upon the whole, were deemed ſo perfectly ſatisfactory, that the motion was rejected by a conſiderable majority; but when the term for keeping them in the Britiſh pay was on the point of expiring, and the eſtimates for their being continued the enſuing year, were laid before the houſe, the earl of Sandwich renewed his motion. The lord chancellor, as ſpeaker of the houſe, interpoſing, declared, that, by their rules, a queſtion, once rejected, could not be revived during the continuance of the ſame ſeſſion. A debate enſued, and the ſecond motion was over ruled. The Hanoverian troops were voted in the houſe of commons, though the motion was ſtrongly oppoſed by the minority, on which occaſion the duke of Marlborough, who ſeconded it, reſigned his commiſſion in diſguſt. And the oppoſition in the lower houſe kept pace with that in the upper.

While the Britiſh miniſtry* were ſtrenuouſly exerting themſelves in concerting the means of re-eſtabliſhing the general tranquillity of Europe; France, ſtung with reſentment at the diſgrace of her arms, the waſte of her blood, and the profuſion of treaſure which ſhe had ſo ineffectually conſumed, projected an expedition that was to have compenſated for all her loſſes and misfortunes, and to have effaced the diſhonour that had been fixed uper her character.

This was no other than an invaſion of Great Britain. All the French miniſtry, except cardinal de Tencin, who had ſucceeded Fleury as firſt favourite, were extremely averſe to ſuch a meaſure.

* A. D. 1744.

meaſure. They repreſented the great improbability of France's ever being able to ſhake the throne of a family, which owed its elevation to the voluntary call of a whole people; who, however they might be divided by ſome trifling differences, would, upon the leaſt proſpect of real danger, unite as one man in their defence.

At length Tencin carried his point, by urging the moſt rational argument that could be advanced on ſuch an occaſion. He aſſerted, that, even on the ſuppoſition of the deſign's miſcarrying, it would materially injure the public credit of the Engliſh, who were, at that time, engaged in ſuch expenſive undertakings on the continent of Europe. Encouraged by this argument, by theſe favourable appearances, the ſmall number of troops in England, and the aſſurances of a powerful ſupport from the Jacobites, and even a general revolt in favour of the pretender, Lewis XV. entered heartily into the views of cardinal de Tencin, who had projected the enterpriſe, and the moſt flattering hopes were entertained of ſucceſs. Tencin was ſtrongly attached to the Stuart family, by whoſe intereſt he had been elevated to the purple; and having taken the lead in the French adminiſtration, on the death of cardinal Fleury, he was ambitious of manifeſting his gratitude to his friends, and of ſerving his maſter, by giving a new ſovereign to Great Britain. Nor did ſuch a revolution appear improbable with the force which had been prepared, to thoſe who knew the ſituation of this kingdom, if France had poſſeſſed the ſovereignty of the ſea. An army of fifteen thouſand men was aſſembled in Picardy, under count Saxe, who was appointed to command the expedition; and a number of tranſports were collected at Calais, Dunkirk, and Boulogne. Charles Edward, eldeſt ſon of the chevalier de St. George, or pretender, to whom that prince had delegated his pretenſions, left Rome, and arrived in the French camp, in the character of a Spaniſh courier. A deſcent was intended to be made on the coaſt of Kent; and M. de Roquefeuille, with a fleet of twenty ſhips of the line from Breſt and Rochfort, ſailed exultingly up the Channel, in order to protect the tranſports and cover the landing of the troops. Seven thouſand men were embarked, and the firſt diviſion of the tranſports put to ſea; but a ſudden ſtorm ariſing, they were all driven back upon the French coaſt. Many of them were ſhattered; ſome of the largeſt, with all the men, were loſt; and a ſuperior Engliſh fleet, commanded by ſir John Norris, obliged M. de Roquefeuille to make the beſt of his way to Breſt. In conſequence of which, the young pretender, (who was then in the twenty-third year of his age) after having a ſight of the promiſed land, found himſelf under the neceſſity of waiting for a more favourable opportunity, to attempt the recovery of the kingdom of his anceſtors.

The alarm occaſioned by this formidable enterprize, though it proved abortive, united the Whigs in the firm ſupport of government. They were made ſenſible, that their oppoſition to certain unpopular meaſures, and their political jealouſies of each other, had been repreſented by the enemies of Great Britain, as a proof of their averſion to the reigning family; and that the chevalier de St. George had founded his hopes of ſucceſs in the projected invaſion, chiefly on the diviſion among the friends of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion.

France having, by attempting an invaſion, forfeited all claim to the pretence of neutrality which ſhe had hitherto profeſſed, was obliged to proceed to open hoſtilities; and, accordingly, a declaration of war was iſſued at Paris, on the twentieth of March: and on the thirty-firſt of the ſame month, a denunciation of war againſt France, was publiſhed at London, amidſt the acclamations of the people.

The commons of England, to demonſtrate their loyalty, brought in a bill, inflicting the penalties of high treaſon upon thoſe, who ſhould maintain a correſpondence with the ſons of the pretender. In the upper houſe, lord Hardwicke, the chancellor, moved, that a clauſe ſhould be inſerted, extending the pains of treaſon to the poſterity of the offenders, during the lives of the pretender's ſons*. This clauſe was productive of a long and intemperate debate; but,

* This propoſition was not univerſally acceptable; it was therefore reſiſted by various ſpeakers. The duke of Bedford reprobated the injuſtice and cruelty of puniſhing the innocent offſpring of a criminal. This practice, he ſaid,

but, at laſt, was approved by a conſiderable majority in both houſes, and the bill received the royal aſſent *.

The miſcarriage of the projected invaſion was a fortunate event for England. The plan had been concerted with great ſecrecy and art, and was intimately connected with another, which, had it proved ſucceſsful, muſt have given the French abſolute dominion of the ſea.

The queen of Spain, impatient of the difficulties which ſurrounded her ſon Don Philip, and enraged at the detention of the French and Spaniſh ſquadrons in the harbour of Toulon, had, by engaging to ſuſtain all loſs that might be ſuffered in ſuch an attempt, prevailed on the court of Verſailles to agree, that the combined fleet ſhould ſail out of the harbour, and attack that of England; after which, ſhould they gain the victory, they were to aſſiſt in favouring the deſcent. Accordingly, on the twenty-eighth of February, they were perceived ſtanding out of the road, to the number of twenty-eight ſhips of the line; ſix ſhips of fifty guns, and four frigates: the Engliſh admiral immediately weighed from Hieres Bay; and on the eleventh, part of the fleets were engaged. Mathews attacked the Spaniſh admiral, Don Navarro, whoſe ſhip, the Real, was a firſt rate, mounting one hundred and fourteen guns. Rear-admiral Rowley ſingled out M. de Court, who commanded the French ſquadron; the captains Cornwall, Forbes, Oſborne, and Hawke, followed the example of their commanders: but vice-admiral Leſtock, with his whole diviſion, remained upwards of five miles a-ſtern; and ſeveral captains, who were immediately under the eye of Mathews, behaved in the moſt daſtardly and puſillanimous manner.

The whole tranſaction was conducted without order or method. The French and Spaniards wiſhed to have avoided an engagement, as the Britiſh ſquadron was ſuperior to them, both in ſtrength and number of ſhips. Victory, however, at laſt, declared in favour of Mathews. The combined fleet, after an action of ſix hours, found it neceſſary to retreat, with the loſs of one ſhip of the line, named the Poder †. The Royal Philip, another diſabled ſhip, might alſo, it is ſaid, have been taken, had the Engliſh admiral continued the chaſe; but his orders to guard the coaſt of Italy being poſitive, he was not at liberty to neglect that important object, for the precarious chance of making a ſingle prize; all the other ſhips of the enemy ſailing too faſt to leave him any hope of coming up with them ‡.

The loſs of ſo favourable an opportunity of diminiſhing the naval power of the houſe of Bourbon, occaſioned univerſal complaints in England, and the failure of the Britiſh fleet to

ſaid, was firſt introduced for the ſupport of unconſtitutional power, and was incompatible with the true ſpirit of a legal and juſt government, which diſdained to rule by terror. Severity, he added, was not the moſt effectual method of preventing the attempts of ſedition or treaſon. The threats of rigour would inflame rather than deter bold and enterprizing malcontents; and, by giving an arbitrary aſpect to the views of the court, might ultimately promote the ſucceſs of the enemies of the preſent eſtabliſhment.

* About this time died John duke of Argyle, a nobleman equally diſtinguiſhed by his military and political talents: a ſketch of his character is thus given us by Pope:

"Argyle, the ſtate's whole thunder born to wield,
"And ſhake alike the ſenate and the field."

† The Poder, belonging to the Spaniſh ſquadron, ſtruck to captain Hawke, who ſent a lieutenant to take poſſeſſion of her; ſhe was afterwards retaken by the French ſquadron; but was found ſo diſabled, that they left her deſerted, and ſhe was burned the following day, by the order of admiral Mathews. Night coming on terminated the action; and the admiral found his own ſhip ſo much ſhattered, that he was obliged to move his flag on board the Ruſſell, commanded by captain Long.

The loſs on this occaſion was very inconſiderable, except in the death of Mr. Cornwall, captain of the Marlborough, who aſſiſted the admiral in attacking the Real, and ſuſtained, for ſome time, the whole fire of that floating battery; and who, after giving repeated proofs of the moſt heroic courage, had both his legs carried off by a chain-ſhot, which put a period to his life. A noble monument was erected to his memory in Weſtminſter Abbey, by a vote of the Britiſh parliament, and at the public expence; an honour, to which, by his gallant behaviour in this, and in ſeveral other actions, he was moſt deſervedly entitled.

‡ Admiral Mathews, on his arrival at Minorca, accuſed Leſtock of having miſbehaved on the day of action, ſuſpended him from his office, and ſent him priſoner to England, where Leſtock, in his turn, accuſed the accuſer. Theſe two gentlemen had long entertained a moſt implacable averſion to each other; and to this mutual animoſity may be attributed the eſcape of the enemy's fleet, and the diſgrace which was now fixed upon the Engliſh arms.

effect

effect the deſtruction of that of the enemy, became the ſubject of a parliamentary enquiry. From a committee of the houſe of commons, the matter was referred to a court-martial. Several captains were convicted of miſbehaviour, and ſentenced to different degrees of puniſhment; but, to the aſtoniſhment of the public, admiral Leſtock was honourably acquitted, and Mathews declared incapable of ſerving for the future in his majeſty's navy!—Though it was evident to every unprejudiced mind, that Leſtock*, by keeping aloof when he might have engaged, was not only the cauſe of the miſcarriage complained of, but of expoſing the Britiſh fleet to the moſt imminent danger, merely to gratify his own vindictive ſpirit; while Mathews, ruſhing into the hotteſt of the enemy's fire, fought like a hero, and diſcovered a noble zeal for the ſervice of his king and country. Such are too frequently the deciſions of courts-martial in factious times†.

Mutual declarations of war having now been iſſued by the kings of France and England, they were become in ſome meaſure principals in the continental quarrel, the court of Verſailles having iſſued a declaration of war alſo againſt her Hungarian majeſty. Lewis XV. accuſed George II. of having violated the neutrality of Hanover, of diſſuading the queen of Hungary from acceding to the emperor's terms, and of blocking up the ports and interrupting the commerce of France. His Britannic majeſty recriminated, by accuſing the French king of violating the Pragmatic Sanction; of attempting to deſtroy the balance of power in Europe, by diſmembering the Auſtrian ſucceſſion; of aſſiſting the Spaniards, the avowed enemies of England, in contempt of the faith of treaties; of

* Leſtock defended himſelf with ſome addreſs againſt the charges adduced by his commander; and founded his exculpation on that irregularity of ſignal, and neglect of rule, which the admiral exhibited. He was unanimouſly acquitted by the court, amidſt the murmurs of the indignant public. Mathews was deemed by his judges, guilty of various points of miſconduct, and was incapacitated from ſerving in the navy. The king was diſpleaſed at theſe deciſions, which he thought were not perfectly conſonant with ſubſtantial juſtice, however they might be ſupported by the forms and the *minutiæ* of naval ſervice.

† While the conduct of Mathews and Leſtock divided the nation into parties, the return of commodore Anſon, from a circumnavigation of the globe, attracted general attention. Having been ſent out by the government for the annoyance of the Spaniards in the Pacific Ocean, a ſummary of his expedition may be thought neceſſary. The ſquadron which Anſon commanded, conſiſted of one ſhip of 60 guns, two of 50, two frigates, and a ſloop; and he was accompanied by lieutenant colonel Cracherode, with about 470 invalids and marines.

Having reached the coaſt of Brazil without any remarkable occurrence, he proceeded to the ſouthward, and entered the ſtrait of Le Maire, which he had no ſooner paſſed, than he was aſſailed with a dreadful frequency of ſtorms. His protracted departure from England, induced him to double Cape Horn at an improper ſeaſon; and hence aroſe the ſeparation and damage of his ſhips, the loſs of the greater part of his men, and the ruin of his ſcheme for the ſeizure of Valdivia and other towns of Chili, and of ſome important ſtations in Peru. From the extraordinary mortality produced by the ſcurvy, he found it difficult to proſecute his navigation; but he at length arrived at the iſle of Juan Fernandez, where his ſurviving men recovered their health. After a long continuance at this iſland, he met with a Spaniſh mercantile ſhip; by the capture of which he gained intelligence of a ſquadron which had been ſent out to baffle his attempts, and which, by a ſeries of misfortunes, was unable to oppoſe them.

Taking other veſſels in his way, he proceeded along the coaſt to the ſmall town of Paita, in Peru. Lieutenant Brett, being detached with an armed party, obtained poſſeſſion of this place by a nocturnal ſurprize; ſeized a conſiderable treaſure, and then burned the town, the governor refuſing to ranſom it. Finding it impoſſible to ſettle a correſpondence with vice-admiral Vernon, as the attempt at Carthagena had failed, Anſon ſailed towards the coaſt of Mexico, hoping to meet the galleons which annually paſs between Acapulca and Manilla. After croſſing the Pacific in his way to Aſia, in the courſe of which he was reduced to the neceſſity of abandoning one of his ſhips; and as two had long before put back, in conſequence of forcible ſeparation, beſides the wreck of one, and the demolition of another, he had only his largeſt veſſel (the Centurion) remaining, which was infirm and ill-manned. The ſcurvy having renewed its horrible viſitation, he apprehended a further loſs of his men; but he was relieved from theſe apprehenſions, by his arrival at the ſalubrious iſle of Tinian. Repairing his ſhip in the port of Macao, he ſteered towards the Philippine iſlands; and having cruiſed for a month near the ſtrait of Manilla, he diſcerned the approach of a galleon bound from Acapulca. He engaged her with ſpirit, captured her, and had the ſatisfaction of finding that her treaſure, and the articles of traffick which ſhe carried, exceeded the value of three hundred thouſand pounds. With this prize he returned to China; and, having diſpoſed of the veſſel, brought back the Centurion to England, after an abſence of almoſt four years. Though the grand object of this expedition was not accompliſhed, the damage to which it ſubjected the enemy, was eſtimated at a million ſterling, excluſive of the ruin of the ſquadron, which had been equipped for the counteraction of his hoſtilities.

harbouring

harbouring the Pretender, contrary to the moſt ſolemn engagements, furniſhing him with a fleet and army to invade Great Britain; and of committing actual hoſtilities on the Britiſh fleet in the Mediterranean. Both parties had formed the moſt ſanguine hopes of ſucceſs: the king of Great Britain on the valour of his troops, the hearty co-operation of the Dutch, and the vigorous exertions of the court of Vienna; the houſe of Bourbon depended on the new alliances they were forming in Germany, and the immenſe preparations they had made for proſecuting the war, both in Italy and the Low Countries.

The campaign in Italy was attended with various viciſſitudes of fortune. It was early begun on the ſide of Piedmont. Don Philip being joined by twenty thouſand French troops under the prince of Conti (a young hero who ſeemed to emulate all the military virtues of his anceſtor the great Condé) paſſed the river Var, which deſcends from the Alps, and falls into the ſea of Genoa, a little below the city of Nice. Don Philip had alſo received a ſtrong reinforcement from Spain, and was at the head of above ſixty thouſand men, who were commanded under him, by ths marquis de las Minas. The whole country of Nice ſubmitted. But before the confederates could advance farther, they were obliged to force the Piedmonteſe entrenchments at Villa Franca, and afterwards to reduce the caſtle of Montauban, ſituated among rocks, which form a chain of almoſt inacceſſible ramparts. The precipices, the defiles, and the paſſes which they had to overcome cannot poſſibly be deſcribed: theſe were fortifications of a very ſingular ſpecies; for here art and nature ſeemed to vie in making each other impregnable. Every rock was formed into a fortreſs*. All theſe difficulties, however, were ſurmounted by the valour of the French and Spaniards, though not without conſiderable loſs. They intended to penetrate into the duchy of Milan, through the Genoeſe territories; a meaſure which would have been attended with the moſt fatal conſequences to the queen of Hungary and the king of Sardinia. But fearing to incur the charge of a breach of neutrality, the Genoeſe, though ſecretly in the intereſt of the houſe of Bourbon, prevailed with Don Philip and the prince of Conti to chooſe another route. They accordingly defiled off towards Piedmont, by the way of Briançon, and attacked the ſtrong poſt of Chateau Dauphiné, where the king of Sardinia commanded in perſon. It was carried after a deſperate attack, and the loſs of four thouſand men, in which the officers and ſoldiers of the two confederate, yet rival nations, performed wonders. "We may behave as well as the "French," ſaid the count de Campo Santo to the marquis de las Minas, who commanded under Don Philip, "but we cannot behave "better."—"This has been," ſays the prince of Conti, in a letter to Lewis XV. "one of the "moſt brilliant actions that ever happened; "the troops have ſhewn a courage more than "human†. The valour and preſence of mind "of M. de Chevert chiefly decided the ad- "vantage. I recommend to you M. de So- "lemi and the chevalier de Modena. La Carte "is killed. Your majeſty, who knows the value "of friendſhip, will feel how much I am af- "fected by his loſs!" Hiſtory records with particular pleaſure ſuch expreſſions of generoſity and ſympathy as do honour to the human character. The appeal of the prince of Conti to the boſom of Louis XV. is equally elegant and emphatic.

Not having ſucceeded in the important paſs of Chateau Dauphiné, or that called the Barricades, which was carried at the ſame time, the king of Sardinia thought it imprudent to hazard a battle, and drew off his troops from the frontiers, in order to recover his capital. He took poſt at Saluzzo, about ſeventeen miles ſouth of Turin; while the confederates, having made themſelves maſters of the caſtle of Demont, ſituated on a rock in the valley of Stura, and deemed impregnable, inveſted the ſtrong town of Coni, the poſſeſſion of which was neceſſary, to open them a paſſage into the duchy of Milan.

* They proceeded from rock to rock, and fought a battle on the top of each. The Piedmonteſe made a noble and gallant reſiſtance; but abſolute deſpair gave victory to the confederates; for when once the attack was begun amidſt thoſe labyrinths of death, it was much eaſier to puſh forward than to retire.

† They had the reſolution to clamber up rocks of an incredible height, mounted with cannon, and to paſs through the embraſures, when the guns recoiled.

Baron

Baron Leutrum, the governor, made an obſtinate reſiſtance; and the ſituation of the place was ſuch as to render it almoſt impregnable. The king of Sardinia being reinforced by a body of ten thouſand Auſtrians, reſolved to attempt the relief of the place, advanced for that purpoſe, and attacked the French and Spaniards in their entrenchments. But, after an obſtinate engagement, in which valour and conduct were equally conſpicuous on both ſides, his majeſty found it neceſſary to retire, with the loſs of five thouſand men, to his camp at Muraſſo. The loſs of the confederates was alſo conſiderable. And his Sardinian majeſty having found means to furniſh the garriſon of Coni with a ſupply of men and proviſions, Don Philip and the prince of Conti were obliged to raiſe the ſiege, after it had been continued till the end of November, almoſt to the deſtruction of their army. But the Spaniards ſtill continued in poſſeſſion of Savoy which they fleeced without mercy.

The confederates were no ſooner informed of this circumſtance, than they abandoned the enterprize; and leaving their ſick and wounded to the mercy of the Piedmonteſe, returned to Demont. Having deſtroyed the fortifications of this place, they retreated with great precipitation to Dauphiny, and were haraſſed by the Vandois and light troops in the ſervice of his Sardinian majeſty, who once more recovered poſſeſſion of Piedmont.

The campaign, in the ſouth of Italy, was equally indeciſive. His Sicilian majeſty having, in violation of his forced neutrality, joined the Spaniſh army, under the count de Gages, with twenty-five thouſand of his own troops, and publiſhed a manifeſto in vindication of his conduct, prince Lobkowitz, the Auſtrian general, had orders to invade the kingdom of Naples. He accordingly left Monte Rotondo, in the neighbourhood of Rome, where he was encamped, and advanced towards Vilitri, near which the confederates were poſted. While the two armies lay in ſight of each other, prince Lobkowitz ſent a ſtrong detachment into the province of Abruzzo, under count Brown, where they diſtributed a manifeſto, in the name of her Hungarian majeſty, exhorting the inhabitants to throw off the Spaniſh yoke, and return to their allegiance to the houſe of Auſtria. That meaſure, however, was attended with very little ſucceſs, the Neapolitans ſhewing no inclination to rebel. Lobkowitz, therefore, collected his forces, and reſolved to make an attack upon the head-quarters of the confederates at Velitri. This enterprize he committed to count Brown, an able and active general, whom we ſhall again have occaſion to mention; and in order to render the deſign ſucceſsful, he amuſed the enemy with deceptive motions.

In the mean time count Brown, at the head of ſix thouſand choice troops, ſurprized Velitri in the night; and the duke of Modena and the king of the Two Sicilies were in the utmoſt danger of being made priſoners. They eſcaped by the poſtern with great difficulty, and repaired to the quarters of the count de Gages, who performed, on this occaſion, the character of a great captain. He rallied the fugitives, diſpelled the confuſion which had begun to prevail among his troops, and made a maſterly diſpoſition for cutting off the retreat of the Auſtrians. Count Brown, finding himſelf in danger of being ſurrounded, and ſeeing no proſpect of aſſiſtance, thought proper to attempt a retreat, which he effected with great gallantry, taking with him a prodigious booty.

Three thouſand of the Spaniards and Neapolitans are ſaid to have fallen in this nocturnal encounter, and eight hundred were taken, together with many ſtandards and military trophies. The Auſtrians loſt about ſix hundred men; and general Navati, the ſecond in command, fell into the hands of the enemy: but the failure of the enterprize, and the heats of autumn, proved fatal to their hopes. Prince Lobkowitz ſeeing his army daily mouldering away, without a proſpect of being recruited, decamped from Fiola; and paſſing under the walls of Rome, croſſed the Tyber, at the bridge called Ponte Molle, anciently known by the name of Pons Milvius, which he had juſt time to break down behind him when the enemy's van-guard appeared: he croſſed the mountains of Gubio, and arrived, by the way of Viterbo, in the Bolognese territory, where he went into winter quarters.

The queen of Hungary and her allies were not more ſucceſsful in Germany and the Low

Countries: but they had no reaſon to complain of fortune, conſidering the unexpected confederacy that was formed againſt them, and the inferiority of their generals. The negociations at Frankfort being brought to an iſſue, a treaty was concluded between the emperor and the king of Pruſſia, the king of Sweden, as landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, and the elector Palatine. The declared object of this treaty was to reſtore the Imperial dignity, according to the treaty of Weſtphalia, and the tranquillity of Germany; the contracting powers engaging, either by perſuaſion or force, that the queen of Hungary ſhould acknowledge the title of the emperor Charles VII. give up the archives of the empire, then in her poſſeſſion, and evacuate Bavaria. The emperor's claims on the Auſtrian ſucceſſion were to be ſettled by a friendly compromiſe, or juridical deciſion. So far the confederacy appeared laudable. But, by a ſeparate article, which was ſoon after publiſhed by the court of Vienna, the king of Pruſſia engaged to put the emperor in poſſeſſion of Bohemia, and to guarantee to him Upper Auſtria, when conquered, on condition that he ſhould yield to his Pruſſian majeſty the town and circle of Koningſgratz, in its whole extent, and that the courſe of the Elbe ſhould be the barrier of the two ſtates. The king of Pruſſia, however, by previous agreement, and a ſeparate treaty with the court of Verſailles, was not required to have recourſe to arms, till he ſhould ſee France act with vigour.

Though this article was equivocally denied by the Imperial court, yet all Europe was fully convinced that it was real and genuine; and the ſubſequent conduct of his Pruſſian majeſty ſhewed their opinion to be well founded. The great object of that prince ſeems to have been to reconcile his behaviour with the good underſtanding which he wiſhed to maintain with his Britannic majeſty. With this view he publiſhed a manifeſto, which was extremely conciſe and nervous, and was afterwards printed in the London Gazette.

In this manifeſto, the king of Pruſſia declared, that he could no longer remain an idle and unconcerned ſpectator of the troubles of Germany, but found himſelf under the diſagreeable neceſſity of employing force to reſtore the power of the laws, and the authority of the emperor; that he deſired nothing for himſelf, nor had he any particular quarrel with the queen of Hungary, having only entered into the war as an auxiliary, to aſſert the liberties of the Germanic body; that the emperor had offered to relinquiſh his claims on the Auſtrian ſucceſſion, on condition that his hereditary dominions were reſtored to him; and that the queen of Hungary had rejected this and all other equitable propoſals.

Before the arrival of prince Charles, his Pruſſian majeſty proceeded with amazing rapidity in the reduction of Bohemia, and had now made himſelf maſter of Tabor, Budweis, Frauenberg, and almoſt the whole kingdom, to the eaſt of the Moldaw. But theſe conqueſts he could not long preſerve. By this time Auguſtus III. king of Poland and elector of Saxony, had declared in favour of her Hungarian majeſty, and animated by a Britiſh ſubſidy, ordered ſixteen thouſand men to join the prince of Lorraine. He was alſo joined by a large body of Hungarians, zealous in the cauſe of their ſovereign, Maria Thereſa, who had acquired by her popular manner *, as well as her indulgences both civil and religious, an extraordinary intereſt in their affections: in conſequence of which, the king of Pruſſia, unable to withſtand ſo great a force, was obliged to evacuate Bohemia, and retire haſtily into Sileſia. He was purſued thither by prince Charles; and the rigour of the ſeaſon only is ſuppoſed to have prevented the recovery of that valuable province. The Pruſſians, in their retreat, loſt upwards of thirty thouſand men, with all their heavy baggage, artillery, and waggons, loaded with proviſions and plunder.

* To old count Palfy, chief Palatine of Hungary, who had now raiſed the red ſtandard of the kingdom to be diſplayed, as a ſignal for every man who could bear arms to repair to his duty, ſhe wrote the following letter, accompanied with a preſent of her own horſe, richly capariſoned, a gold hilted ſword ornamented with diamonds, and a ring of great value:

"Father Palfy!

"I ſend you this horſe, worthy of being mounted only "by the moſt zealous of my faithful ſubjects. Receive "at the ſame time, this ſword, to defend me againſt mine "enemies; and accept of this ring, as a mark of my af"fection for you.

"MARIA THERESA."

While

While Frederick III. was experiencing this ſudden reverſe of fortune, the dejected fugitive, Charles VII. got once more poſſeſſion of his capital. Seckendorf, the Imperial general, having been joined by a body of French troops, had driven the Auſtrians out of Bavaria. But the retreat of the Pruſſians, and the rapid progreſs of the prince of Lorraine, filled the emperor with new apprehenſions*: and he was in danger of being chaſed from his dominions, when death came to his relief, and freed him from a complication of bodily ills, aggravated by the anguiſh of a wounded ſpirit. His ſon, Maximilian Joſeph, elector of Bavaria, being only ſeventeen years of age, could not become a candidate for the Imperial throne. He, therefore, very wiſely concluded, through the mediation of his Britannic majeſty, a treaty of peace with the queen of Hungary, who had again invaded Bavaria, and was ready to ſtrip him of his whole electorate. By this treaty, Maria Thereſa agreed to recognize the Imperial dignity, as having been veſted in the perſon of Charles VII. and to put his ſon in poſſeſſion of all his hereditary dominions. On the other hand, the young elector renounced all claim to any part of the Auſtrian ſucceſſion; conſented to guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction, engaged to give his vote for the Grand Duke at the enſuing election of an emperor, and to diſmiſs the auxiliary troops in his ſervice.

This treaty, it was confidently expected, would prove a prelude to a general pacification, as the cauſe of the war in Germany no longer exiſted; and the treaty of Frankfort, the avowed purpoſe of which was the ſupport of the Imperial dignity, had now no object†.

Sir John Balchen, an admiral of great valour and experience, was leſs fortunate than commodore Anſon; he ſailed from Plymouth with a ſtrong ſquadron of Britiſh and Dutch ſhips, to attack the French fleet at Breſt, under the command of M. de Rochambault. In the Bay of Biſcay, he was overtaken by a violent ſtorm which diſperſed his ſhips, and drove them up the Engliſh channel. Admiral Stewart, with the greater part of them, returned to Spithead; but ſir John Balchen's own ſhip, the Victory, mounting one hundred and ten guns, and eſteemed the fineſt firſt rate in Europe, foundered at ſea; and this brave commander periſhed on the rocks near Alderney, with all his officers, volunteers, and crew, amounting to eleven hundred ſelected ſeamen‡.

The people of England however, were not unwilling to try the event of another campaign. His majeſty's engagements with the queen of Hungary were as ſtrong, if not ſtronger, than ever. The nation had been conſiderable gainers by the war at ſea, and but very inconſiderable loſers by land.

What had the principal weight in fixing their determination,

* A. D. 1745.

† About this time, died Robert earl of Orford, formerly ſir Robert Walpole, and prime miniſter. Though he had had the management of the public treaſure for a longer time than, perhaps, any other man; his circumſtances were far from being affluent. He was liberal in his diſpoſition; and ſo agreeable and engaging were his manners, that, notwithſtanding the reſignation of his places, he never loſt a friend. Theſe adhered to him with ſo much fidelity, that, had he been fond of returning into power, he might eaſily, in the late divided ſtate of parties have recovered his former influence.

‡ On the ninth of December, the mareſchal duke de Belleiſle, and his brother, happened, in their paſſage to the Imperial court, to halt at the village of Elbingrade, dependent on the electorate of Hanover. There they were arreſted by the bailiff of that place, and conducted as priſoners to Oreſtode; from whence they were removed to Stade on the Elbe, and afterwards brought over to England. They reſided at Windſor, till the enſuing year, when they were allowed the benefit of the cartel, which had been ſettled between Great Britain and France at Frankfort; and releaſed accordingly, after having been treated by the Engliſh nobility with that reſpect and hoſpitality, which was due to their dignity and merit.

A ſimilar incident happened about the ſame time to the earl of Holderneſs, who had been lately ſent ambaſſador to the republic of Venice, in order to perſuade them to perſiſt in the neutrality, which they had prudently embraced, and to which they continued faithfully to adhere. When he was within two poſts of Nuremburg, he was ſtopped by a party of Imperialiſts, who defired him to accompany them to their commanding officer, the count de St. Germain. His lordſhip refuſed to comply with their requeſt; thinking it ſufficient to ſend a letter to the count, complaining of the inſult that had been offered to his character, by a power with whom his maſter was not at war.

The French general replied, that he was at full liberty to proceed on his journey, if he would give a letter of reverſal, promiſing to return and ſubmit to his arreſt, in caſe the Imperial court ſhould adjudge him to be a priſoner of war. The earl complied with this propoſal; and the affair being communicated to the Imperial court, the emperor diſapproving of the whole tranſaction, ordered the letter of reverſal to be returned to his excellency, and commanded the officer, who had ſtopped him to wait on his lordſhip, and aſk his pardon.

determination, was, that ſhould a peace be concluded at preſent, the reduction of the French power, which had been the principal motive for England's commencing hoſtilities, muſt be left unaccompliſhed; and that ambitious people would not fail to embrace the earlieſt opportunitiy of renewing the war, with greater advantages than thoſe of which they were at preſent poſſeſſed.

Influenced by theſe conſiderations, the allies reſolved to exert their utmoſt efforts in oppoſing the French in the Auſtrian Netherlands, of which the latter had determined to make an entire conqueſt. The French army amounted to ſeventy-ſix thouſand men, attended by a formidable train of artillery: that of the allies did not exceed fifty-three thouſand. The duke of Cumberland, a brave but inexperienced young prince, as commander in chief, arrived at the Hague, on the ſeventh of April; and, after holding a conference with the States, he proceeded to Bruſſels, where he found prince Waldec, commander of the Dutch troops, and the mareſchal count Konigſegg, an Auſtrian general.

The French king ſeemed determined to hazard his crown on the fate of the campaign, and he accordingly repaired to the camp in perſon. The Dauphin, though very lately married to the ſecond infanta of Spain, could not be diſſuaded from accompanying his father. The nobility, who attended them, ſeemed to have no other ambition than that of manifeſting their profound reſignation to the will of their ſovereign; and the mareſchal duke de Noailles, notwithſtanding his dignity and ſeniority, was proud to command under count Saxe, who was both a Proteſtant and a foreigner.

It was chiefly upon the opinion, which the world entertained of the abilities of this great general, that the French founded their hopes of ſucceſs. He continued, for ſome time, to amuſe the allies with feints, marches, and countermarches; but, at laſt, on the twenty-ſeventh of April, he ſat down before Tournay, on the river Schelde, which was defended by a garriſon of eight thouſand men, and ſuppoſed to be one of the ſtrongeſt places of the Dutch barrier.

The duke of Cumberland was no ſooner informed of this incident, than he reſolved to march to the relief of the place. With this view he advanced to Soignies, his right extending to Bougnies, and his left to Moubray, within muſket-ſhot of the enemy. Mareſchal Saxe, who had a natural ſondneſs for, and a profound knowledge of, the military art, had perceived the intention of the confederates, and received information, that the duke of Cumberland was determined to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to retrieve the glory of the Britiſh arms, which had been tarniſhed by the inactivity of the laſt campaign. By ſome delays, which are frequently unavoidable in the councils of confederate armies, Saxe had found time to make the moſt maſterly diſpoſition, by intrenchments and batteries, in which he was aſſiſted by the nature of the ground.

The two armies were ſeparated by a rivulet, which lay on the left of the allies and the right of the French; the latter being poſſeſſed of Antoine, where a moſt dreadful battery was erected. In their center another battery of the ſame kind preſented itſelf; and before them lay the village of Fontenoy, intrenched, and moſt formidably fortified. The intermediate ſpace between the two armies, was a gently riſing ground, which the allies were to aſcend, and which the French had interſected with lines, that were filled with troops; while Barri Wood, which lay on their left, was ſecured by ſimilar fortifications.

The ſtation of the French king was at the bridge of Callonne, which, in caſe of a defeat, he could eaſily repaſs, and which was defended with entrenchments, well mounted with cannon, and ſupported with the flower of his nobility and army; and to this diſtreſs he muſt have been driven, had the Britiſh troops been properly ſupported, and the duke of Cumberland's orders punctually obeyed.

On the 30th of April, the allies were in motion by two in the morning, and the cannonading began at the dawn of day. By nine, both armies were engaged, and the action continued till three in the afternoon. Never was there a more deſperate or gallant attack than that of the Britiſh infantry, commanded by the duke of Cumberland in perſon, aſſiſted by ſir John Ligonier. Though the fire from the enemy's batteries were ſo heavy, that it ſwept off whole ranks at a ſingle diſcharge, they continued to advance, as if they had been invulnerable, and

drove the French infantry beyond their lines. The French cavalry in vain endeavoured to impede their progreſs. Forming themſelves into a column, they bore down every thing before them, and baffled every effort to throw them into diſorder; the village of Antoine was evacuated; and mareſchal Saxe, concluding that all was loſt, diſpatched a meſſage to the king, deſiring him to provide for his ſafety, by repaſſing the bridge of Colonne. But Lewis XV. who did not want perſonal courage, being ſenſible that ſuch a ſtep would give a decided victory to the allies, refuſed to quit his poſt. His firmneſs preſerved his army from ruin and diſgrace.

Aſhamed of deſerting their ſovereign, the French infantry returned to the charge; the cavalry renewed their efforts; and other circumſtances contributed to give a wonderful turn to the battle. The Dutch, under the prince of Waldeck, having failed in an attack upon the village of Fontenoy, which valour might have rendered ſucceſsful, had diſgracefully quitted the field. An Engliſh and Hanoverian detachment, under brigadier Ingoldſby, had alſo miſcarried, through miſtake, in a practicable attempt to take poſſeſſion of a redoubt at the corner of the wood of Barri, and immediately oppoſite Fontenoy; in conſequence of which, the Britiſh cavalry, by the croſs-fire of the enemy's cannon, were prevented from coming up to the ſupport of the infantry. This victorious body, now aſſailed on all ſides, fatigued with inceſſant firing, and terribly galled by ſome field-pieces unexpectedly pointed in front, was obliged to retire, with the loſs of ſeven thouſand men, including a great number of officers, after having ſucceſsfully routed almoſt every regiment in the French army*. Among the ſlain were lieutenant-general ſir James Campbell, major-general Ponſonby, colonels Carpenter and Douglas, and lieutenant-colonel Gee. The loſs of the Hanoverians, who behaved gallantly, was alſo very great, in proportion to their numbers, but that of the Dutch and Auſtrians inconſiderable.

The French had about ten thouſand men killed, and, among theſe, many perſons of diſtinction. The duke de Gramont, and three other lieutenant-generals were ſlain, as were four major-generals, and three brigadiers. Their joy, however, at their good fortune, was extravagantly great. Their exultation in the hour of triumph, ſeemed to bear a proportion to the danger of their expected defeat. The princes of the blood embraced each other on the field of battle, diſſolved in tears of mutual congratulation. They had abundant reaſon to be ſatisfied with their victory, which was followed by the moſt important conſequences. For though the duke of Cumberland had led off his troops in good order, and without loſing either colours or ſtandards, the allies were afterwards unable, during the campaign, to face the enemy; but entrenched between Antwerp and Bruſſels, while mareſchal Saxe and count Lowendahl reduced Tournay, Oudenard, Aeth, Dendermond, Ghent, Oſtend, Newport, and every other fortified place in Auſtrian Flanders. But though the king of France was ſo highly favoured by fortune, he was not able to deprive the queen of Hungary of the great object of her wiſhes, in the elevation of her huſband to the Imperial throne. The French army on the Maine, under the prince of Conti, who had ſuperſeded Maillebois in the command, being unable to oppoſe the Auſtrians under Bathiani, the elector aſſembled at Frankfort, and elevated to the head of the empire the grand duke of Tuſcany, under the name of Francis I. In the mean time, the king of Pruſſia gained two ſanguinary victories over the Auſtrians, under the prince of Lorraine; one at Fridburg, on the confines of Sileſia, the other at Slannentz, in Bohemia. Not ſatisfied with theſe advantages, though he had already entered into a pacific convention with his Britannic majeſty at Hanover, he invaded

* We are informed by Voltaire, that all the regiments preſented themſelves, one after another; and the Engliſh column, facing them on all ſides, repulſed every regiment that advanced. From the moment the French and Swiſs guards were routed, aſtoniſhment and confuſion reigned throughout the French army. Mareſchal Saxe ordered the cavalry to fall upon the Engliſh column; but their efforts had little effect againſt a body of infantry ſo united, ſo diſciplined, and ſo intrepid. If the Dutch had paſſed the redoubts between Fontenoy and Antoine; if they had given proper aſſiſtance to the Engliſh, no reſource had been left for the French; not even a retreat perhaps for the king and the dauphin. *Siècle Louis XV.*

Saxony, and made himſelf maſter of Dreſden.

The king of Poland was now convinced of the neceſſity of ſuing for peace, and the king of Pruſſia was heartily weary of the war. A treaty was therefore concluded at Dreſden, between Auguſtus III. as elector of Saxony, and Frederick III. of Pruſſia, by which Auguſtus agreed to pay to his Pruſſian majeſty, for the evacuation of his hereditary dominions, one million of German crowns, at the approaching Leipſic fair. Another treaty, confirming that of Breſlaw, was alſo concluded between the king of Pruſſia and the queen of Hungary. This treaty ſecured to Frederick III. the poſſeſſion of Sileſia, on his acknowledging the validity of the emperor's election. The elector Palatine, who was included in the latter treaty, alſo conſented to make the ſame acknowledgment. By theſe treaties, tranquillity was reſtored to Germany.

The Engliſh navy, during this time, performed ſeveral ſervices of the utmoſt importance to the common cauſe, as well as to Great Britain in particular. In the Mediterranean, admiral Knowles had ſucceeded Mathews in the command. He had bombarded Savona, Genoa, Final, St. Remo, with Baſtia, the capital of Corſica, and made prize of ſeveral Spaniſh ſhips; but he could not hinder the arrival of the rich Havannah ſquadron at Corunna.

Commodore Barnet, in the Eaſt Indies, took ſeveral French ſhips, richly laden; and commodore Townſend, in the neighbourhood of Martinico, found means to intercept thirty ſhips belonging to the enemy, under convoy of four ſhips of war, two of which were deſtroyed.

The Engliſh privateers were alſo remarkably ſucceſsful. But the moſt important achievement was the reduction of Louiſbourgh, the capital of Cape Breton in North America, a place of great conſequence, which the French had fortified at an immenſe expence. The plan of reducing this iſland is ſaid to have been firſt ſuggeſted by Mr. Auchmuty, judge-advocate of the court of admiralty in New England. It was recommended by their aſſembly to the Britiſh miniſtry, and approved by his majeſty, who ſent orders to commodore Warren, ſtationed off the Leeward-iſlands, to ſail for the northern parts of America, and to co-operate with the forces of New England in this expedition.

A body of ſix thouſand men was raiſed under the conduct of Mr. Pepperel, a trader of Piſcataway, whoſe intereſt in that country was very conſiderable, and whoſe ignorance of the military art was abundantly compenſated, by his courage and reſolution. In April Mr. Warren arrived at Canſo, with ten ſhips of war; and the troops of New England being embarked in tranſports, ſailed immediately for the iſle of Cape Breton, and landed in five days in Gabaron bay, about four miles diſtant from the fort. On the approach of the forces, the enemy abandoned their grand battery, which was detached from the town; and the immediate ſeizure of it greatly facilitated the progreſs of the enterprize. While the American troops, reinforced by eight hundred marines, conducted the attack by land, the fleet blocked up the place by ſea, in ſuch a manner as to prevent the introduction of any ſupplies.

A French ſhip of the line, with ſome ſmaller veſſels deſtined for the relief of the garriſon, were intercepted and taken by the Britiſh cruiſers; and indeed the reduction of Louiſburgh was principally owing to the vigilance of commodore Warren, one of the braveſt and moſt experienced officers in the Britiſh ſervice. The operations of the ſiege were chiefly directed by the engineers and officers, who commanded the marines; and the Americans, wholly ignorant, of the art of war, cheerfully ſubmitted to the orders that were given them.

The town having received conſiderable injury from the bombs and bullets of the beſiegers, and the governor deſpairing of relief, capitulated on the fifteenth of June, when the city of Louiſburgh and the iſle of Cape Breton were delivered up to his Britannic majeſty. The garriſon and inhabitants engaged not to bear arms for twelve months againſt Great Britain or her allies; and being embarked in fourteen cartel ſhips, were tranſported to Rochfort.

What immediately follows, is the hiſtory of a rebellion, the moſt unprovoked, the moſt daring, and, conſidering how little it was encouraged, the moſt alarming of any that appears in the Engliſh annals: a rebellion, which was as fatal in its concluſion, as it was proſperous in its commencement; and which, notwithſtanding the few

calamities

calamities it occaſioned, confirmed in the hand of the ſovereign the ſceptre which it was intended to ſhake.

Ever ſince the rebellion in 1715, the utmoſt lenity had been ſhewn by the government to many of the Scots, who were extremely active in that inſurrection. The articles of the union, which exempted them from the heavy taxes impoſed upon the Engliſh, had been moſt punctually obſerved. Even the attainted noblemen had been liberally provided for by their relations, who had generally the preference in purchaſing the confiſcated eſtates at a very reduced price. The commiſſioners of enquiry, who had been diſpatched from England to regulate the claims upon the forfeited eſtates, had been ſo far from being rigid, that they admitted almoſt every claim which was preferred in favour of the friends and families of the attainted perſons; and many of the papers, upon which thoſe claims were founded, had been antedated to give them validity.

Few of the attainted noblemen, except the earl of Winton, who, though one of the nobleſt and moſt opulent of the party, had no family, and hardly any relatives, had been left totally deſtitute.

From theſe circumſtances it may be naturally inferred, that the ſpirit of Jacobitiſm had not been greatly diminiſhed by the ſuppreſſion of the rebellion in 1715. The government, however, had always a watchful eye on the iſlands of Scotland, and the plauſible ſchemes preſented by general Wade, for civilizing them, and rendering them docile and obedient, had procured him the grant of that particular province. But his manner, which was not of the conciliating kind, and his great ignorance of the country, as well as of all the branches of civil policy, rendered him incapable of ſuch a taſk. All he could do was, to preſerve in their allegiance thoſe chieftains, for whoſe ſons and relations he provided places in the army; but his reſerved auſterity of behaviour was ſo diſagreeable to the reſt, that a ſcheme of an inſurrection was formed in 1735, and communicated to the pretender, who thought proper to diſapprove of it. The deſign, therefore, was then abandoned; nor would it probably have been ſo ſoon revived, had not the hopes of the party been encouraged by the clamour raiſed againſt the Hanoverian forces.

We have already mentioned the miſcarriage of the invaſion projected in 1744. The unanimity diſcovered upon that occaſion, not only by the parliament, but even by the whole nation, in defending his majeſty's perſon and government, had ſo greatly checked the expectations of the pretender, that he ordered his ſon Charles to abandon all idea of reſuming ſuch an enterprize. Charles, however, entertained a different opinion. Fired by ambition, and the extravagant repreſentations of ſome needy fugitives, he reſolved once more to renew the attempt; eſpecially as the French court ſeemed perfectly diſpoſed to favour his undertaking. That court had conceived a moſt violent reſentment againſt his Britannic majeſty, whom they juſtly conſidered as their moſt formidable enemy; and Tencin, who had conſiderable influence with the French king, aſſured him, that while the throne of England was poſſeſſed by a Proteſtant elector of Germany, the French could never be the dictators of Europe.

Lewis was fully convinced of the truth of this obſervation; and though he had been taught to ſhew a kind of indifference or contempt for the Stuart family, he thought it might not be impolitic to give them ſome degree of countenance. Tencin found it almoſt as difficult to perſuade the old pretender, as the French king; at laſt, however, he prevailed upon both; but he could never induce the reſt of the miniſtry to adopt the ſame opinion. It was, however, determined in council, that a ſhip of war ſhould convoy Charles, in caſe he ſhould chooſe to undertake the enterprize.

It was not only from the French miniſtry that Charles met with oppoſition to his project. The moſt rational part of his friends in Scotland were extremely averſe to the attempting an inſurrection at that juncture; eſpecially, as ſome of the principal Jacobites had now deſerted the intereſts of his family. The chiefs of the clans, who in 1715 had warmly eſpouſed the cauſe of the pretender, were now reconciled to the government; and two of their heads, Macleod and Mackenzie, were members of the houſe of commons.

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The head of the Macdonalds, the moſt numerous of the clans in the Stuart intereſt, had altered his principles; the family of Gordon, which, in 1715, had ſtrenuouſly ſupported the ſame cauſe, was now become a Proteſtant; and, upon a calculation of their ſtrength, the Jacobites were of opinion, that, without foreign aid, it was impoſſible for them to form any party that could ſucceſsfully oppoſe the government.

One of them, however, was earneſt for the attempt, and, with that view, had continued a correſpondence for ſeveral years with the exiled family. This was Drummond, the titular duke of Perth. His family, which was more noble than powerful, had long diſtinguiſhed themſelves in ſupport of the Stuart line; and when James the Second retired to France, he was attended by the principal of it, and his brother the earl of Melford, both of whom were, by James, created dukes.

Perth, though a Roman Catholic, was a moderate and a prudent man: Melford, who was the reverſe, was confided in; and, by his raſh and violent councils, became a diſtinguiſhed favourite of the court of St. Germains, and one of the chief cauſes of its ruin. The candour and moderation of Perth had gained him many friends in Great Britain; and, by an extraordinary concurrence of circumſtances, his eſtate had deſcended to the nobleman above-mentioned.

This nobleman had, till the age of eighteen, by the bigotry of his mother, and the avarice of her relations, been educated in a religious houſe in France; and ſtrict charge had been given to his inſtructors, to keep him ignorant of his quality.

Accident, however, at length furniſhed him with that pleaſing intelligence; in conſequence of which, he liberated himſelf from his ſtate of pupilage. Naturally gay and ſprightly in his diſpoſition, he gave in to all the faſhionable amuſements of the age; and, when he came over into Britain, he purſued his pleaſures with ſo much ardour and ſeeming diſſipation, as to impoſe upon the moſt ſagacious of his obſervers.

Notwithſtanding his apparent thoughtleſſneſs, and a peculiar delicacy of form and conſtitution, he was, with the moſt indefatigable application, conducting the plan of a moſt deſperate rebellion. But, though he had been able by his addreſs, to conceal his deſigns from the obſervation of his companions, the government had received repeated intimations of his proceedings. A warrant was therefore iſſued to apprehend him; and the execution of this warrant was committed to Mr. Campbell, who was both a military and a civil officer.

Campbell repaired to his houſe, which he inſtantly ſurrounded with a ſmall body of forces. He arreſted Perth, and actually took him into cuſtody, but he found means to make his eſcape, and retire to the Highlands, where he afterwards joined the ſtandard of Charles.

By the reiterated importunities of Perth, Charles was induced to haſten his departure from France. Being furniſhed with a ſum of money, and a ſupply of men, by the court of Verſailles, he embarked on board a ſmall frigate, at Port St. Lazare, accompanied by only ſeven perſons; and, ſetting ſail on the fourteenth of July, was, off Belleiſle, joined by the Elizabeth, a French ſhipof war, mounting ſixty-ſix guns, as his convoy. Their intention was to ſail round Ireland, and land on the weſtern part of Scotland; but falling in with the Lyon, an Engliſh ſhip of war, commanded by captain Brett, an obſtinate battle enſued. About five in the afternoon, the Lyon, which had only fifty-eight guns, ran alongſide the Elizabeth, and began to engage her within piſtol ſhot, and continued in that ſituation till ten, during which they ſupported a continual fire at each other. At laſt, the Lyon's rigging being demoliſhed, and her maſts ſhot away, the Elizabeth eſcaped.

In this action, the courage and honour of the French commander, and his crew, were remarkable. They knew the importance of their charge; and when the ſmall frigate came to their aſſiſtance, they made a ſignal for her continuing her voyage, which ſhe did, while they maintained a cloſer and more obſtinate fight, than the French had been ever known to do on any former occaſion*.

* Captain Brett, on the other hand, had a coward named Kafane, for his captain of marines; but his place was gallantly ſupplied by Mr. Leach, the chaplain, who was ſlain in encouraging the men. Of the French, the captain and ſixty-four men were killed, and one hundred and forty-ſix wounded. Captain Brett was wounded, as were all his lieutenants: forty-five of his men were killed, and one hundred and ſeven wounded.

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In the mean time the frigate continued her courſe to the weſtern iſles of Scotland; and, on the twenty-third of July, was ſeen cruiſing between the iſles of Bara and South Viſt, in hopes of being rejoined by the Elizabeth. Diſappointed in that expectation, Charles touched at South Viſt, with a view of engaging in his cauſe the head of the Clanronalds, who were zealous partizans of the Stuart family. In this, however, he ſucceeded but in part, as the old chieftain was from home. From thence he ſailed to Ardnamurchan, and landed near the houſe of Kinloch Moidart, a gentleman devoted to his intereſt; and here he and his followers were entertained for ſeveral days, while couriers were diſpatched to all quarters, to ſummon his friends to aſſiſt him.

Among theſe, the chief, in that neighbourhood, was Cameron of Lochiel, whoſe father and grandfather were ſtill alive, and had been deeply engaged in all the rebellions that had happened ſince the Revolution.

Young Cameron inherited his father's courage, judgment, principles, and military genius. He was one of thoſe, who, in 1743, had ſigned an invitation for Charles to come over, but that opportunity failing, he had ſince altered his opinion, and, in conjunction with other chiefs, had ſent him a letter, diſſuading him from attempting the enterprize at this juncture. He now repeated to Charles in perſon, the ſame arguments, which he had formerly advanced; but Charles repreſented the inevitable ruin which muſt attend him, if, after proceeding ſo far, he ſhould attempt to retreat; together with the utter impoſſibility of eſcaping his declared enemies. Lochiel ſaw the propriety of theſe obſervations: he therefore devoted himſelf, his friends, and followers, to the intereſt of the pretender; though at the ſame time, he predicted the calamities which enſued. He next aſſembled his dependents, who, though not numerous, were reſolute and determined, and, by the care of their chief, who had been much abroad, were more civilized than many of their neighbours. He acquainted them with his engagements, and they, with ſome degree of reluctance, promiſed to follow him; a promiſe which they afterwards performed with unparalleled fidelity.

Lochiel's reſolution was no ſooner known, than it produced a ſurprizing effect in favour of the pretender. His ſtandard was now erected; and ſo great was the public opinion of Lochiel's courage and abilities, that numbers flocked to it from all quarters.

Sir Hector Maclean, and other agents of the pretender, had been ſeized in their paſſage from France to Britain: but though the miniſtry had received information of Charles's having embarked, they could not learn the particular place of his deſtination. Some of the chieftains had tranſmitted to the government of Scotland, letters which they had received from the young pretender, inviting them to join him; but the lord-admiral, and the reſt of the Scottiſh miniſtry, ſeemed to make a jeſt of the affair; nor could they be induced, by any means, to believe it, till the duke of Argyle produced a letter from Campbell of Lochiel, which aſcertained the matter beyond diſpute. His intelligence, however, gained but ſlow credit, either at Edinburgh or at London; and no farther ſtep was taken, than to order ſir John Cope, who commanded the forces in Scotland, to advance into the North, and cruſh the inſurrection, before it ſhould become formidable.

Cope immediately began his march. His orders were to proceed, directly, to what is termed the Chain, the road between Inverneſs and Fort William, Fort Auguſtus being ſituated between both; and to attack the rebels, who were ſuppoſed to be lying on the weſtward of the Chain, in the neighbourhood of Glenfinnan, where their ſtandard was erected. On his arrival at Dalwhinny, he received intelligence, that the rebels had taken poſſeſſion of a very ſtrong paſs, called Carrieroch, on the eaſt ſide of the Chain, and commanded the road that led to Fort Auguſtus. Cope called a council of war, who agreed in opinion, that, as the rebels amounted to about ſixteen hundred, and the paſs was ſo remarkably ſtrong, it could not be attacked, with any probability of ſucceſs. It was then debated, whether the troops ſhould return to Stirling; but it appeared, that the enemy had it in their power to deſtroy the bridge of Kinnachin, by which means their retreat would be entirely cut off, and the men be expoſed to the mercy of the rebels. It was therefore reſolved that the army ſhould march to Inverneſs, thence to Aberdeen, and

and there take ſhipping for the ſouthern parts of Scotland, to which the rebels had declared they intended to proceed.

On the fourth of September, Charles entered Perth, one of the principal towns of Scotland, and conſidered as the key of the Highlands. In his march thither, his army was conſiderably increaſed. The marquis of Tullibardine had ſent him ſeveral reinforcements, which he had raiſed among the tenants of the Athole eſtate; and lord Nairn, and lord George Murray, with many other gentlemen of the county, now joined his ſtandard. Charles, while he continued at Perth, exerciſed his men, and found them to amount to about three thouſand; but moſt of them were miſerably armed and accoutered. The Clanronalds, however, made themſelves maſters of Dundee, a place of importance, and lying in a wealthy country.

Charles's reception in the Lowlands was not ſo cordial as he expected; for, though his followers met with no oppoſition in the counties of Fife and Angus, there was a viſible reluctance in the common people to join him, except where they were influenced by their maſters or ſuperiors. This reluctance was occaſioned by the firmneſs and reſolution of the eſtabliſhed clergy, who, though ſurrounded by the rebels, continued to harangue in defence of government.

On his departure from Perth, Charles directed his march towards Dunblane. On the fourteenth of September, he paſſed the Forth, at a place called Frew, in ſight of Gardiner's dragoons; and, after making a feint, as if he intended to proceed to Glaſgow, ſuddenly wheeled about, and advanced towards Edinburgh.

Many of the moſt ſubſtantial inhabitants were then Epiſcopalians, and diſaffected to the government; but the friends and dependants of the preſent eſtabliſhment, and the principal Preſbyterians, had ſufficient intereſt to make a ſtrong appearance of reſiſtance. Two regiments of dragoons, Gardiner's and Hamilton's, lay in the neighbourhood, between the city and the rebels. A number of volunteers had enliſted themſelves in the ſervice of government; and a regiment of a thouſand foot, which the lord provoſt intended to have commanded, was ordered to be raiſed by ſubſcription. The trained bands and the city guard were in excellent order: the magiſtrates ſeemed determined to defend the place to the laſt extremity; and Mr. Maclaurin, the celebrated mathematician, acted as chief engineer, in mounting the walls of the town with cannon, and in rendering it defenſible againſt an enemy, who were but half armed, and entirely deſtitute of artillery.

In the mean time, an agent of the pretender had the effrontery to preſent to the lord provoſt, in the face of a meeting of the citizens which he had ſummoned, a letter from Charles; and, though it was not publicly read, a deputation was ſent to treat about the terms of delivering up the place.

General Gueſt, who commanded in the caſtle, alarmed at their proceedings, took care to recover poſſeſſion of all the ſmall arms, which he had lent to the inhabitants. The money of the two banks was removed into the caſtle; as well as the moſt valuable effects of ſuch noblemen and gentlemen, as were diſtinguiſhed for their attachment to the government; while they themſelves withdrew from the city, ſome towards England, and others to their eſtates in the country.

The particulars of the conference between the deputies and the rebels were beſt known by the effects. On the return of the former, which happened before day-break, the coach, which had carried them, was ſent to Cannongate. This created a neceſſity of opening the Nether-bow Gate; which was no ſooner effected, than a party of the Camerons, who had been poſted in the neighbourhood, ruſhed in, took poſſeſſion of the gate, advanced towards the main guard, and ſeized ſuch as they found in arms. Before five in the morning, the ſtreets and chief ſquare of the city were lined with rebels, who thus, without blood-ſhed, or the leaſt oppoſition, had made themſelves maſters of the capital of the kingdom.

Charles, to avoid the batteries of the caſtle, had taken a large circuit to the eaſtward, and entered the palace of Holyrood Houſe, the ancient reſidence of the Scottiſh kings. Here he was joined by the viſcount Strathallan, who had long been his declared partizan, by lord Elcho, eldeſt ſon of the earl of Wemyſs, and by Mr. Murray, a gentleman of fortune in the ſouth of Scotland, who afterwards acted as his ſecretary of ſtate.

Charles,

Charles, being now in the royal palace, iſſued a mandate with all the formality of lawful authority, for proclaiming his father at the croſs of Edinburgh; a ceremony which immediately took place, in the uſual form: at the ſame time, three manifeſtos were read by the purſuivants, who conducted the ſolemn pageantry.

The firſt was in the name of the old pretender, declaring his right to the crown of Scotland, exclaiming againſt the Union, lamenting the grievances which the ſubjects had ſuffered in conſequence of that meaſure, and complaining of the treatment which his faithful Highlanders had received from the government. He then moſt graciouſly remitted all treaſons that had been committed againſt his father or himſelf, and extended his pardon to all thoſe, who ſhould not oppoſe his arms*.

The ſecond manifeſto, read upon this occaſion, was alſo in the name of the old pretender, conſtituting his ſon Charles ſole regent of the kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland, and all their dependent dominions, during his abſence. The third manifeſto was in the name of Charles, ſtiling himſelf prince regent.

Theſe three manifeſtos were inſtantly printed, and diſperſed throughout the kingdom; but the effect they produced was inconſiderable. The rebels, however, had now the ſword in their hands againſt a defenceleſs people; and Charles ſent a paper to the magiſtrates of Edinburgh, ſigned by himſelf, demanding, on pain of military execution, a thouſand tents, two thouſand targets, ſix thouſand pair of ſhoes, and a proportionable quantity of tin decanters for the uſe of his army; a demand, which was immediately complied with, as far as circumſtances would admit.

Confident of ſucceſs, he began his march towards the capital, with a conſiderable army; but underſtanding that the forces of government were advancing to give him battle, he pitched his camp near Preſtonpans, a place between Seaton and Preſton, having the village of Tranent in his front, and the ſea in his rear. It was ſecured on the eaſt by a ſtone-wall; on the ſouth by a ditch and moraſs; on the weſt by Seaton houſe and ſome incloſures; and on the weſt by Preſtonpans, Cockney, and the ſea. His troops, conſiſting of between four and five thouſand men, lay all night on their arms; and early the next morning the young pretender advanced in hoſtile array, at the head of about three thouſand undiſciplined and half-armed Highlanders, whoſe furious geſtures and rapid movements, ſeen dimly through the retiring darkneſs, excited unuſual emotions of terror in the hearts of the Engliſh ſoldiers. Theſe emotions were not permitted to ſubſide. Charles himſelf, ſtanding in the firſt line, gave the word of command†; and drawing his ſword, threw away the ſcabbard‡. The Highlanders ruſhed on to the attack

* He promiſed to call a free parliament; to aboliſh the malt-tax, and all other impoſitions and taxes which had been impoſed ſince the Union; to reſtore the nation to its ancient liberty and independency; to protect and maintain all his Proteſtant ſubjects in the free exerciſe of their religion, and in the full enjoyment of all their rights, privileges, and immunities, and in the quiet poſſeſſion of all churches, univerſities, colleges, and ſchools, conformable to the laws of the land.

He promiſed to reward thoſe, who ſhould be the moſt forward in joining him; to pay to all ſoldiers, who ſhould leave the government's ſervice, and enter into his, their whole arrears, and an additional year's pay; and to give to all officers the ſame, or ſuperior, commiſſions to thoſe which they held under government.

He menaced all thoſe who ſhould reſiſt him, encouraged others to join him, and commanded all, from the age of ſixteen to ſixty, to join his ſtandard. He ordered the arms and horſes of all ſuſpected perſons to be ſeized; and finally directed, that the public money ſhould be paid into the hands of his receivers; and that this his declaration ſhould be read, and himſelf proclaimed, in all the towns and boroughs of the kingdom.

† Charles's right wing was commanded by Perth, and his left by lord George Murray, who both behaved with an intrepidity that would have done honour to the moſt experienced generals. The men addreſſed themſelves to prayer before the attack; and it was undoubtedly owing to their ruſhing, with ſuch undaunted reſolution, on the mouths of the cannon, that the king's army conſidered them as ſo many invulnerable furies, whom no human force could reſiſt. The targets too, with which the rebels were armed, contributed, it is probable, to add to their intrepidity; and their whole loſs amounted only to two captains, one lieutenant, one enſign, and forty private men killed, and eighty wounded.

‡ The young pretender ſeemed much diſconcerted, though he exerted his utmoſt endeavours to conceal it. He acted, however, with a degree of ſpirit at the head of his party; where, drawing his ſword, he ſaid,—"He "had thrown away his ſcabbard, and that, if they would "follow him, he would make them a free and a happy "people!" But, notwithſtanding this apparent alacrity, he was eaſily perſuaded to retire, with a ſmall party, to a riſing ground, where he was placed beyond the reach of danger.

like ſo many ſturdy ſavages, regardleſs of the fire of the artillery. The king's troops were thrown into diſorder, and totally routed. The dragoons inſtantly left the field, and could never after be rallied. Five hundred of the foot were killed, and fifteen hundred made priſoners. Among the former was the gallant colonel Gardiner, who fell covered with wounds; a man equally diſtinguiſhed by his courage, capacity, and integrity. Never was any victory more complete; the military cheſt, containing about ſix thouſand pounds, the cannon, colours, camp-equipage, and baggage of the royal army, fell into the hands of the rebels.

Had the pretender marched into England immediately after this victory, before the Britiſh troops were recalled from Flanders, or any foreign ſuccours could be procured, he would probably have accompliſhed the object of his enterpriſe. But, inſtead of taking advantage of the conſternation occaſioned by the defeat of the king's forces in Scotland, he returned to the palace of Holyrood Houſe, to enjoy the vain parade of royalty. Edinburgh became the Capua of Charles. There, conſoled and intoxicated with the flatteries of needy expectants, and ſeduced by the blandiſhments of the Jacobite ladies, wiſhing for his princely benediction, he wantonly waſted his time, till the critical moment had elapſed; while his hungry followers were deſerted by their ferocity to be gratified by ſocial indulgences, or had broken the nerve of their courage in fruitleſs efforts to reduce the caſtle, and get poſſeſſion of the public treaſure. In the mean time, Charles was joined by the earl of Kilmarnock, and by the lords Balmerino, Pitſligo, Elcho, and Ogilvie. And, as his numbers now conſiſted of about ſix thouſand, the pretender reſolved to march into England.

As a prelude to this meaſure, he publiſhed a new manifeſto, on the 10th of October, ſaid to be written by himſelf, in which he promiſed, in his father's name, all manner of ſecurity to the Proteſtant religion and the eſtabliſhed church, and declared that he would paſs any law the parliament ſhould judge neceſſary for that purpoſe. "That the public debt," ſays he, "has "been contracted under an *unlawful govern-* "*ment*, nobody can diſown, any more than "that it is now a moſt *heavy load* upon the *nation:* yet, as it is due to thoſe very ſub- "jects whom our royal father promiſes to pro- "tect, cheriſh, and defend, he is reſolved to "take the advice of his parliament concerning "it; in which he thinks he acts the part of a "juſt prince, who makes the good of his peo- "ple the ſole rule of his actions. Furthermore, "we have in his name to declare, that the ſame "rule laid down for the funds, ſhall be obſerved "with reſpect to every law or act of parliament "ſince the Revolution; and ſo far as, in a free "and legal parliament, they ſhall be approved, "he will confirm them." He next affirmed, that his expedition was undertaken without aſſiſtance either from France or Spain; and that it was with his own money he had hired the veſſel which brought him to Scotland; "But," continues he, "when I hear of Dutch, Danes, "Heſſians, and Swiſs, the elector of Hanover's "allies, being called over to protect his govern- "ment, is it not high time for the king my "father to accept alſo of the aſſiſtance of thoſe "who are able, and who have engaged to ſup- "port him?"

This declaration was far from producing the deſired effect. It did not perfectly remove the fears of the monied men with reſpect to the ſecurity of the funds, while it created among the body of the people, apprehenſions of a French invaſion. Every one, from various motives, ſeemed attached to the eſtabliſhed government. Loyal addreſſes, from all quarters, were preſented to George II. on his return from his German dominions, congratulating him on the reduction of Cape Breton, and expreſſing deteſtation at the unnatural rebellion: promiſing alſo to exert their utmoſt endeavours in defending his majeſty's perſon and government, and in ſupporting the public credit of the nation.

Nor were theſe addreſſes merely complimentary. Upwards of a thouſand of the moſt eminent merchants, tradeſmen, and manufacturers in the kingdom, anxious to ſupport public credit, ſigned an agreement, that they would take the notes of the bank of England in payment of any ſum due to them, and uſe their utmoſt endeavours to make all their payments in that medium. This was an important ſtep, as it not only prevented the danger of large demands for ſpecie upon the bank, but intereſted many in the

the defence of the houſe of Hanover, whoſe hearts were with the pretender, or whoſe minds were fluctuating*.

Other meaſures conſpired to fix the unſteady, and to warm into zeal timid or prudential loyalty. The Habeas Corpus act was ſuſpended, and many perſons were arreſted on ſuſpicion of treaſonable practices. Six thouſand Dutch auxiliaries arrived in England; and three battalions of guards, with ſeven regiments of infantry. They were recalled from Flanders, with the duke of Cumberland at their head. Excluſive of the new regiments, voluntarily raiſed by the nobility and gentry, the militia of every county were aſſembled; arms were liberally diſtributed to the people, and the whole ſouthern part of the kingdom aſſumed a formidable poſture of defence.

Notwithſtanding this hoſtile appearance, the young adventurer quitted Edinburgh, and entered England, by the weſtern border, with only ſix thouſand foot, and two hundred and ſixty horſe; the duke of Perth commanded as general in chief, and lord George Murray as lieutenant-general. Lord Elcho was appointed colonel of what they called the life-guards; and the lords Pitſligo and Balmerino, acted as colonels of horſe. They immediately inveſted Carliſle; and both the town and caſtle, though defended by the militia of Cumberland and Weſtmoreland, ſupported by the inhabitants and ſome companies of regular troops, ſurrendered within three days.

The whole kingdom was filled with conſternation at the progreſs of the rebels. Terror took poſſeſſion of every mind; and the moſt alarming apprehenſions were, at the ſame time, entertained of an invaſion from France, where great preparations were making for a deſcent in favour of the pretender. The militia of the maritime counties were ordered towards the coaſt, and ſignals fixed for a general alarm. But the vigilance of admiral Vernon, who was ſtationed with a fleet in the Channel, and effectually blocked up the French ports, prevented the threatened invaſion. The embarkation was to have been made at Boulogne, Calais, and Dunkirk, in large boats, and a landing attempted in the neighbourhood of Dover, under the cover of night. The troops were to have been commanded by the attainted earl mareſchal of Scotland, who, regardleſs himſelf of danger in what he himſelf eſteemed ſo good a cauſe, threw up his commiſſion in diſguſt, on finding the French naval officers afraid to venture out.

In the mean time, the rebels having left a ſmall garriſon in Carliſle, under the command of one Hamilton, who had been a kind of agent, advanced to Penrith; and continuing their route through Lancaſter and Preſton, took poſſeſſion of Mancheſter, ſuppoſed to be the moſt diſaffected town in the kingdom, where the pretender had eſtabliſhed his head-quarters. Thinking himſelf now in the heart of his Engliſh intereſt, he promiſed himſelf a wonderful acceſſion of force; but, though the inhabitants of Mancheſter received him with marks of affection, and celebrated his arrival with illuminations, they manifeſted little inclination to join him, and the people of the country were ſtill more indifferent. With the utmoſt of his endeavours, he could only raiſe about two hundred men, who were formed into a corps, under the pompous appellation of the Mancheſter regiment, in hopes it would ſoon be completed, under colonel Townly, a Roman Catholic gentleman of ſome eminence in that neighbourhood, and who had been an officer in the French army.

Charles, who had been induced to believe, that as ſoon as he ſhould enter Lancaſhire, the majority of the people would flock to his ſtandard, was much chagrined at this backwardneſs in his reputed friends. He endeavoured, however, to conceal his mortification; and his

* Many of the principal nobility and gentry offered their ſervices in a military capacity. The duke of Montague received a commiſſion for raiſing a regiment of light horſe in Northamptonſhire: the duke of Kingſton raiſed another in Nottinghamſhire and Yorkſhire: the dukes of Bedford, Bolton, Ancaſter, the marquis of Granby, the earls of Hallifax, Berkeley, and Cholmondeley, the viſcounts Falmouth and Harcourt, the lords Edgecombe, Gower, and Herbert, raiſed, each of them, regiments, in the ſeveral counties where their intereſts lay. The county of York engaged in an aſſociation, ſubſcribed the ſum of forty thouſand pounds, and raiſed a body of volunteers. The arrival of the duke of Cumberland, who returned, about this time, from Holland, tended to promote the general ſpirit of loyalty; and all ranks of men ſeemed unanimouſly to concur in expreſſing their zeal for the preſent eſtabliſhment.

followers in general aſſumed a countenance of ſatisfaction, though they had been informed, that general Wade, who had aſſembled an army of fourteen thouſand men at Newcaſtle, was advancing through Yorkſhire; and that the duke of Cumberland, aſſiſted by ſir John Ligonier, had taken poſt near Litchfield with thirteen thouſand veteran troops. A council of war was called; and it was unanimouſly agreed, that they ſhould ſtrike off to the left, and proceed by the way of Cheſter and Liverpool into Wales, where the pretender expected a number of adherents. But finding afterwards, that thoſe towns were ſecured, and determined to hold out to the laſt extremity, and that the bridges leading into Wales, over the Merſey, had been broken down by order of the duke of Cumberland, Charles took the route of Stockport and Warrington; and paſſing through Macclesfield and Congleton, turned ſuddenly off by Leeke and Aſhbourne, and unexpectedly entered Derby, where his father was proclaimed with great ſolemnity.

The pretender had no ſooner arrived at this place, than he called a council of war, to deliberate reſpecting their future operations. The principal point in debate was, whether they ſhould return by the ſame route in which they had advanced, or march forwards to London. The pretender himſelf was of the latter opinion, in which he was ſeconded by Perth, Lochiel, and lord George Murray; but as theſe could not engage for the compliance of their men, the other chieftains were almoſt unanimous for returning to Scotland. So reſolute, however, was the pretender in his opinion, that diſputes were carried to an intemperate degree of warmth. He ſaid he had received authentic intelligence from France, that a deſcent would be made upon England, an event which could not fail to divide the royal forces, and afford him an eaſy admiſſion into the capital, where he hoped to be joined by a great number of adherents.

When the citizens of London were informed, that, notwithſtanding the vigilance and activity of the duke, the rebels had it in their power to advance to the metropolis, many of them were ſeized with the moſt terrible apprehenſions. Even the miniſtry ſeemed to be alarmed. A council was held at St. James's, and a reſolution taken, that the ſtandard of England ſhould be erected on Finchley Common, for aſſembling an army, to be commanded by the king in perſon, and, under him, by field-mareſchal Stair: that all the regular troops in the environs of London, with the aſſociated regiments, the trained bands, and the militia, ſhould repair to that camp; and that a numerous train of artillery ſhould be drawn out of the tower for the uſe of the forces. Theſe vigorous reſolutions induced the pretender to alter his opinion, and, inſtead of advancing to London, he reſolved to return into Scotland, where he heard his affairs had taken a very favourable turn.

Accordingly, after ſtaying one night at Derby, he began his march early in the morning; and though Wade with his army had for ſome time been at Doncaſter, and conſequently nearer Manchеſter than the rebels, yet the latter retreated, with ſuch amazing rapidity, through Aſhburne, Leeke, Manchеſter, Leigh, and Wigton, that they had almoſt reached Preſton, before Wade had proceeded to Wakefield.

The duke, who then lay in the neighbourhood of Coventry, hearing of their retreat, placed himſelf at the head of all the horſe and dragoons, and immediately ſet out in purſuit of the enemy: while his foot was ordered to follow with all poſſible expedition. Wade alſo detached general Oglethorpe, with a thouſand horſe for that purpoſe.

On the twelfth of December, the rebels reached Preſton; and, after reſting a whole day, reſumed their march with great celerity. The duke, having been joined by general Oglethorpe, entered the place about four hours after; but, though he proceeded with the utmoſt diſpatch, he could not overtake them till they had advanced to the village of Cliſton. At that place he came up with their rear-guard, which was [illegible] of the Macphерſons, who, obſerving the royal forces, threw themſelves into the village, as if they intended to defend it; their main body, imagining the whole army was with the duke, continued their retreat to Carliſle.

Lord George Murray, who commanded the rear-guard, perceiving, on a cloſer inſpection, that the duke was attended only with cavalry, ſent a meſſage to the main body of the rebels, deſiring

deſiring them to return and venture an engagement; but no attention was paid to his requeſt. He was determined, however, to defend the paſs: and, with that view, took poſſeſſion of a ditch and ſome hedges.

His royal highneſs ordered the dragoons to diſmount and attack the rebels on foot; a taſk which they engaged in with alacrity. After a few vollies on both ſides, the dragoons retired to recharge. The rebels conſtruing this into a flight, abandoned their defenſible ſituation; and ruſhing upon the king's forces, maintained a moſt deſperate engagement for the ſpace of an hour; after which, they retired behind their ditch; and being favoured by the darkneſs of the night, continued their march to their main body, which had now arrived at Penrith. In this ſkirmiſh, few of the rebels were killed; but about ſeventy of them were taken priſoners. Of the king's forces forty were killed, or wounded; and among the latter four officers, colonel Honeywood, captain Eaſt, and the cornets Owen and Hamilton.

At Penrith, the rebels held a conſultation, whether it would be prudent to return with their whole force, and ſurprize the duke's cavalry. This meaſure was warmly recommended by ſome of the moſt violent chieftains; but lord George Murray, and the more moderate leaders, oppoſed it. They repreſented the favourable turn, which their affairs had lately taken in Scotland, as a motive for ſparing the lives of their men; and they urged the ſtrong probability of the duke's being joined by his infantry, before they could attack him. Influenced by theſe conſiderations, they reinforced the garriſon of Carliſle, and croſſing the rivers Eden and Solway, returned into Scotland.

The duke of Cumberland inveſted Carliſle with his whole army on the twenty-firſt of December, and, on the thirtieth, the garriſon ſurrendered at diſcretion. The priſoners, amounting to about four hundred, were diſtributed in different gaols in England, and the duke immediately returned to London. By this time Wade had ſent a detachment to protect the city of Edinburgh, to which all the people of rank and conſequence, in the intereſt of government, had once more returned. The courts of juſtice and public ſchools, which had, for ſome time, been ſhut, were again opened: a regiment of volunteers was raiſed and diſciplined; and a greater ſpirit of loyalty appeared, than had prevailed even before the commencement of the rebellion.

A ſimilar ſpirit diſplayed itſelf at Glaſgow, where the inhabitants manifeſted, in a moſt conſpicuous manner, their attachment to government. They raiſed a regiment at their own expence, and conferred the command of it upon the earl of Hume, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf greatly in oppoſing the rebels. The example of Edinburgh and Glaſgow was followed by many other towns and counties in the kingdom; a conduct which expoſed them to the reſentment of the Highlanders.

The town of Dumfries was fined, on account of its loyalty, to the extent of four thouſand pounds; and the pretender, having made a haſty but oppreſſive tour through the whole of that populous country, directed his courſe towards Stirling, the caſtle of which he determined to beſiege.

This meaſure he was the rather inclined to adopt, as his affairs in the north were in a very promiſing condition. The earl of Loudon, who commanded for the government in that quarter, had been extremely active in raiſing a little army, with which he performed ſome important ſervices to government, and, in this laudable work, he was well ſupported by Mr. Forbes, preſident of the ſeſſion, by lord Fortroſe, and ſir Alexander Macdonald.

The moſt troubleſome rebel at that time in the north, was lord Lewis Gordon, brother to the duke of that name, and who had once been a midſhipman on board the royal navy. As the family of Gordon had many dependents in the ſhire of Aberdeen, and the adjacent counties, who were either attached to the pretender's intereſt, or perfectly indifferent with regard to matters of government, he had been able, by threats and promiſes, to raiſe ſuch a force, as rendered him not a little formidable.

The moſt dangerous, however, as well as the moſt powerful chieftain engaged in the rebellion, was Simon Fraſer lord Lovat, whoſe character was a ſtrange compound of abſurdities and abilities. In his earlier part of life, he had committed a rape upon a woman of quality and fortune;

fortune; a crime for which he was capitally convicted and proſcribed. Eſcaping into France, he became a Roman Catholic; and had the addreſs to gain the confidence of the courts of St. Germains and Verſailles, to oblige which, about the latter end of king William's reign, he undertook to raiſe a rebellion in Scotland.

No longer reſtrained by motives of intereſt, and hurried by the violence of his diſpoſition, Lovat* gave a looſe to the gratification of his principles, which from views of prudence, he had hitherto concealed. He inſtantly employed Bob Roy, a colonel in the preſent rebellion, to make his peace with the old pretender; and he promiſed, that, provided he would ſend him a commiſſion to act as his lieutenant-general in the Highlands, and a patent for a dukedom, he would employ his whole intereſt in ſupport of his cauſe.

The propoſal was readily complied with; and an additional commiſſion was given, conſtituting him lord-lieutenant of all the countries north of Spey. Elated with theſe imaginary honours, Lovat no longer diſſembled his ſentiments, but openly avowed his attachment to the pretender. He abandoned that frugality and œconomy, for which he had before been extremely remarkable: his houſe and table were always open to every adherent of the Stuart family; and his whole converſation favoured ſtrongly of high treaſon.

This change of conduct in a man, ſo parſimonious in his diſpoſition, ſo enſlaved by intereſt, and ſo anxious for the preſervation of his eſtate, his chieftainſhip, and his family power, muſt have originated partly from dotage, operating with his concealed principles, partly to a notion he had conceived, that the pretender would be ſupported by a foreign force, which, joined to the Highlanders, would finally render his attempt ſucceſsful.

This opinion ſeems to be juſtified by Lovat's behaviour on the pretender's arrival. When Charles landed, defenceleſs and unattended, Lovat appeared ſtartled and refuſed to join him. Conſcious, however, that he had been guilty of many overt acts of treaſon, he began, ſoon after the erection of the pretender's ſtandard,

* Simon Fraſer, lord Lovat, was poſſeſſed of inſinuating talents, and exerted his whole force upon mankind through the channel of their vanity. Utterly deſtitute of principle, and deſpiſing veracity as an unneceſſary quality, he accommodated all his actions to his immediate intereſt, and all his expreſſions to the deceitful purpoſe of impoſing on the credulous. And though his natural addreſs was ungraceful, his perſonal appearance remarkably forbidding, and his flattery too glaring to eſcape the obſervation even of the weak and the vain; it was not always to be reſiſted by men of ſome penetration. Though his projects were generally formed with little judgment, he was bold and fearleſs in the execution of them. In 1697, he entered, with an armed band, the houſe of a woman of quality, ſeized her perſon, and ordered the marriage ceremony to be performed, while he endeavoured, with the ſound of a bagpipe, to drown her cries; and having ſtripped her naked, by cutting off her ſtays with his dirk or dagger, he forced her to bed, and conſummated the pretended marriage, amid the noiſe and riot of his barbarous attendants.

Compelled to fly the kingdom, and declared a rebel and an outlaw for this and other violences, Fraſer found means to obtain a pardon from king William; and to ingratiate himſelf with the court of St. Germains, by becoming a Catholic. He was employed by the court of France in attempting to create an inſurrection in Scotland in 1703. For that purpoſe, he was furniſhed with proper credentials by the pretender; but inſtead of employing them for the reſtoration of the exiled family, he betrayed the whole plot to the Engliſh government, and returned to France, to procure more irrefragable proofs of the guilt of the principal conſpirators. His treachery being diſcovered, he was thrown into the Baſtile, where he remained ſome months, and only avoided the puniſhment due to his crimes, by his conſummate diſſimulation. He had the addreſs to make it believed, that what he had done, was for the intereſt of the pretender; and on his return to Great Britain, his ſufferings in France recommended him to the protection, and even the favour of government. In 1715, Lovat was eſſentially ſerviceable to the houſe of Hanover, by aſſiſting in the ſuppreſſion of the rebellion; and becoming afterwards a perſonal favourite of George I. he was liberally rewarded for his loyalty. He even formed the ſcheme of erecting himſelf into a kind of viceroy in the Highlands; pretending, that if he had the diſtribution of twenty-five thouſand pounds annually among the heads of the clans, he could effectually prevent all their future inſurrections, and draw them progreſſively into the intereſts of the reigning family. Diſappointed, however, in his ambitious hopes, and otherwiſe diſguſted with the eſtabliſhed government, he again relapſed into Jacobitiſm; and concluding that the young pretender would be ſupported by a powerful foreign force, he made no ſecret of his principles. But when Charles landed without ſuch force, Lovat refuſed to join him, though he had accepted the office of lord-lieutenant of all the counties north of the Spey. Yet was he aſſiduous in arming his clan; in order, perhaps, to procure a pardon for his treaſonable ſpeeches and practices, by throwing his intereſt into the ſcale of government, if the unexpected ſucceſs of the pretender had not induced him to take part in the rebellion. See *Stuart's Papers, Lockart's Mem.*

to

to arm his clan. The battle of Preſton fixed his reſolution; and conſidering that event as a happy omen of the pretender's ſucceſs, he ordered his ſon, a youth about nineteen years of age, to march to Perth, the general rendezvous of ſuch of the rebels as had been left in Scotland.

Of all the Highland chieftains, Lovat was the moſt arbitrary and deſpotic; yet he found not ſo ready a compliance in his clan as he expected: he therefore ordered the *fiery croſs*, as it is called, to be ſent through his eſtate, in order to compel them to obedience. This is a general denunciation, made by the chieftains, of plunder, fire, and ſword, againſt all who ſhall refuſe to join them; and by this expedient, Lovat obliged the greater part of his clan to take up arms.

At firſt, however, he was greatly puzzled to know what courſe to purſue. He ſaw that lord Loudon was at the head of a body of men, equal, if not ſuperior, in numbers, to his own; and that the lord preſident, by his intereſt and authority, was daily adding ſtrength to Loudon's force. He knew they were acquainted with his diſſimulation; and he was afraid, that if he were left defenceleſs, he might become their priſoner. Alarmed with theſe apprehenſions, he recalled his ſon, who was advancing towards Perth with a party of about ſeven hundred men. he alſo diſpatched a meſſenger to the earl of Loudon and the preſident, to aſſure them, that the march of his ſon was contrary to his inclination, and proceeded from the young man's obſtinacy and diſobedience. They could eaſily perceive the meaning of this pretence; and the lord preſident returned a very ſpirited letter to Lovat, containing a mixture of reproof and advice. While Lovat was conſidering the contents of this epiſtle, and deliberating on the conduct which he ought to purſue, he received intelligence, that lord John Drummond was juſt landed with a body of ſeven hundred French forces, as a reinforcement to the pretender, and with certain aſſurances of his being ſpeedily ſupported in a more effectual manner*. Encouraged by this conſideration, he inſtantly reſolved to avow his intentions, and accordingly ordered his ſon to march to Perth, at the head of his clan.

The earl of Loudon was now placed in a very critical ſituation. He knew that lord Lovat had ſtill a conſiderable body of his tenants in reſerve; that almoſt the whole country and ſea-coaſt, from the Forth to the Spey, was in the hands of the rebels; and that lord Lewis Gordon, and their other leaders, were oppreſſing and plundering all the loyal ſubjects in thoſe countries. He was alſo afraid that Fort Auguſtus would fall into the hands of the enemy.

His firſt care was to relieve this place, with ſix hundred of the Macleods; he advanced during a very ſevere froſt, through Stratharick, a part of Lovat's eſtate, the inhabitants of which had not joined the rebels; and upon his march informed them, what they muſt expect, if they roſe in arms. Having ſupplied Port Auguſtus with all kinds of neceſſaries, he detached Mr. Macleod, the head of the clan, with five hundred men, towards Bamff and Aberdeenſhire, to prevent the enemy from recruiting in thoſe quarters; and he promiſed to follow them with as many troops as could be ſpared from the town of Inverneſs.

In the mean time, by the advice of the lord preſident, he ſeized lord Lovat, who was then without his guard. This arch hypocrite, however, ſoon recovered his liberty. He ſwore that it was without his knowledge or conſent, that his clan had joined the rebels: he even curſed his ſon for having forced them into that unhappy meaſure; and offered to deliver up to lord Loudon, the arms of all his tenants, who had not yet united with the rebels. This expedient had the deſired effect: Lovat was permitted to be more at liberty; and he artfully embraced the earlieſt opportunity of effecting his eſcape.

Macleod, in his march towards Bamff, had been joined by two hundred Monros under their own chieftain; and now thinking himſelf able to oppoſe the rebels under lord Lewis Gordon, who had retired to Aberdeen, he reſolved to

* Lord Lovat did not, at firſt, openly engage in the rebellion, though he endeavoured, by his intereſt and connexions, to promote the cauſe of the pretender. He was the ſame perſon with Simon Fraſer, who has been already mentioned, as a betrayer of the machinations of the malcontent Scots to the miniſtry, in the earlier part of the reign of queen Anne.

attack that town, which was open and unfortified. He had alſo been reinforced, in his route, by a ſtrong party of Grants; but theſe ſoon returned to their own country: and lord Lewis, having received a ſtrong reinforcement from the ſouth, attacked the loyaliſts ſo unexpectedly, that they were obliged to fly.

The affairs of the government had not a more promiſing aſpect in the ſouthern than in the northern parts of Scotland. A tranſport, indeed, with about two hundred French officers and ſoldiers had been taken, and the men conducted to Edinburgh as priſoners; but the arrival of lord John Drummond, with the money, ammunition, and arms, which he had brought from France, together with repeated aſſurances of farther aſſiſtance, had inſpired the rebels with the moſt ſanguine hopes of ſucceſs.

About this time, the Fox man of war, which had been ſtationed in the road of Leith, and been highly ſerviceable to government, was loſt in a ſtorm, and all her crew periſhed. Soon after the Hazard ſloop, which had been equally uſeful in the northern parts, was taken by the rebels, and her guns mounted to fortify the harbour of Montroſe.

The pretender, who was now joined by the Fraſers under the maſter of Lovat, and the French troops under lord John Drummond, had laid ſiege to the town of Stirling, which, after a feeble reſiſtance, ſubmitted to the enemy; but the caſtle, commanded by general Blakeney, ſtill held out and continued to baffle all the attempts of the rebels. The miniſtry, however, were no ſooner informed of the fort's being inveſted, than they ordered general Hawley, to aſſume the command of a new army, and march to its relief. In the beginning of January, Hawley arrived with the forces, amounting to about ten thouſand, at Falkirk in the neighbourhood of Stirling: the rebels conſiſted of about eight thouſand, and lay at Torwood, in the center, between theſe two places.

On the ſeventeenth of the month, while Hawley was at dinner, an alarm was brought him, that the rebels were in motion to take poſſeſſion of ſome riſing grounds in the neighbourhood of Falkirk, where the king's forces were poſted. As the poſſeſſion of this eminence was an important concern, Hawley immediately formed his men in two lines, and in the front of the camp. On their left was a moraſs; and the Glaſgow militia, with part of Hamilton's dragoons, compoſed a corps de reſerve. The rebels were likewiſe drawn in two lines; the right commanded by lord George Murray, the left by lord John Drummond; and the pretender with his cavalry, and one of his beſt battalions, took poſt in the center.

Hawley, having made his diſpoſition, was not in a hurry to begin the charge; but, after finiſhing his dinner, he ordered his dragoons to march to the riſing grounds, and cut the rebels in pieces with their ſwords. The dragoons accordingly advanced with great alacrity, and began the attack with much courage and ſome ſucceſs; but, perceiving that the eminence was occupied by the rebels, and that they themſelves were utterly unſupported by the infantry, they ſuddenly wheeled off, after having ſuſtained an irregular fire from the enemy.

The officers exerted their utmoſt endeavours to make them rally; but, inſtead of following their advice, they fell back upon the foot, who were thereby thrown into diſorder; and this was ſtill further increaſed by the violence of the wind and rain. The rebels, obſerving the confuſion of the royaliſts, threw aſide their guns, and ruſhed in, ſword in hand, with great impetuoſity; but they were ſpeedily checked by a ſevere fire, and obliged to return to their former ſtation. Night advancing, terminated the action. The king's army retired to Falkirk: but, the rebels proceeding to that place in the dead of night, they were obliged to ſet fire to their tents, and retreat to Linlithgow. On the following day they returned to Edinburgh, where they found the officers, who had been taken priſoners at the battle of Preſtonpans, and who had been reſtored to their liberty by the people of the country where they were confined.

In this action, the royaliſts left upon the field of battle about five hundred ſlain, among whom were an unuſual number of officers. The rebels loſt about half that number; but they took ſeven pieces of cannon, ſeveral colours, ſix hundred muſkets, four thouſand weight of powder, twenty-eight waggons laden with military ſtores, and all the tents and baggage that

had eſcaped the flames. General Hawley, who had boaſted that with two regiments of dragoons, he would drive the rebels from one end of the kingdom to the other, incurred much cenſure upon this occaſion.

The king was no ſooner informed of the defeat at Falkirk, than he ordered the duke of Cumberland* to aſſume the command of the forces in Scotland. In the mean time the French miniſter at the Hague, having repreſented to the States General, that the auxiliaries, which they had ſent into Great Britain, were part of the garriſon of Tournay, and reſtricted, by the capitulation, from bearing arms againſt France, for a certain term; they thought proper to recal them, rather than come to an open rupture with his moſt Chriſtian majeſty; and, in their room, ſix thouſand Heſſians were tranſported from Flanders to Leith, where they arrived in the beginning of February, under the command of their prince, Frederic of Heſſe, ſon-in-law to his Britannic majeſty.

By this time the duke of Cumberland had put himſelf at the head of the troops at Edinburgh, conſiſting of thirteen regiments of infantry, five regiments of dragoons, one regiment of light horſe, and fifteen hundred Highlanders from Argyleſhire, under the command of colonel Campbell. On the thirty-firſt of January, his royal highneſs began his march to Linlithgow; and the enemy, who had renewed the ſiege of Stirling Caſtle, not only abandoned that enterprize, but, after blowing up the magazines, croſſed the Frith with great precipitation. On their arrival at Crief, they divided into two bodies, one of which marched towards Perth; the other by Dunkeld. The young pretender was in the latter party, and continued five days at the duke of Athol's houſe at Blair. He then proceeded to Inverneſs, which was appointed for their general rendezvous. In his way thither, he took the ſmall fort of Ruthven, which he demoliſhed. Thence he proceeded to Moy, the head of the Mackintoſhes, a conſiderable clan, ſeveral of whom had joined him, though their chieftain was then in the ſervice of the government.

Lord Loudon was then at Inverneſs, with fifteen hundred or two thouſand loyal Highlanders. This nobleman had been extremely active in ſurpriſing and diſperſing ſmall parties of rebels in the moſt diſaffected parts of the country; and it was through his efforts and thoſe of the lord preſident, that the numbers of inſurgents were not at leaſt doubled. As he had the beſt intelligence, he was regularly informed of all the enemy's motions.

Hearing that Charles was at Moy, he marched thither with a choſen party, under the darkneſs of night, with a view of ſurpriſing him; and this he had nearly effected, when an unlucky ſhot being diſcharged alarmed the rebels, and Charles, who was juſt retiring to bed, made his eſcape. Loudon, thus diſappointed, was obliged to return to Inverneſs, where the rebels, who had expeditiouſly collected their forces, and were greatly ſuperior to him in numbers, in their turn almoſt ſurprized him. He eſcaped, however, by the ferry, into the northern parts of the kingdom.

Meanwhile the duke of Cumberland, having ſecured the important poſts of Sterling and Perth

* Had Charles, during the conſternation occaſioned by this ſecond blow, again boldly entered England, he might perhaps have taken up his winter-quarters in the capital; or had he marched with the main body of his army towards Inverneſs, he might have cruſhed the earl of Loudon, diſarmed the loyal clans, increaſed the number of his adherents, and made himſelf abſolute maſter of all the north of Scotland. But his heart being ſet on the reduction of Stirling Caſtle, he loſt ſight of every other object. He therefore returned to the ſiege of that fortreſs; and after having in vain attempted to carry it aſſault, he obſtinately perſiſted in erecting batteries, in opening trenches, and making regular approaches, in the depth of winter, to the great diſapprobation of the Highlanders, many of whom retired in diſguſt to their native mountains.

While the pretender was thus waſting his time in theſe fruitleſs, impolitic, and ill-conducted operations, the nation recovered from that panic into which it had been thrown by the rout at Falkirk. The royal army in Scotland was reinforced with a body of freſh troops. William duke of Cumberland was appointed to command it: and the affairs of government ſoon began to wear a new face. Though unſucceſsful in Flanders, and not conſidered as an adept in the military art, the duke of Cumberland was adored by the ſoldiery. And the appearance of a prince of the blood, it was ſuppoſed, would intimidate the rebels, and encourage the king's troops. Experience proved this conjecture to be well founded. On the arrival of the duke of Cumberland at Edinburgh, he was received with the warmeſt expreſſions of joy, and welcomed as a deliverer by the loyal party. Firmneſs and confidence every where took place of irreſolution and deſpondency; and ſuch of the Jacobites as had not yet taken up arms, foreſeeing the ruin of their prince's cauſe, reſolved to remain quiet.

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with the Heſſian battalions, advanced with the army to Aberdeen, where he was joined by the duke of Gordon, the earls of Aberdeen and Findlater, the laird of Grant, and other perſons of diſtinction. While he continued in this place, refreſhing his troops, and preparing magazines, a party of rebels ſurprized a detachment of Kingſton's horſe, and about twenty of them were cut in pieces. Several advanced parties of militia partook of the ſame fate. Lorge George Murray inveſted the caſtle of Blair, which was defended by ſir Andrew Agnew, while a body of Heſſians marched to its relief, and compelled the enemy to retire.

They alſo undertook the ſiege of Fort William, under the direction of brigadier Stapleton, an engineer in the French ſervice; but captain Scot, the governor, made ſuch a vigorous reſiſtance, that, in the beginning of April, they thought proper to relinquiſh the enterprize. The earl of Loudon had retired into Sutherland, and taken poſt at Dornock, where he was ſuddenly attacked by a ſtrong detachment of the rebels under the duke of Perth: a major and ſixty men were taken priſoners, and the earl was obliged to take ſhelter in the Iſle of Sky.

Theſe inconſiderable loſſes were compenſated by ſome advantages, which the royaliſts obtained. The ſloop of war, which the rebels had ſurprized at Montroſe, was retaken on the coaſt of Sutherland, with a conſiderable ſum of money, and a great quantity of arms on board, which ſhe had brought from France for the uſe of the pretender. In the ſame county the earl of Cromartie fell into an ambuſcade, and was taken by the militia of Sutherland, who, likewiſe, routed a body of rebels at Goldſpie.

In the beginning of April, the duke of Cumberland began his march from Aberdeen; and, contrary to expectation, he was permitted to paſs the deep and rapid river Spey, without oppoſition from the rebels, though about three thouſand Highlanders appeared, and the banks were ſteep and difficult of aſcent on the oppoſite ſide. It was not timidity, however, but the preſumption of their leaders, that reſtrained the rebels from diſputing the paſſage of the royal army, a reſolution having been taken in a council of war to leave the fords of the Spey open, and for this ſtrange reaſon, "that the greater "number of the king's troops that ſhould paſs "the river, the fewer would eſcape; as they "entertained no doubt of being able to cut off "the whole."

It was even propoſed, that, as a battle now ſeemed inevitable, a party ſhould be diſpatched, to get between the Spey and the king's troops, in order to preclude their retreat. The king's army, however, had an eaſy and undiſturbed paſſage over the Spey.

On the ſixteenth of April, the duke's birthday, the royaliſts halted at Nairn. A council of war was now held by the rebels; and they embraced the deſperate reſolution of marching by night to Nairn, and attacking the king's army, whom they ſuppoſed to be enjoying undiſturbed repoſe, after celebrating the anniverſary of the duke's nativity.

The rebels then lay at Culloden; and, being obliged to take a circuit, they had a march of ten miles to perform, before they could arrive at Nairn. They proceeded, however, with admirable ſecrecy, till they came within three miles of the royal army, when, through the darkneſs of the night, one of their diviſions loſt its way. The other, however, continued to advance within a mile of the king's troops, when lord George Murray apprehending, from the neighing of a horſe, that their march was diſcovered, and perceiving that one of their diviſions had fallen back, or miſtaken its way, ordered a retreat. The pretender was no ſooner informed of this circumſtance, than he exclaimed in a violent rage, that he was betrayed; but, regardleſs of his remonſtrances, the men wheeled about, and, by eight in the morning, the whole of them returned to their camp at Culloden*.

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* Though this incident was not mentioned in the account publiſhed by government, of the battle of Culloden, the fact is unqueſtionable; and the fatigue which the rebels had experienced, contributed greatly to the ſucceſs of the day. On the ſixteenth of April, early in the morning, the whole royal army marched from Nairn, in four columns; three of them formed by the foot, of five battalions each; and one of horſe on the left; the artillery and baggage being on the right of the firſt column. After proceeding about eight miles, the advanced guards obſerved the rebels at ſome diſtance, making a motion towards them. In conſequence of which, the king's

The duke of Cumberland quitted Nairn early in the morning, and came in ſight of the rebels about noon*. They were drawn up in thirteen diviſions under their reſpective leaders, near Culloden Houſe, to the number of ſeven thouſand five hundred men, with four pieces of cannon before their center, where the pretender was ſtationed, and the ſame number on each wing. The duke of Cumberland drew up his army in three lines, diſpoſed in excellent order for reſiſting the fierce attack of the rebels; ſeveral pieces of cannon being placed between the lines, and every ſecond rank inſtructed to reſerve its fire: in conſequence of which, when the Highlanders, having thrown away their muſkets, according to cuſtom, advanced with their broad-ſwords, they were not only received on the point of the bayonet, but galled by an unexpected fire of muſketry, and blown into the air by a concealed artillery. The event was ſuch as William had promiſed himſelf. The rebel army, after an ineffectual ſtruggle of thirty minutes, was totally routed, and chaſed off the field with great ſlaughter. The king's troops, but eſpecially the dragoons, exaſperated by their former loſſes, diſgraces, and the fatigues of a winter campaign, gave no quarter. Near two thouſand of the rebels were killed in the battle and purſuit, and only three hundred and ten of the royal army. Among the former was lord Robert Kerr, ſon of the marquis of Lothian.

No victory was ever more complete than that gained by the duke of Cumberland at Culloden, nor any more important in its conſequences. All the pretender's hopes, and even his courage, abandoned him with his good fortune.

The duke of Cumberland, immediately after the action, proceeded to Inverneſs, of which he took poſſeſſion. He then advanced to Fort Auguſtus, and having received the ſubmiſſion of almoſt all the clans and chieftains, returned to London, which he entered amidſt the acclamations of the people.

The pretender, upon his retreat from the field of battle, held a conference with ſome of his principal adherents; but finding his affairs deſperate, he deſired each of them to conſult his own ſafety, while he himſelf, aſſuming various diſguiſes, the better to elude the ſagacity of his purſuers, continued to wander about, a wretched fugitive, for the ſpace of five months, during which time, he was deſtitute of the neceſſaries of life, and ſuffered greater hardſhips and calamities than perhaps any other perſon ever ſurvived. At laſt, on the tenth of Auguſt, he embarked on board a French frigate, called the Bellona of Nantz; and, after having been chaſed by two Engliſh men of war, arrived in ſafety at Roſcau near Morlaix in Bretagne†.

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king's army immediately formed, and marched within a mile of the rebels, whom they perceived to be poſted behind ſome old walls and huts, in a line with Culloden Houſe.

The earl of Kilmarnock was taken in the field of battle: lord Balmerino ſurrendered himſelf a few days after. The marquis of Tullibardine followed his example. Among the priſoners were four ladies, who had been very inſtrumental in procuring friends to the pretender; and one of them, in particular, lady Mackintoſh, though her huſband was at that time an officer in the king's army, had prevailed on a great many of her clan to join in the rebellion.

* April 16.

† A poor gentleman, who had no concern in the rebellion, but whoſe humanity had induced him to adminiſter to the neceſſities of Charles, being apprehended and conducted before a court of juſtice, was aſked, how he dared to aſſiſt the king's greateſt enemy; and why, having always appeared to be a loyal ſubject, he did not deliver up the pretender, and claim the reward of thirty thouſand pounds offered by government for his perſon? "I only gave him," replied the priſoner, "what nature "ſeemed to require, a night's lodging, and a humble "repaſt. And, who, among my judges, though poor as "I am, would have ſought to acquire affluence, by vio-"lating the rights of hoſpitality, to earn the price of "blood?" The court was confuſed at the ſimple eloquence of this untutored orator: the ſuit was diſmiſſed, and the priſoner ſet at liberty.—So much ſtronger an impreſſion does fellow-feeling and the ſenſe of natural equity make on the human breaſt, than the dictates of political law, though enforced by the greateſt rewards or the ſevereſt puniſhments!

The heroic attachment of a gallant youth, of the name of Mackenzie, greatly facilitated the eſcape of the pretender. About the twentieth of July, When Charles had fled for ſafety to the top of the mountain of Mammyncallum in Lochaber, the royal troops ſurpriſed a party of his followers in a hut, on the ſide of the mountain, and obliged them to ſurrender, after an obſtinate reſiſtance. One young man, however, found a method of making his eſcape. The priſoners aſſured the commanding officer that the perſon who had thus eſcaped was the pretender. Animated by the proſpect of an immenſe reward, the ſoldiers eagerly purſued, and at length overtook the fugitive. They deſired him to ſubmit, as reſiſtance would be ineffectual: and intimated, that they knew

With regard to the proceedings of this ſeſſion in parliament, the members were now ſo unanimous, that they hardly produced a debate, and therefore are beſt known by the titles of the acts which were paſſed. By one of theſe, the ſum of twenty-five thouſand pounds *per annum*, was added to the revenue of the duke of Cumberland, for his gallant behaviour in ſuppreſſing rebellion, and the thanks of both houſes were voted him on his obtaining the victory at Culloden.

By another, the government was impowered to ſummon all ſuſpected perſons in Scotland to appear at Edinburgh, or wherever it ſhould be judged expedient, and oblige them to procure ſureties for their peaceable deportment. By a third, the earl of Kellie, the viſcount Strathallan, lord Pitſligo, and ſeveral other Scottiſh noblemen and gentlemen, were declared attainted, unleſs they ſurrendered themſelves before the twelfth of July 1746. By a fourth, the exerciſe of the epiſcopal religion was prohibited in Scotland, except by ſuch miniſters as qualified themſelves, by taking the oaths to the government; an act, which was deemed the more neceſſary, as moſt of the Epiſcopalians in that kingdom, were profeſſed Jacobites.

A fifth act was paſſed for effectually diſarming the Highlands of Scotland, and preſerving the peace of that part of the country; for reſtraining the uſe of the Highland *dreſs**, which was ſuppoſed to keep up party diſtinctions; and for indemnifying ſuch perſons as had acted in defence of his majeſty's perſon and government, during the continuance of the unnatural rebellion.

Notwithſtanding the facility with which the rebellion had been ſuppreſſed, the attempt was productive of fatal conſequences to the intereſt of the common cauſe, by occaſioning ſo large a draught of Britiſh troops from the Netherlands. The French did not fail to avail themſelves of ſo favourable an opportunity; and the advantages they gained were ſo conſiderable as to encourage them to form one of the moſt abſurd and ridiculous ſchemes, that can well be imagined. This project was to prevail with Van Hoey, the Dutch miniſter at Paris, to tranſmit to the Engliſh miniſtry a letter, intended to deter them from puniſhing the rebel priſoners.

The French king, it muſt be acknowledged, had no great inclination to countenance ſuch a meaſure; but being ſtipulated, and even reproached, by Tencin and his clergy, he was at laſt induced to order his miniſter, d'Argençon, to write a letter to Van Hoey, in favour of the Britiſh rebels.

Had Van Hoey acted with that caution and circumſpection, which his character and ſtation required, he would have entirely ſuppreſſed this letter; but his vanity and weakneſs, and, above all, his declared attachment to the French court, would not permit him to purſue ſo rational a ſtep. He immediately tranſmitted it to the duke of Newcaſtle, together with a letter of his own, in which he preſumed to enforce the ſame topics. The duke laid the letter before his majeſty, who, conceiving it to be contrary to the honour and dignity of his crown, forbade any anſwer to be returned to d'Argençon; and directed Mr. Trevor, the Britiſh miniſter at the Hague, to preſent a very ſevere remonſtrance again Van Hoey's conduct, which he affirmed to be equally unjuſtifiable and unprecedented. At the ſame time, he informed their High Mightineſſes, that his majeſty had commanded him to demand of them ſuch a public and diſtinguiſhed ſatisfaction, as might, in ſome meaſure, be proportionable to the ſcandal, which this proceeding had attached to every friend to the honour, liberty, and religion of the two powers. In conſequence of this repreſentation, Van Hoey was ſeverely reprimanded by his maſters, and ordered to preſent a ſubmiſſive letter to the duke of Newcaſtle, ſoliciting pardon for his behaviour; an injunction with which that gentleman found it neceſſary to comply.

The Britiſh miniſters were too magnanimous

who he was. He ſeemed to acquieſce in their miſtake, but refuſed quarter, and died with his ſword in his hand, exclaiming as he fell, "You have killed your prince!" —Independent of theſe generous expreſſions, the perſon ſlain reſembled ſo much, in all reſpects, the deſcription of the pretender given to the army, that an end was immediately put to farther purſuit: and though government pretended to diſcredit the report, a general belief of the pretender's death prevailed, and little ſearch was afterwards made to diſcover him.

* This act has been ſince repealed, from a conviction of its inexpediency. It ſeems extraordinary that it ſhould ever have been ſuppoſed, that men would become more loyal or ſubmiſſive becauſe they were compelled to wear breeches, now with peculiar delicacy denominated *ſmall clothes*.

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to punish the rebels for Van Hoey's imprudence; but there was an absolute necessity for some examples of justice. Bills of indictment for high treason were found by the county of Surry against the earls of Kilmarnock and Cromartie, and lord Balmerino. These noblemen were tried by their peers in Westminster Hall, the lord chancellor presiding as lord high steward on the occasion.

The two earls confessed their crime, and, in pathetic speeches, solicited his majesty's mercy. Lord Balmerino pleaded not guilty: he denied his having been at Carlisle at the time mentioned in the indictment; but this exception was over-ruled; he then moved a point of law in arrest of judgment, and was permitted to be heard by his council. Being informed, however, that this plea was frivolous, he thought proper to acquiesce; and sentence of death was passed upon him and his two associates. Cromartie's life, at the intercession of his lady, was spared; but the other two were beheaded on Tower Hill.

Kilmarnock was a nobleman of elegant accomplishments; he had been educated in revolution principles, and engaged in the rebellion, partly from the desperate situation of his fortune, partly from resentment to the government, on account of his being deprived of a pension, which he had for some time enjoyed. He was attended to the scaffold by Dr. Foster, the celebrated dissenting preacher, and by a clergyman of the church of England, to whom he was nearly related. Foster's enemies pretended, that he had flattered his lordship with the hopes of a pardon, on condition that he manifested a shew of penitence to the last. This calumny, for it was probably no other, received some countenance by Kilmarnock's raising his head after it was laid upon the block, and looking earnestly round among the spectators. He died, however, with decency and composure, and shewed strong marks of penitence.

Balmerino's behaviour, on this solemn occasion, though very different from that of Kilmarnock, was far from such as his enemies reported. He had been bred a soldier, and obeying the dictates of his heart, behaved in a more resolute manner. He would, could he have obtained it, have accepted of a pardon from the crown; but finding all his applications ineffectual, he prepared himself for death with great fortitude and resolution. The most accurate observers could not discover in his eye or gesture, the smallest symptom of concern, much less of fear: but he was so far from being insensible, that he was observed to check his natural boldness, lest the spectators should accuse him of indecency. He maintained his political principles to the last.

By this time lord Lovat had, by the indefatigable zeal of his pursuers, been taken, and, together with Murray of Broughton, conducted to London, where they were imprisoned in the Tower. To the same place had lately been committed the earl of Traquair, who was strongly suspected of having maintained a correspondence with the pretender, and of having taken an active part in fomenting the rebellion. He was one of the seven associators, who had signed a writing, engaging themselves to venture their lives and fortunes, in restoring the Stuart family to the throne of Great Britain. The other six were lord Lovat, sir James Campbell of Auchinbreck, Cameron, the younger, of Lochiel, John Stuart, brother to the earl of Traquair, the earl of Perth, and John Drummond, Perth's brother.

Traquair, it appeared, had been stationed at London, as an agent of the party, to procure them the necessary intelligence, and found the disposition of their English friends; but, in this station, it appeared that he had not acted to the satisfaction of the other conspirators, who accused him of negligence, and even of infidelity.

As Lovat was now in custody, a resolution was formed to prosecute him to the utmost extent of the law: it was at the same time determined, that, in the course of his trial, the whole plan of the rebellion should be laid open to the public; and this could not be effectually done, without making secretary Murray, who was now also a prisoner, an evidence for the crown. Murray, who had been born a gentleman, and had sentiments of honour, would willingly have excused himself from the disagreeable task of appearing in the character of an informer: but, as he had very little regard for Lovat himself, to whose dilatory and wavering conduct he imputed, in a great measure, the ruin of their

canſe; and as he had few diſcoveries to make but what had already been made by the earl of Traquair, he agreed to ſerve the crown on this important occaſion.

So great however had been Lovat's artifice, that government found it difficult to proceed againſt him, as they had done againſt the other lords, by way of indictment; and the commons were therefore obliged to impeach him before his peers. When he was placed at the bar of the upper houſe, he appeared to be very aged and infirm. He had all the indulgence that could poſſibly be expected: counſel and ſolicitors were readily aſſigned him.

In the courſe of his trial, which was long and ſolemn, the evidence againſt him was clear and convincing, and all the particulars of his character and conduct, which have already been mentioned, were fully detailed. Some objections, indeed, were made to the competency of ſecretary Murray's evidence: but it was afterwards allowed to be admiſſible*.

On his being remanded to the Tower, he made ſome attempts to procure a pardon; but, finding his applications were wholly ineffectual, he at once diſcovered his natural diſpoſition, and avowed himſelf a Jacobite and a Papiſt. His behaviour on the ſcaffold was remarkably cheerful and even facetious. He died, not only with compoſure, but with dignity, after having ſurveyed the croud with attention, examined the axe, and jeſted with the executioner, exclaimed in ſeeming triumph,

Dulce et decorum eſt pro patria mori!

"'Tis great, 'tis noble, thrones uſurp'd to ſhake,
"And ſweet to die for our dear country's ſake†."

Courts of judicature were opened in Southwark and in the north of England, for the trial of the rebel officers of inferior note. Out of forty-three, who were condemned at London, no more than ſeventeen were executed on Kennington Common, and in that neighbourhood. Nine were executed at Carliſle, ſix at Brumpton, ſeven at Penrith, and eleven at York. The common men were tranſported to the plantations. Equal lenity was ſhewn in other parts of the kingdom; nor were any put to death, except thoſe, whoſe conduct had been attended with ſome circumſtances of a very aggravating nature.

In November following, Mr. Ratcliff, the titular earl of Derwentwater, who had been taken in a ſhip bound to Scotland, was arraigned on a former ſentence paſſed againſt him in 1716. He refuſed to acknowledge the authority of the court, and pleaded, that he was a ſubject of France, honoured with a commiſſion in the ſervice of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty. The identity of his perſon being proved, a rule was made for his execution: and on the eighth of December he ſuffered decapitation with great ſerenity and compoſure.

The French, taking advantage of the rebellion in England, had made conſiderable progreſs in their conqueſts on the continent. In the beginning of February, marſhal Saxe, to the aſtoniſhment of all Europe, and the terror of the confederates, took Bruſſels, the capital of Brabant; though it was defended by a garriſon of ten thouſand men.

In the month of April, Lewis XV. joined his victorious troops, put himſelf at the head of his army, amounting to one hundred and twenty thouſand men, and advanced towards Antwerp, which immediately ſubmitted. Encouraged by this ſucceſs, he ordered the prince of Conti to inveſt Mons with a ſtrong detachment, an hundred and forty pieces of cannon, and eighty mortars. Though the garriſon did not exceed four thouſand men, they continued, for ſome time, to make a reſolute defence; but, on the twenty-ſeventh of July, they were obliged to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war. The reduction of Mons was followed by that of St. Guiſlain and Charleroy; and the French king,

* The priſoner delivered a long ſpeech in extenuation of the crime, of which he was accuſed. He ſaid, that he had once been in a condition to do ſome ſervice to the government: that, ſhould his life be ſpared, he might ſtill have it in his power to promote the intereſt of the ſame cauſe: that mercy as well as juſtice belonged to ſovereigns: and that, if his majeſty would extend his mercy to him, he would ſhew his loyalty, and deſerve more than twenty ſuch heads as his were worth.

† A ſentiment ſo ſublime from the mouth of a man who had lived in the habitual violation of every moral duty, and whoſe ſole object was ſelf-intereſt, forms a ſevere cenſure on the common patriotic pretenſions.

having

having now made himſelf maſter of Flanders, Brabant, and Hainault, iſſued an edict, re-annexing to his crown all the places which had formerly belonging to it, and had been given up by the treaty of Utrecht.

Meanwhile the allied army, conſiſting of forty-four thouſand men, lay in their entrenchments behind the Demer; and, as they were ſo much inferior to the French in number, they had never attempted to interrupt them in their conqueſts: but being now reinforced by the Heſſian troops from Scotland, and a freſh body of Auſtrians under count Palfy, ſo as to amount, in the whole, to about eighty-ſeven thouſand, including the Dutch forces commanded by the prince of Waldeck, they reſolved to take the field, and give a check to the enemy.

Prince Charles of Lorraine, who commanded them, imagined, that the next ſtorm would fall upon Namur: he, therefore, directed his march towards that place, and took poſt in an advantageous ſituation on the eighteenth of July, in ſight of the French army, which was encamped at Gemblours. Here he continued till the eighth of Auguſt, when a detachment of the enemy, commanded by count Lowendahl, took poſſeſſion of Huy, a town and caſtle of great importance, where they found a large magazine belonging to the confederates, whoſe communication with Maeſtricht was thus cut off.

Mareſchal Saxe, on the other hand, took his meaſures ſo judiciouſly, that they were entirely deprived of all ſupplies of proviſion. Prince Charles therefore re-paſſing the Maeſe, abandoned Namur to the efforts of the enemy, by whom it was immediately inveſted. The trenches were opened on the thirteenth of September; and the garriſon, conſiſting of nine thouſand Dutch and Auſtrians, defended the place with equal ſkill and reſolution; but the cannonading and bombardment were ſo terrible, that, in a few days, the place was converted into a heap of rubbiſh; and on the twenty-ninth of the ſame month, the French monarch took poſſeſſion of this ſtrong fortreſs, which had formerly withſtood ſuch wonderful aſſaults.

In the mean time the confederate army, which encamped in the neighbourhood of Maeſtricht, was joined by ſome Dutch and Bavarian battalions, under ſir John Ligonier; and prince Charles reſolved to give the enemy battle. With this view he croſſed the Maeſe, and advanced towards the French, whom he found ſo advantageouſly poſted at Tongres, that he thought proper to return to Maeſtricht.

On the ſeventh of October, he paſſed the Jaar in his retreat; and his rear was attacked by the enemy, who were repulſed with conſiderable loſs. But the enterpriſing Saxe, being reinforced by a body of troops under the count de Clermont, determined to bring the confederates to an engagement. On the tenth of the month, he paſſed the Jaar, while the allies took poſſeſſion of the villages of Liers, Warem, and Roucoux, and drew up their forces in order of battle.

At break of day the enemy advanced in three columns, each of which was preceded by thirty pieces of artillery; and about noon a terrible cannonading began. At two o'clock, prince Waldec on the left was charged with great fury, and after an obſtinate reſiſtance was obliged to retire. The three villages were attacked in columns by brigades; and as one brigade was repulſed, another ſucceeded; in conſequence of which, the allies were forced to abandon theſe poſts, and retreat towards Maeſtricht with the loſs of five thouſand men. The victory, however, coſt the French general about double that number of lives; though it was attended with no material advantage to them. In this battle, ſir John Ligonier, the earls of Crawford and Rothes, brigadier Douglaſs, major-general Zaſtrow, and almoſt all the officers of the allies, diſtinguiſhed themſelves greatly by their gallantry and good conduct. With this battle, in which the Auſtrians had little ſhare, and which was attended with no ſmall conſequences, the operations of the campaign in the Low Countries ended. Both armies, diſſatisfied with the iſſue of the action, and apparently aſhamed of ſuch an idle waſte of blood, went ſoon after into winter quarters.

Happily for the allies, the houſe of Bourbon was not ſo ſucceſsful this ſummer in Italy, though artful meaſures had been adopted during the winter, to acquire an abſolute ſuperiority over the houſe of Auſtria in that country; where Don Philip and Maillebois, who had been remarkably ſucceſsful the preceding campaign, were ſtill at the head of powerful armies. Lewis XV. being informed of the defection of the king of

Pruſſia, without conſulting the court of Madrid, made advantageous propoſals to the king of Sardinia; which were readily accepted, and a ceſſation of hoſtilities ſigned*. But Lewis had ſoon reaſon to repent of his precipitation. The king of Spain who was ſtill at the head of the adminiſtration, provoked at any diſmemberment of the poſſeſſions intended for the infant Don Philip, accuſed the king of France with a breach of the treaty of Fontainbleau; and though matters were afterwards adjuſted between the two courts, and the treaty with the king of Sardinia broken off, their intereſts ſuffered ſeverely by this miſunderſtanding, which created a temporary jealouſy between the French and Spaniſh armies. An almoſt total inaction was the conſequence; and that inaction produced new jealouſies, and mutual accuſations, which led to the greateſt misfortunes.

In the mean time the king of Sardinia, the moſt politic prince of his time, having in vain ſolicited the ſigning of the definitive treaty with France, made himſelf maſter of Aſti, one of the ſtrongeſt places in Italy, which was garriſoned with five thouſand French troops. The pretence alledged for this violation of his engagements was, the danger of the citadel of Milan falling into the hands of the Spaniards, who were preparing to beſiege it; but his real motive was, a deſire of recovering the confidence of his old, or of bringing matters to a criſis with his new allies. The ſucceſs of the meaſure exceeded his moſt ſanguine expectations. The confederates were confirmed in their opinion of his good faith, and the king of France was ſtill amuſed with aſſurances of friendſhip. Don Philip accuſed Maillebois of treachery in not attempting to recover Aſti†. And the Spaniards, having no confidence in their allies, immediately raiſed the ſiege of the citadel of Milan, and marched to Pavia; while the French general, fearing his communication with Genoa and Provence might be cut off by the Auſtrians, whoſe ſtrength daily increaſed in Italy, evacuated all the countries in the neighbourhood of the Tanaro and the Po, and retired to Novi.

The Auſtrian army, under prince Lichtenſtein, now amounted to forty thouſand men, and that of the king of Sardinia to thirty-ſix thouſand of his own troops. Having no formidable enemy to oppoſe them, on account of the miſunderſtanding between the French and Spaniards, they recovered all the Piedmonteſe fortreſſes; and entering the duchy of Milan, drove Maillebois from Novi, ravaged the territory of Cremona, and took Lodi, Guaſtalla, Parma, and other places. In the mean time a reconciliation having been effected between the courts of Verſailles and Madrid, Maillebois formed a junction with Don Philip at Placenza, and a reſolution was formed to force the Auſtrian camp at St. Lazaro, before the arrival of the king of Sardinia. An attack was accordingly made and ſtrongly ſupported; but ſo maſterly was the conduct of prince Lichtenſtein, and ſo obſtinate the courage of the Auſtrians, that the aſſailants were obliged to retire, after a ſanguinary conteſt of about nine hours, leaving ſix thouſand men dead upon the field, and about an equal number wounded.

Soon after this diſaſter, Don Philip received intelligence of an event which altered the face of affairs in Europe, and threw him and his aſſociates into great perplexity; the death of Philip V. of Spain, in the ſixty-third year of his age. The chief ingredients of his character, during the laſt twenty years of his life, were indolence, uxorioufneſs, and bigotry. Weak, but virtuous; he was governed ſucceſſively by two ambitious women, who infuſed freſh ſpirit into the Spaniſh councils, and rouſed him, notwithſtanding his natural indolence, to the moſt vigorous meaſures, and the moſt arduous enterprizes. He was the firſt prince of the houſe of Bourbon, who ſat upon the Spaniſh throne, under whom the ſlumbering genius of the nation began to revive, and with it the ſplendour of the monarchy. He was ſucceeded by his

* This treaty, which ſecured to Don Philip, beſides Parma and Placenza, a ſhare of the duchy of Milan and all Cremona, had for its chief object, on the part of the king of Sardinia, the independency of Italy. It therefore provided, that no Italian ſtate ſhould be united to the crown of France, Spain, or the Imperial crown. *Mem. de Noailles*, tom. iv.

† He would have ordered that general to be arreſted, had not his rage been moderated by the count de Gages, who commanded under him. *Mem. de Noailles.*

ſon

ſon Ferdinand VI. who at firſt embraced with ardor the principles of the union between the two branches of the houſe of Bourbon, and reſolved ſteadily to purſue the objects for which that union had been formed by Elizabeth Farneſe, the queen-dowager, who ſtill directed the councils of Madrid.

Don Philip and Maillebois, however, ignorant of the ſentiments of the new king with regard to the Italian war, and ſtrongly preſſed by the allies, began to think of ſecuring his communication with France. A retreat was therefore agreed upon. This was conſidered as a very deſperate expedient, and as ſuch oppoſed by the count de Gages, as the king of Sardinia had now joined the Auſtrian army, and aſſumed the chief command. But without the aſſurance of immediate ſupport, it was perhaps the beſt that could be adopted in ſuch circumſtances, as the French and Spaniards were in danger of being incloſed between the Po, the Lambro, the Tidona, and the Trebbia, by a vaſtly ſuperior and victorious force.

The retreat was conducted with great ability by the count de Maillebois, ſon of the mareſchal of that name. He led the van, and his father and the count de Gages brought up the rear: but they could not prevent the king of Sardinia from attacking them to advantage at Rotto Fredo, where they behaved with great gallantry, but ſuffered a ſevere loſs. The ſurrender of Placenza, which was defended by four thouſand men, under the marquis de Caſtello, was the conſequence of this victory.

The Piedmonteſe and Auſtrians, conducted by the king of Sardinia, aſſiſted by the generals Botta and Brown (prince Lichtenſtein having retired on account of indiſpoſition) now advanced to Tortona, which was ſurrendered to them, while the French and Spaniards took ſhelter under the cannon of Genoa. Here a ſtrong oppoſition was expected, as that city, by its ſituation, is very capable of defence. But the marquis de las Minas, who had ſucceeded the count de Gages, thought it imprudent to hazard the loſs of the remains of the Spaniſh army. Maillebois concurred in his opinion, and the Genoeſe, after repeated aſſurances of ſupport, were abandoned to their fate. Don Philip retired towards Savoy, which was ſtill in his poſſeſſion, and Maillebois into Provence.

The retreat of the French and Spaniards was immediately followed by the ſurrender of Genoa. That haughty republic was, at this time, an object of ſo much importance to the welfare of the common cauſe, that all Europe was intereſted in its fate. It was now ſubjected to the moſt humiliating conditions, and the proud city oppreſſed with arbitrary demands. The arrogance and rapacity of Botta, the Auſtrian general, to whom the command of the place was committed, exceeded all deſcription. And being encouraged in his tyrannical proceedings by the court of Vienna, which ſeemed determined to reduce the Genoeſe to the moſt abject ſtate of wretchedneſs; moſt cruel exactions, and even thoſe of Coteck, the commiſſary-general, who ſurpaſſed him in rapacity, were thought too mild and moderate*.

The Auſtrian and Piedmonteſe armies having no longer any enemy to encounter, the commanders were employed in deliberating towards what quarter they ſhould direct their arms. Botta, knowing the heart of his miſtreſs was

* The Genoeſe, unable to make any reſiſtance, ſent deputies to Botta, from whom they had ſome reaſon to expect good treatment; but that gentleman threw them down a paper containing the following articles: that one of the gates of the city ſhould immediately be delivered up: that the ſenate ſhould order the garriſon of Gavi, as well as that of Genoa, to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war to the Auſtrians: that, as long as the war ſhould continue, the Auſtrians and their allies ſhould have free acceſs into all the cities and fortreſſes of the republic: that all the harbours and ports of the ſtate ſhould be open and free to the Auſtrians and their allies, their ſailors and ſhip-maſters: that the Genoeſe ſhould commit no hoſtilities againſt the Auſtrians or their allies, nor ſuffer them to be committed by any of their ſubjects: that they ſhould immediately deliver up all the arms, artillery, and other warlike ſtores, belonging to the French, Spaniards, and Neapolitans, and diſcover all the officers and ſoldiers of theſe nations now in Genoa, without the leaſt exception: that all the Auſtrian priſoners and deſerters ſhould be inſtantly given up: that the Doge, together with ſix ſenators, ſhould repair to Vienna, to implore the queen's clemency, and aſk her pardon: that they ſhould give four ſenators as hoſtages for the performance of theſe articles; and, beſides paying immediately fifty thouſand ſequins to be diſtributed among the ſoldiers, they ſhould oblige themſelves to pay to count Choteck, commiſſary-general of the army in Italy, whatever ſum ſhould be agreed on: and finally, that they ſhould have twenty-four hours and no more to deliberate whether or not they would ſurrender upon theſe conditions.

ſet upon recovering Naples, propoſed that the Genoeſe ſhould be compelled to furniſh tranſports for invading that kingdom. And had ſuch invaſion been inſtantly undertaken, it could not have failed of ſucceſs, as the king of Naples had few regular troops beſides thoſe in the army of Don Philip.

But the king of Sarpinia had other intereſts to attend to. He had no deſire to ſee the houſe of Auſtria too powerful in Italy. He therefore perſuaded the court of London, which held the purſe, and conſequently had the principal direction in the courſe of a long and expenſive war, that it would be more advantageous to the common cauſe to invade France; and that by the co-operation of the Britiſh fleet, not only Antibes, but Toulon and Marſeilles, might eaſily be reduced. The conſent of the court of Vienna was obtained, and count Brown entered Provence at the head of fifty thouſand men. Advancing as far as Draguignan, he levied contributions on the whole country; while baron Roth inveſted Antibes, which was at the ſame time bombarded by a Britiſh ſquadron, under vice-admiral Medley. But the mareſchal de Belleiſle, a man fruitful in reſources, and perfectly acquainted with the whole ſcience of war, having ſucceeded Maillebois in the command of the French army, ſo effectually cut off the proviſions of the invaders, and otherwiſe harraſſed them, that the Auſtrian general found himſelf under the neceſſity of repaſſing the Var; and the ſiege of Antibes was relinquiſhed, after many fruitleſs efforts both by ſea and land, the place being gallantly defended by the chevalier de Sade*.

The naval tranſactions of this year reflect little honour on the Britiſh flag. Nothing of any importance happened in the Weſt Indies. In the Eaſt Indies, commodore Peyton, who commanded ſix large ſhips, ſhamefully declined a ſecond engagement with a French ſquadron of equal or inferior force; and la Bourdonnais, the French Commander, in conſequence of Peyton's timidity, made himſelf maſter of Fort Saint David's, and the other Britiſh factories in India, on the coaſt of Coromandel. No event of any conſequence happened on the coaſt of North America, though it was a ſcene which promiſed much ſucceſs to the Britiſh arms.

The Britiſh miniſtry, encouraged by the taking of Louiſbourgh and Cape Breton, had projected the reduction of Quebec, the capital of Canada, ſituated on the river St. Laurence. Intelligence to this effect was accordingly ſent to the governors of the Engliſh colonies in North America, and ten thouſand provincial troops were actually raiſed to favour the attempt. Six regiments were prepared for embarkation at Portſmouth, and ſucceſs was expected to be the conſequence: but the ſailing of the fleet and tranſports was poſtponed, by unaccountable delays, till the ſeaſon of action in thoſe climates was too far advanced. A new direction was therefore given to the enterprize, that the armament might not be wholly uſeleſs to the nation. A deſcent was made on the coaſt of Brittany, in hopes of ſurpriſing Port l'Orient, the repoſitory of the ſtores and ſhips belonging to the French Eaſt India company. But this project alſo failed; though not without alarming the enemy, and ſhewing the poſſibility of ſtriking France in her very vitals, by means of ſuch an armament, if well appointed and vigorouſly conducted. Lefſtock, rear-admiral of the blue, who commanded the fleet, did not properly ſecond the efforts of the army; which being beſides deſtitute of heavy cannon, could make no impreſſion on the place.

The French were diſappointed in an enterprize of a ſimilar nature, and of equal magnitude. A formidable armament was prepared at Breſt for

* The failure of this expedition was in a great degree owing to a very ſingular change of fortune in Italy. The inhabitants of Genoa, driven to deſpair by the oppreſſions of the Auſtrians, had riſen againſt their conquerors, and expelled them. Though degenerate even to a proverb, they ſeem to have inſpired with all their ancient ſpirit of liberty when they felt the galling fetters of ſlavery, and reſolved to attempt the recovery of that freedom which they had not valour to defend. Secretly encouraged in this bold purpoſe by ſome of the ſenators, who alſo directed their meaſures, they flew to arms, determined to periſh to a man, rather than ſurvive life any longer in ſuch a cruel and ignominious ſervitude. And ſo firm was their perſeverance in this reſolution, and ſo vigorous the impulſe by which they were actuated, that the marquis de Botta, after having ſuſtained great loſs, in a variety of ſtruggles, was obliged finally to evacuate the city. Nor did the patriotic zeal of the Genoeſe ſtop here: they took the moſt effectual ſteps for their future ſecurity, convinced that they were ſtill ſurrounded by their oppreſſors.

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the recovery of Cape Breton, and the reduction of the Engliſh ſettlement of Annapolis. It conſiſted of forty ſhips of war, eleven of which were of the line; two artillery ſhips, and fifty-ſix tranſports, carrying three thouſand five hundred land forces, and forty thouſand ſtand of ſmall arms, for the uſe of the Canadians and Indians in the French intereſt, who were expected to co-operate with the troops. The fleet ſailed in June, but did not arrive on the coaſt of Nova Scotia till the beginning of September. A dreadful mortality prevailed on board the tranſports; and the whole fleet was attacked by furious and repeated ſtorms, and either wrecked or diſperſed. D'Anville, the admiral, with difficulty proceeded with a few ſhips to Quebec; while de la Jonquier, who commanded the land forces, and had boaſted that he would ſubdue all the Engliſh ſettlements on the continent of America, finding his men reduced to an inconſiderable number, returned to France without attempting any operation.

The cruiſers on all ſides, whether belonging to the Engliſh, French, or Spaniards, were extremely active; and though the Engliſh loſt the greater number of ſhips, this difference was more than compenſated by the ſuperior value of the prizes taken from the enemy. In the courſe of this year, thirteen Spaniſh privateers and forty ſeven merchant veſſels, including ſix regiſter ſhips, fell into the hands of the Britiſh cruiſers: from the French they took three men of war, thirty eight privateers, two Guinea, and ninety-four Domingo and Martinico ſhips, with ſeveral other veſſels, amounting in the whole to one hundred and forty-three.

The parliament meeting on the eighteenth of November, his majeſty in a ſpeech to both houſes, acquainted them, among other particulars, that the ſtate of the war abroad had received a conſiderable alteration: that though France had made ſome further progreſs in the Netherlands, the United Provinces, whoſe intereſts were ſo materially connected with his, had been protected from that danger, which threatened them at the beginning of the campaign; and that a ſtrong army remained there for their defence: that it had pleaſed God to bleſs the arms of his good allies, the empreſs queen and the king of Sardinia, with ſignal ſucceſſes in Italy: that he had conſented to the holding conferences at Breda, to know whether his enemies would, in reality, agree to ſuch terms as might be conſiſtent with the honour of his crown, and the true intereſts of his kingdoms: that he was ſorry to be obliged, at the ſame time, to acquaint them, that, from the unavoidable accidents and conſequences of war, the funds, appropriated for the ſupport of his civil government, had, for ſome years paſt, fallen conſiderably ſhort of the revenue intended and granted by parliament; and, therefore, he relied on their known affection to him, to adopt ſome ſalutary meaſures to furniſh this deficiency.

Addreſſes of thanks being preſented by both houſes, the commons proceeded to conſider the ſupply. They voted four hundred and thirty-three thouſand pounds to the empreſs queen of Hungary, and three hundred thouſand to the king of Sardinia: they granted four hundred and ten thouſand for eighteen thouſand Hanoverians, and one hundred and ſixty-one thouſand ſix hundred and ſeven pounds for ſix thouſand Heſſians. They continued the ſubſidies to the electors of Cologne, Mentz, and Bavaria, and gave five hundred thouſand pounds to his majeſty for proſecuting the war.

The extinction of the rebellion, the zeal of the parliament; and the moderation of the government, produced ſuch a ſpirit of unanimity in the nation, that the miniſtry was perfectly at leiſure to turn their attention towards peace. Several other circumſtances happily concurred to promote the ſame deſirable event. The king of Spain, one of the belligerent princes, died about this time, and his crown devolved to his ſon Ferdinand. The moderate diſpoſition of the new ſovereign of that country, and his ſuppoſed deſire of a peace with Great Britain, gave hopes of his renunciation of a cloſe union with the ambitious court of Verſailles. The king of Denmark, having alſo departed this life, and been ſucceeded by his ſon, who was married to a princeſs of the royal family of England; ſeemed to prognoſticate a ſpeedy termination to the preſent hoſtilities of Europe.

His Britannic majeſty, to manifeſt his inclination to diminiſh the public expence, conſented to the reduction of three regiments of horſe into dragoons, and propoſed diſbanding the third and

fourth troops of his own life-guards. This propoſal was laid before the commons, by Mr. Fox, ſecretary at war; declaring at the ſame time, that this ſcheme was entirely of his majeſty's own deviſing. The court of Verſailles having diſcovered a ſeeming deſire of peace, a congreſs was opened at Breda towards the end of the campaign; but the French were ſo inſolent in their demands, that the conferences were ſoon broken off, and all parties prepared for war with an increaſe of vigour and animoſity.

The propoſition was received by the commons with the warmeſt ſentiments of gratitude, and was followed by a moſt loyal and affectionate addreſs to his majeſty *.

The arrogance of the French, in this negociationed, alarmed the fears of the Dutch, and inflamed the reſentment and indignation of the Engliſh. The former were convinced of the abſolute neceſſity of returning to their ancient plan of confederacy, with the courts of London and Vienna; and the latter perceived, that nothing could be expected from the people of France, till their marine ſhould be reduced to ſuch a ſtate as might oblige them to hearken to reaſonable terms.

The earl of Sandwich was diſpatched to the Hague, as ambaſſador extraordinary, in order, if poſſible, to perſuade the ſtates to adopt more vigorous and reſolute meaſures; and the better to ſecond the negociations of the miniſter, the duke of Cumberland repaired to Holland, to concert the operations of the enſuing campaign.

A convention was immediately ſettled, by which the Dutch engaged to furniſh forty thouſand men: the king of Great Britain undertook to furniſh an equal number: the empreſs promiſed to provide an army of ſixty thouſand troops; to effect the junction of ſixty thouſand Auſtrians and thirty thouſand Piedmonteſe, to make an irruption into France; and laſtly, to employ a ſeparate body of fifteen thouſand men to awe the king of Sicily. An alliance with the empreſs of Ruſſia was alſo formed at this criſis. The French could no longer depend on the king of Pruſſia, who had declared for a neutrality: they were now deſtitute of the Imperial name, authority, and troops: the forces of the Elector Palatine, and the Landgrave of Heſſe, no longer acted on the ſide of France; and the king of Naples had been obliged to recal his troops into his own dominions.

The king of France prepared to make greater efforts in the field than he had ever done in any former period, and to open the compaign in the Netherlands at the head of one hundred and fifty thouſand men; while a ſeparate army of ſixty thouſand was appointed to act in Provence. To give the greater effect to this immenſe force, he renewed, in the perſon of mareſchal Saxe, the title of mareſchal de camp general, which had not been poſſeſſed by any perſon ſince the time of the great Turenne, and which gave him a ſuperiority over all the mareſchals of France, and even the princes of the blood.

The duke of Cumberland had made excellent diſpoſitions for taking the field early in the ſpring; and in February† his troops were actually in motion. The duke, with the Engliſh, Hanoverians, and Heſſians, fixed his head quarters at the village of Tilberg, in Dutch Brabant; the prince of Waldec was poſted with the Dutch at Breda; and mareſchal Bathiani collected the Auſtrians and Bavarians in the neighbourhood of Venlo.

Saxe, in the mean time, kept his troops in their cantonments, between Bruges, Antwerp, and Bruſſels, where they were furniſhed with plenty of proviſions, and eaſed of all kind of labour and fatigue; while the confederates, through the inexcuſable negligence of the Dutch and Auſtrians, were ill ſupplied with even the common neceſſaries of life, and lay inactive for about ſix weeks.

This inactivity deprived the confederates of all the advantages they had promiſed themſelves from an early campaign; while mareſchal Saxe, by keeping his troops in good condition, had leiſure to form a plan of operations, which, if

* By theſe retrenchments, about ſeventy thouſand pounds were annually ſaved: but the zeal of Gallic miſrepreſentation affirmed, that the king had been obliged, by the impoveriſhed ſtate of the nation, to diſband his houſehold troops; but the credit of this report vaniſhed, and mortification diſpelled the riſing joy of the enemies of Great Britain, when the unprecedented amount of the ſupplies, and the rapidity of the ſubſcriptions to the loans, aſſailed their ears.

† A. D. 1747.

ſteadily

ſteadily purſued, might add credit to his new dignity. This was no other than to carry the arms of France into the very heart of the United Provinces, by inſtantly attacking Dutch Brabant.

A ſcheme for this purpoſe was tranſmitted to the court of Verſailles, in expectation of the king's approbation. There it met with a violent oppoſition from ſuch of the miniſtry, as had adopted the project of peace and commerce. They repreſented, that a direct attack upon the Dutch territories would certainly be attended with a revolution in their government, and, perhaps, with an alteration in the ſyſtem of Europe, which might be productive of the moſt fatal conſequences to the French nation. The ſcheme, however, was ſtrongly ſupported by Tencin and his party; and, the king being of the ſame opinion, orders were ſent to the mareſchal to begin his operations without delay. As a previous ſtep to this invaſion, a declaration was drawn up in the name of the French monarch, and communicated to the ſtates by the Abbé de la Ville, his miniſter at the Hague.

In the mean time, mareſchal Saxe, having ſettled with the French miniſtry the plan of operations, began his military career, taking the field at the head of a prodigious army; and immediately detached his friend and relative count Lowendhal, with twenty-ſeven thouſand men to invade Dutch Brabant. At the ſame time, the French miniſter at the Hague, preſented a memorial to the States, in the name of his maſter, ſtating, that his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, in thus entering the territories of the republic, had no idea of coming to a rupture with their high mightineſſes. He only wiſhed to obviate the dangerous effects of the protection they afforded to the troops of the queen of Hungary and the king of England; that he had therefore, ordered the commander of his troops to obſerve the ſtricteſt diſcipline, and enjoined them not to offer any diſturbance to the religion, government, or commerce of the republic. And he concluded with declaring, that he would conſider the places and countries of which he ſhould be obliged to take poſſeſſion, for his own ſecurity, merely as a pledge, which he promiſed to reſtore, as ſoon as the United Provinces ſhould give ſufficient aſſurance that they would no longer aſſiſt the enemies of his crown.

Mareſchal Saxe had entruſted the execution of his military operations to count Lowendahl, who, with the marquis de Contades, marched from Ghent, and approaching the weſtern extremity of Brabant, with twenty-ſeven thouſand men, laid ſiege to Sluys, which ſurrendered in a few days. Such was the fate of Sas-Van-Ghent, and of ſeveral other places of leſs importance.

The enemy then ſat down before Huliſt, to the relief of which a detachment of three Engliſh battalions was ſent under general Fuller. Part of theſe battalions, being placed in the fort of Sanburgh, which covered Huliſt, continued, for ſome time, to make a vigorous defence, and even ſallied out, with ſucceſs, upon the enemy.

The royal Scotch diſtinguiſhed themſelves particularly on this occaſion. Their major, ſir Charles Erſkine, was killed; lieutenant colonel Abercrombie was wounded; and many of the ſubalterns and private men cut in pieces. At laſt, being over-powered by numbers, they were obliged to retreat under the conduct of lord John Murray, their colonel.

Huliſt, it has been ſaid, might have made a good defence, and La Rocque, the governor, amuſed the allies with pompous accounts of the ſtrength of the place, and with repeated aſſurances of his being able to hold out for a conſiderable time. The duke of Cumberland exerted himſelf with great activity to ſave ſo important a fortreſs; but juſt as he arrived in ſight of the town with a ſtrong body of forces, it was infamouſly ſurrendered by the governor, who happened to be in the French intereſt; nor had he any other intimation of this event than a general diſcharge of the artillery from the fortifications, by which a great many of his men were killed, and even his own perſon was in imminent danger.

While Lowendahl was proceeding thus in the conqueſt of Brabant, mareſchal Saxe, with an army of one hundred and twenty thouſand men, was covering the French conqueſts in the Low Countries, and obſerving the motions of the main body of the confederates, who were poſted

in the neighbourhood of Breda and Bois-le-duc; and, who, though lately reinforced by ſeveral thouſand men from England, found it impoſſible to make any progreſs againſt the enemy.

The memorial of the French court had not been anſwered by the States General; becauſe, as they afterwards properly obſerved, it left them no other choice than that of defending themſelves by force of arms. Even the common people ſeemed ſenſible of its inſolence; and affirmed, that it meant to deprive them of the moſt eſſential right of a ſovereign power, that of fulfilling their ſolemn engagements with their natural and ancient allies.

Count Lowendahl, on his irruption into the Dutch territories, received a ſpirited remonſtrance from two officers of the army, againſt ſuch an unjuſt and unprovoked attack. He addreſſed the officers with great politeneſs, and aſſured them, that the invaſion was ſecretly connived at by the Dutch government itſelf; and that they muſt not be ſurprized if the French met with very little reſiſtance in their progreſs.

The manner in which the Dutch defended their towns, afforded ſufficient reaſon for believing the aſſertion. The friends of the republic, however, who were deſirous of chooſing a ſtadtholder, made an excellent uſe of this declaration, which they printed and diſperſed with the greateſt induſtry. This expedient had the deſired effect. The people were inflamed to a degree of enthuſiaſm. They exclaimed, that they were now in a worſe ſituation, than when they were invaded by Lewis the Fourteenth in 1672; and that ſince they had been betrayed by their governors, it ſemed highly expedient for them to take the adminiſtration out of their hands. It naturally occurred to them, that they had no other reſource than that which they had then adopted; the election of a ſtadtholder; and that that ſtadtholder ſhould be at the head of the houſe of Orange.

The name of this prince was William Henry Frizo, ſon of John William Frizo, prince of Naſſau Diets, who had been left by William the Third of England, ſucceſſor to the hereditary dominions of the houſe of Orange.

He was hereditary ſtadtholder of Frieſland, and he had lately been elected to the ſame dignity by the provinces of Groningen and Guelderland; but the reſt of Holland ſhewed very little regard to his diſtinguiſhed merit, and even his alliance with the royal family of England was ſo far from recommending him to their favour, that it ſeemed rather to render him the object of their jealouſy: for they had actually refuſed him that common rank in their armies, which they had made no ſcruple of conferring upon foreigners.

On the firſt intelligence of the French invaſion, he ſent a letter to the ſtates of Zealand, informing them, that the imminent danger, to which the country was expoſed, had induced him to make them a tender of his ſervice; and that, on the firſt intimation of their pleaſure, he was ready to repair to ſuch places as they ſhould mention, in order to exert his utmoſt abilities for the advantage of the common cauſe.

The ſtates of Zealand, had no ſooner received the letter, than they appointed him their captain-general and admiral. Their example was followed by Rotterdam and the whole province of Holland; and, on the ſecond of May, the prince of Orange was inveſted with the power and dignity of ſtadtholder*, captain general, and admiral of the United Provinces†.

The prince afterwards addreſſed the States in an appropriate ſpeech, which he concluded in a ſtrain ſo nervous, pathetic, and affecting, that the whole aſſembly, from that moment, conceived an exalted idea of his wiſdom, patriotiſm, and eloquence.

The good effects of this alteration in the Dutch government were immediately perceived. All commerce and contracts with the French were prohibited: the peaſants were armed

* The dignity of ſtadtholder had been laid aſide ſince the death of William III.

† On this occaſion count Bentinck, who introduced the new ſtadtholder, addreſſed the States General in the following words—"I doubt not, but the Prince I have "the honour to preſent to you, will tread in the ſteps of "his glorious anceſtors: will heartily concur with us in "delivering from danger the republic now invaded, "and preſerve us from the yoke of a treacherous and "deceitful neighbour, who makes a jeſt of good faith, "honour, and the moſt ſolemn treaties."

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and exerciſed; a reſolution paſſed for making a conſiderable augmentation of the army: a council of war was eſtabliſhed for enquiring into the conduct of the governors, who had ſurrendered the frontier towns: and orders were iſſued for commencing hoſtilities againſt the French, both by ſea and land.

In the mean time, the duke of Cumberland, with his whole army, took poſt between the two Nethes, to cover Bergen-op-Zoom and Maeſtricht; and mareſchal Saxe called in his detachments, reſolving on a general engagement. On the twenty-ſecond of May, the French king arrived at Bruſſels, and his general determined to undertake the ſiege of Maeſtricht. With this view, he advanced towards Louvain; and the confederates, perceiving his aim, began their march to take their ſtation between that town and the enemy. On the firſt of July, they took poſſeſſion of their ground, and were drawn up in order of battle, with their right at Bilſen, and their left at Wirle, having in the front of the left wing, the village of Val, in which they poſted five battalions of Britiſh and Hanoverian infantry.

The French had taken poſſeſſion of the heights of Herdeeren, immediately above the allies; and both armies cannonaded each other till the evening. In the morning, the enemy's infantry marched down the hill, in a vaſt column of ten battalions in front, and as many in depth, and attacked the village of Val; which was fortified and defended with incredible reſolution.

The aſſailants ſuffered greatly in their approach, from the cannon of the confederates, which was ſerved with admirable ſkill and dexterity; and they met with ſo warm a reception from the Britiſh muſketry, that they were unable to keep their ground: but, when they were broken and diſperſed, freſh brigades ſucceeded, with invincible perſeverance. The confederates being thus overpowered by numbers, were obliged to abandon the village; yet, being ſuſtained by four regiments, they returned to the charge, and repulſed the enemy with great ſlaughter. Count Saxe, however, continued pouring in freſh battalions; and the French recovered and maintained their ground in the village, after it had been loſt and carried four ſeveral times. The action was chiefly confined to this poſt, which was covered with the bodies of the dead and dying.

At noon the duke of Cumberland ordered the whole left wing to advance againſt the enemy, whoſe infantry began to recoil. Prince Waldec led on the Dutch, and mareſchal Bathiani brought up the Auſtrians; but neither of them exerted themſelves with their uſual intrepidity. Victory, however, ſeemed for ſome time to incline to the ſide of the allies; when the fortune of the day turned ſuddenly againſt them. Several ſquadrons of Dutch horſe, poſted in the center, gave way, and flying in full ſpeed, overthrew five battalions of infantry, that were advancing from the body of reſerve.

The French cavalry, taking advantage of this confuſion, ruſhed in upon them with great impetuoſity, and penetrated through the lines of the allied army, which was thus divided about the center. The duke of Cumberland, who conducted himſelf with great courage and activity, in endeavouring to rally his broken forces, was in danger of being taken; and the confederates would probably have been routed, had not ſir John Ligonier taken the reſolution of ſacrificing himſelf and a part of the troops to the ſafety of the army. At the head of ſome Britiſh regiments of dragoons, and a few ſquadrons of Imperial horſe, he charged the whole line of the French cavalry with ſuch impetuoſity, that he gave a check to their purſuit, and enabled the duke of Cumberland to effect an orderly retreat to Maeſtricht. Sir John was taken priſoner in this gallant attack; but the regiment he commanded retired with deliberation.

Such was the battle of Val, in which it may be truly ſaid, that the Britiſh troops, aſſiſted by a few Hanoverians and Heſſians, oppoſed the whole French army; and had not the Dutch, by their notorious cowardice, ſuffered the flank of the left wing of the confederates to be expoſed, the victory would doubleſs have been obtained by them.

In this action, much loſs was ſuſtained by both parties. Of the French upwards of ten thouſand are ſuppoſed to have been killed or wounded; and about ſeven hundred became priſoners. Of the allies, about ſix thouſand were ſlain, wounded, or captured. The chief honour of the day reſted with the Britiſh and

ſubſidiary troops. The allies, however, brought off all their artillery, except a few field-pieces: they even took ſeven ſtandards, and eight pair of colours. Beſides ſir John Ligonier, major-general count D'Yſſemburg, major-general Bland, colonel Conway and lieutenant-colonel Robert Sutton, were wounded and made priſoners.

The behaviour of the Dutch in this battle created many ſuſpicions of their fidelity; and the pride of mareſchal Bathiani, which had been piqued in the beginning of the action, was thought to be the real reaſon why he did not exert himſelf with greater ſpirit and alacrity*.

Many were inclined to put very unfavourable conſtructions upon the conduct both of the Dutch and the Auſtrians. They alledged, that the French and they were in concert to ſacrifice the left wing of the allies; and this inſinuation was rendered the more probable by the daſtardly behaviour of the Dutch, and by the ſmall number of troops which the enemy drew up to oppoſe the Auſtrians. Whatever may have been the motive, certain it is, that mareſchal Saxe acknowledged he was ſeveral times repulſed by the valour of the Britiſh troops; hence the *bon-mot* of Lewis XV. "that he thought the Engliſh not only paid "all, but fought all."

After the battle, the confederates paſſed the Maeſe, and encamped in the duchy of Limberg, ſo as to cover Maeſtricht: while the French king remained with his army in the neighbourhood of Tongres. Mareſchal Saxe, having, for ſome time, amuſed the allies with marches and counter-marches, at length ſuddenly detached count Lowendahl with thirty-ſix thouſand men to inveſt Bergen-op-Zoom, the ſtrongeſt fortification of Dutch Brabant, the maſter-piece of the eminent engineer Coehorn, never conquered, and generally deemed impregnable.

It was defended by a garriſon of three thouſand men, under the command of the prince of Heſſe Philiphal; and was well provided with artillery, ammunition, and neceſſaries. The enemy appeared before it on the fifteenth of July, and ſummoned the governor to ſurrender. The prince of Saxe-Hilburghauſen was ſent to its relief, with twenty battalions, and fourteen ſquadrons of the troops which could be moſt conveniently aſſembled: he entered the lines of the town, where he remained in expectation of a ſtrong reinforcement from the confederate army; and the old baron Cronſtrom, whom the ſtadtholder had appointed governor of Dutch Brabant, aſſumed the command of the garriſon.

The beſiegers carried on their attacks with great activity; and the troops in the town defended themſelves with equal ſpirit and reſolution. The attention of all Europe was occupied upon this ſiege, the moſt important that had happened in the whole courſe of the war: count Lowendahl received ſeveral reinforcements; and a conſiderable body of troops was detached from the allied army, under the command of baron Schwartzemburg, to co-operate with the troops that were already in the lines. From the ſixteenth of July to the fifteenth of September, the ſiege exhibited an uninterrupted ſcene of horror and deſtruction: deſperate ſallies were made by the garriſon, and mines ſprung with the moſt dreadful effects: the works began to give way, the town was reduced to aſhes, and the trenches were filled with carnage: nothing was to be ſeen but fire and ſmoke; nothing heard but one continued roar of bombs and cannon. Still, however, the beſiegers were the principal ſufferers, and their ſlain appeared in heaps; while the garriſon ſuffered very little, and could be occaſionally relieved or reinforced from the lines.

It was indeed generally believed, that Lowendahl would be obliged to abandon the enterprize; and by this idea, the governor of Bergen-op-Zoom ſeems to have been lulled into a fatal ſecurity. For, in the morning of the ſixteenth, the French general having thrown a prodigious quantity of bombs into the ravelin, his troops threw themſelves into the foſſé, mounted the breaches, forced open a ſally-port, and en-

* The inaction of Bithiani, the Auſtrian general, is ſaid to have been occaſioned by the following circumſtance. On the eve of the battle, when a French detachment only was ſuppoſed to have occupied the heights of Herdeeren, mareſchal Bathiani aſked permiſſion of the duke of Cumberland, to attack the enemy before they were reinforced, declaring he would anſwer for the ſucceſs of the enterprize. The duke, inſtead of acceding to that propoſal, aſked him, by way of reply, where he ſhould be found in caſe he was wanted: "I ſhall always be found," ſaid Bathiani, "at the head of my troops!" and retired in diſguſt.

tered the place almoſt without oppoſition. So great had been the negligence of the governor, that the enemy had time to extend themſelves along the curtains, and form in order of battle, before the garriſon could be aſſembled. Cronſtrom was ſleeping in ſuppoſed ſecurity, and the ſoldiers on duty had been ſurprized by the ſuddenneſs and impetuoſity of the attack. Though the French had taken poſſeſſion of the ramparts, they did not obtain the town without a ſtrenuous diſpute. Two battalions of the Scotch troops, in the pay of the States General, were aſſembled in the market-place, and fought like furies, till two-thirds of them were cut in pieces. The forces that were encamped in the lines, retreating in the utmoſt precipitation, all the forts in the neighbourhood immediately ſurrendered to the victors, who now became maſters of the whole navigation of the Schelde*.

Intelligence of this event, occaſioned great ſurprize in London, and threw the United Provinces into the utmoſt conſternation. The French king was no ſooner informed of Lowendahl's ſucceſs, than he promoted him to the rank of mareſchal of France, appointed count Saxe governor of the conquered Netherlands, and returned in triumph to Verſailles. "The "peace," ſaid the penetrating and victorious governor, "lies in Maeſtricht."—But the ſiege of that important place being reſerved for next campaign, the French and the allies went into winter quarters, without engaging in any new enterprize; and the duke of Cumberland returned to England.

The campaign in Italy was not equally favourable to the French, though their army in that quarter was ſuperior to that of the enemy. Mareſchal Belleiſle, having compelled the Imperial general to abandon Provence, made himſelf maſter of Nice, Montalban, Villa-franca, and Ventimiglia; while the Auſtrians were obliged to retire towards Final. The mareſchal, encouraged by this ſucceſs, projected an irruption in the Piedmonteſe territories, the execution of which he committed to the care of his brother the chevalier.

The French, however, were more ſucceſsful in ſupporting the Genoeſe againſt the deſigns of the Auſtrians. The latter were highly exaſperated againſt the former; and Schuylemberg, who commanded the Imperial troops, determined, at all events, to attempt the re-conqueſt of Genoa, though he was but very ill provided with artillery for the purpoſe.

The chief tranſactions of the war beyond the Alps may be briefly enumerated The mareſchal de Belleiſle, having reduced the county of Nice, prepared for the relief of Genoa, which was beſieged by the Auſtrians and the troops of his Sardinian majeſty, who would probably have retaken that capital, if the deſire of ſecuring Piedmont and the Milaneſe, againſt the threatened irruption of the French, had not occaſioned a dereliction of the ſiege. The enterpriſing chevalier de Belleiſle, brother to the mareſchal, now endeavoured to penetrate into Piedmont; but, having aſſaulted the entrenchments near Exillies, he raſhly ſacrificed his life; and his men were defeated with great ſlaughter; a repulſe which effectually checked the progreſs of the intruders.

The naval tranſactions of this year were remarkably favourable to Great Britain. But though her ſucceſſes were almoſt beyond example, they were more advantageous than glorious, as ſhe had a manifeſt ſuperiority of force in every engagement. The Engliſh fleet under the admirals Anſon and Warren, conſiſting of eleven ſail of the line, three ſhips of fifty, and one of forty guns, fell in with a French fleet of ſix ſail of the line, as many frigates, and four armed veſſels, in the beginning of May, off Cape Finiſterre. The French fleet was commanded by the marquis de la Jonquiere and Monſ. St. George, having under their convoy twenty-nine ſhips laden with ſtores and merchandize, bound for America and the Eaſt Indies. The French ſhips of war immediately ſhortened ſail, and formed a line of battle. The Britiſh ſquadron was alſo drawn up in a line of battle. About four in the afternoon an action began: and though the French ſeamen and commanders behaved with ſingular courage,

* Cronſtrom's behaviour, during the whole of this ſiege was extremely negligent; but, in the laſt attack, it was altogether inexcuſable. Though there were twenty thouſand men in the lines, he had not brought one of them into the town; and, had it not been for the bravery of the Britiſh troops he would have been taken priſoner in his bed.

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and discovered no deficiency of conduct, six ships of war and four armed East Indiamen were taken, and about seven hundred men were killed or wounded in the engagement: the English lost about five hundred, among whom was captain Grenville of the Defiance. About six weeks after this engagement, and nearly in the same latitude, commodore Fox fell in with a fleet of merchantmen, from St. Domingo, laden with the rich productions of that fertile island, and took forty-six of them*.

Admiral Hawke was equally successful. He had sailed from Plymouth in the beginning of August, with fourteen ships of the line, to intercept a fleet of French merchantmen bound for the West Indies. He cruised for some time off the coast of Brittany: and at last the French fleet sailed from the isle of Aix, under convoy of nine ships of the line, besides frigates, commanded by Monsr. de Letendeur. On the fourteenth of October, the two squadrons appeared within sight of each other, about seven in the morning, in the latitude of Belleisle. By noon both were engaged. The battle continued till night, when six French ships of the line had struck to the British flag. The rest escaped under cover of the darkness having all maintained the fight with uncommon fortitude and resolution. Their loss in killed and wounded amounted to eight hundred. Of the English about one hundred and fifty were slain, among whom was captain Saumarez, a gallant officer, who had served under lord Anson in his expedition to the Pacific Ocean.

The naval victories, which in a manner annihilated the French fleet, and the sailing of admiral Boscawen, with a strong squadron and a considerable body of land forces, for the East Indies, where it was conjectured he would not only recover Madras, but reduce Pondicherry, disposed Lewis XV. to think seriously of peace, and even to listen to moderate terms, notwithstanding the great superiority of his arms in the Low Countries. Other causes contributed to the same effect. His finances were almost exhausted: the trade of his subjects was utterly destroyed: and he could no longer depend upon the produce of the mines of Mexico and Peru, in the present low state of the French and Spanish navy. The success of his arms in Italy had fallen infinitely short of his expectation; and the republic of Genoa, though a necessary, was become an expensive ally. His views had been totally defeated in Germany, by the elevation of the Grand Duke to the Imperial throne, and the subsequent pacification between the houses of Austria, Bavaria, and Brandenburg. He was still victorious in the Netherlands: but the election of a stadtholder, by uniting the force of the States General against him, deprived him of the hopes of future conquests in that quarter.

Influenced by these considerations, the king of France thought proper to make advances towards an accommodation both at London and the Hague; and all parties, the subsidiary powers excepted, being perfectly tired of the war, a new congress was agreed to be opened at Aix-la-Chapelle, as soon as the plenipotentiaries could receive their instructions†.

But though the negociation was thus far advanced in the beginning of summer, so many difficulties were started by the plenipotentiaries of the different powers, that it was October before matters could be finally adjusted. In the mean time hostilities were carried on both in the East and West Indies; but no memorable event took place. Admiral Boscawen failed in an attempt to reduce the French settlement of Pondicherry, on the coast of Coromandel, though strong hopes were entertained of his success; and admiral Knowles, in an attack upon S. Jago de Cuba‡. Knowles, however,

* A considerable quantity of bullion was found in the prizes, which were brought to Spithead in triumph: and the money was conveyed in waggons to the Bank. His majesty considered this action of so much importance, that he advanced vice-admiral Anson to the peerage, and honoured Mr. Warren with the order of the Bath.

† The king of France was equally unwilling to continue the war. From a full sympathy of Great Britain, he was apprehensive of the reception of those American treasures, by which, though he made an imperfect use of the advantage, he was enabled to act. He found his people clamorous for a peace; and his own disposition prompted him to expedite the opportunity of attending to the internal prosperity of his realm. He therefore readily coincided with the pacific views of his ally.

‡ Knowles accused some of his captains of misbehaviour, and they recriminated the charge on him. On their return to England, their conduct was subjected to the inquiry of a court-martial. Those who adhered to the admiral, and those whom he impeached, were inflamed

ever, took Port Lewis, on the ſouth ſide of Hiſpaniola, and demoliſhed the fortifications. He alſo defeated, off the Havannah, a Spaniſh ſquadron of equal force with his own, and took a ſhip of the line. In the ſeas of Europe, the maritime incidents were not remarkable. Hawke, who had been enrolled among the knights of the bath for his ſervices in the preceding year, cruiſed with a ſquadron on the Gallic coaſt; but the French were unwilling to meet him. His cruiſe, however, was not wholly unſucceſsful. Two of his ſhips, being detached in purſuit of a diſtant veſſel, compelled her to yield, after a long conflict; and ſhe was found to be the principal ſhip of a ſquadron intended for the Eaſt Indies. In the Mediterranean, vice-admiral Byng continued to obſtruct the conveyance of ſupplies to the Genoeſe and their military friends. At length the definitive treaty was ſigned, and hoſtilities ceaſed in all quarters.

This treaty had for its baſis a general confirmation of all preceding treaties, from that of Weſtphalia to the laſt concluded at London and Vienna; and for its immediate object, as the means of a general pacification, a mutual reſtitution of all conqueſts made ſince the beginning of the war, with a releaſe of priſoners without ranſom. The principal ſtipulations provide, that the duchies of Parma, Placenza, and Guaſtalla, ſhall be ceded, as a ſettlement, to the infant Don Philip, and the heirs male of his body; (but, in caſe he or his deſcendants ſhall ſucceed to the crown of Spain, or that of the Two Sicilies, or die without male iſſue, thoſe territories ſhall revert to the preſent poſſeſſors, the empreſs queen of Hungary and the king of Sardinia, or their deſcendants:) that the ſubjects of his Britannic majeſty ſhall enjoy the Aſſiento contract, with the privilege of the annual ſhip, during the reverſionary term of four years, which has been ſuſpended by the war; that all the contracting powers ſhall guarantee to his Pruſſian majeſty the duchy of Sileſia and the county of Glatz, as he at preſent poſſeſſes them: and that ſuch of the ſame powers as have guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction of the emperor Charles VI. for ſecuring to his daughter, the preſent empreſs queen of Hungary and Bohemia, the undivided ſucceſſion of the houſe of Auſtria, ſhall renew their engagements in the moſt ſolemn manner, with the exception of the ceſſions made by this and former treaties.

Such was the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, which has been ſo unjuſtly cenſured by Engliſh writers, who ought rather to have cenſured the unneceſſary war, and the unſkilful manner of conducting it. The peace was advantageous as the confederates could reaſonably expect. They had been exceedingly unfortunate. They had never hazarded a battle, in the Netherlands, without ſuſtaining a defeat; and there was not a proſpect of their being more ſucceſsful, had they been reinforced with thirty thouſand Ruſſians. But matters were ſo ill conducted, that the Ruſſians could not have joined them till the ſeaſon of action would have been nearly expired; and had they been ready ſooner, it is ſuppoſed the king of Pruſſia would have interpoſed, from a jealouſy of the aggrandiſement of the houſe of Auſtria, on whoſe embarraſſments he depended for the tranquil poſſeſſion of his conqueſts. The reſources of France were indeed nearly exhauſted:—her navy was deſtroyed: and Lewis XV. made ſacrifices proportioned to his neceſſities. But great as his neceſſities were, he could have continued the war another year; and the progreſs of his arms during one campaign, it was feared, might awe the Dutch into ſubmiſſion. A confederacy, always ill combined, would have been broken to pieces; and the hoſtile powers, left ſeparately at the mercy of the houſe of Bourbon, muſt have acceded to worſe conditions; or England muſt have hired new armies of mercenaries, to continue a ruinous and continental war, in which ſhe was hardly intereſted *.

flamed againſt each other with the moſt implacable reſentment. The admiral received a gentle reprimand for not beginning the action ſooner, and for neglecting to ſhift his flag on board another ſhip, when he found his own diſabled. Two of his captains were alſo cenſured: but captain Holmes, of the Lenox, who had behaved with remarkable courage, was honourably acquitted.

The animoſities of the officers did not end with the court martial. Captain Innes and captain Clarke met by appointment in Hyde Park, with piſtols: the former was killed upon the ſpot; the latter was tried, and condemned for murder: but as it appeared that he had only accepted the challenge, he obtained his majeſty's pardon.

* Articles of peace, vol. ix.

If, upon the whole, the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, was dangerous to Great Britain, yet ſuch a peace was preferable to the continuance of a war, in which ſhe laviſhed her treaſures among the mercenary princes of Europe, and wantonly ſacrificed her people in the cauſe of the houſe of Auſtria. Though Spain acquired nothing for herſelf by the treaty, ſhe derived ſome ſatisfaction and advantage from the ſurrender of the Italian ſovereignty to an individual of her royal family. She was greatly weakened, however, by the war, and rejoiced in the reſpite which ſhe now obtained.

But though the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle cannot be deemed unfavourable to the confederates, or by any means an improper meaſure, it muſt be obſerved, that it was the neceſſary conſequence of ſuch a long and deſtructive war—of a war, ſingular in the annals of mankind; by which, after a wonderful deſtruction of the human ſpecies, and a variety of changes of fortune, all parties (the king of Pruſſia excepted, whoſe ſelfiſh and temporizing policy cannot poſſibly be juſtified) may be ſaid to have been ſufferers.

The young pretender had continued at Paris ever ſince the miſcarriage of his attempt upon Scotland. His agents had, during the treaty of Aix la-Chapelle, preſented a proteſt in his name, which had been rejected with ignominy; and he himſelf had received information, that, after the concluſion of the peace, he could not be permitted to reſide any longer in the French dominions.

He ſeemed to receive this intimation with great indifference and ſome reſentment. When it was repeated to him, he declared to the duke de Gefvers, that it was not in his maſter's power, conſiſtently with his engagements, to expel him from his dominions; and he defied the menaces of the French king.

There appears to have been ſome truth in the youth's allegation; for Lewis, inſtead of contradicting it, wrote him a ſoothing letter with his own hand, intreating him to withdraw into another country. At the ſame time he procured him a ſafe aſylum in the territory of Friburgh, one of the Swiſs cantons; and offered him a handſome penſion for his ſubſiſtence. Charles, however, would not liſten to this propoſal. He abſolutely refuſed to quit that country; and, even after the arrival of the earl of Suſſex, and lord Cathcart, who were ſent as the Britiſh hoſtages to Paris, he appeared publicly on all occaſions, and affected to be treated in their preſence with the diſtinctions he had aſſumed.

The two noblemen complaining of his conduct, the French king applied to his father, who ſent a ſevere, though affectionate, letter to his ſon, upbraiding him with his folly, and adviſing him to comply with the neceſſity of the times. This expedient had no better effect than the former. Charles continued obſtinate, and appeared in all public places with an air of triumph and exultation.

He even affected the manners of Charles the Twelfth of Sweden; and his followers pretended, that, if any coercive meaſures ſhould be taken againſt him, he was reſolved to defend himſelf to the laſt extremity. The populace of Paris ſeemed to eſpouſe his quarrel; and the government began to be apprehenſive of an inſurrection in his favour. The French king, therefore, had recourſe to more ſerious methods. A body of guards were ordered under arms; and Charles, while ſtepping out of his coach into the opera-houſe, was made priſoner; and being ſecured with a cord like a common felon, was conducted firſt to Vincennes, and thence to the frontiers of the kingdom.

This ignominious treatment of one, whom the people of France conſidered as the lineal deſcendant of their beloved Henry the Fourth, was conſidered as a ſignal ſacrifice to the glory of England. Reciprocal complaints paſſed between the two courts: the earl of Albemarle was appointed ambaſſador extraordinary to the French king; and the marquis de Mirepoix arrived at London in the ſame capacity: the reſort of the Engliſh to France, and of the French to England, was greater than had ever been obſerved on any former occaſion: and a general opinion prevailed, that the peace between the two nations was eſtabliſhed on a ſolid and laſting foundation.

By this time, his Britannic majeſty had returned to England; and the parliament meeting on the twenty-ninth of November, he made a ſpeech to both houſes, informing them, among other particulars, that the definitive treaty of peace had been ſigned by all the parties concerned

cerned in the war: and that he had made the moſt effectual proviſion for ſecuring the rights and intereſts of his ſubjects, and for procuring to his allies the moſt advantageous conditions, that the ſituation of affairs would admit.

This ſpeech was anſwered by loyal addreſſes from both houſes; though that of the lower was violently oppoſed. The prince of Wales's ſervants, conceiving they were not rewarded in proportion to their merit, had lately made it a maxim to oppoſe the meaſures of the court.

Complaints were made againſt the folly of the miniſtry, in concluding a peace before the arrival of the Ruſſian auxiliaries: and a menace was made of a ſtrict enquiry into the conduct of thoſe, who had agreed to conditions ſo little adequate to the ſucceſſes of the war. The motion, however, was ſo ſtrenuouſly ſupported by Mr. Pelham, and Mr Murray the ſolicitor general, that the party did not think proper to hazard a diviſion.

Though the peace was re-eſtabliſhed, and a reduction had been made, as well in the land as in the ſea forces, it was found impoſſible, for ſome time, to diminiſh proportionably the public expences. When the commons proceeded to conſider the ſupply, they examined the ſums that would be abſolutely neceſſary for making good the engagements of the parliament to his majeſty, and the ſervices performed in the proſecution of the war; diſcharging debts; ſupplying deficiencies; and providing for the current ſervice of the year.

The whole ſupply for this year amounted to almoſt eight millions ſterling; an immenſe ſum; but againſt which none exclaimed with greater vehemence than the miniſtry, who, nevertheleſs, admitted that it was abſolutely neceſſary for the public ſervice*.

On the thirteenth of June, his majeſty cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he informed the parliament, that the terms and conditions of the definitive treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle had been carried into execution by the ſeveral contracting powers with great punctuality and good faith, ſo far as the time and the diſtance of places would admit†.

The diſbanding the army, as might reaſonably be expected, had crouded the nation with diſſolute and diſorderly perſons, who preyed upon the ſubſtance, and endangered the lives of their fellow ſubjects: to remedy this alarming evil, the earl of Hallifax, firſt lord of trade and plantations, projected a ſcheme for eſtabliſhing a civil government in Nova Scotia, by granting lands to ſuch officers and private men, as ſhould be willing to ſettle in any part of the world.

A conſiderable body of adventurers were now tranſported to the Bay of Chabucto, at the public expence: lands were aſſigned to them; and colonel Cornwallis, who had been appointed governor of the ſettlement, laid the foundations of a town, to which, from the title of the chief encourager of the ſcheme, the appellation of Hallifax was given. Anapolis ceaſed to be conſidered as the capital of the province; and that honour devolved to the new town‡.

The Britiſh parliament meeting on the ſixteenth of November, his majeſty, in his ſpeech to both houſes, ſaid, it was with particular plea-

* About this time, an Engliſh trader, having decoyed the ſon of a conſiderable African prince, had ſold him and his companion (neither of them exceeding the age of eighteen years) to a Britiſh planter. The miniſtry were no ſooner informed of this incident, than they ordered the ranſom to be paid, and the young Moors to be conducted to England; where, having given them a proper education, and cloathed and equipped them ſuitably to their rank, they cauſed them to be ſent back to their native country; a favour, it is ſaid, of which the prince ever after retained a moſt grateful remembrance.

† The attention of the public was, at this time, engaged by an incident of a ſingular nature Some young Oxonians had been guilty of ſeveral treaſonable practices, particularly of drinking the pretender's health. The vice-chancellor, and heads of houſes, with the proctors of the univerſity, publiſhed a declaration, expreſſing their utter deteſtation of ſuch factious and ſeditious practices, and their firm and determined reſolution to puniſh, with the utmoſt ſeverity and rigour of the ſtatutes, all perſons who ſhould be convicted of ſuch offences.

But, as no ſignal puniſhment had been inflicted on the delinquents whoſe behaviour had been attended with very aggravating circumſtances, the government ordered three of them to be taken into cuſtody; two of whom, Dawes, and Whitmore, were tried in the court of King's Bench, and being found guilty on the cleareſt evidence, were ſentenced to walk throngh the courts of Weſtminſter with a paper on their foreheads, proclaiming their crimes, to pay a fine of five nobles each, to be impriſoned for two years, and to find ſecurity for their good behaviour during ſeven years more.

‡ This patriotic plan met with the ſucceſs it deſerved. By the beginning of May, no leſs than three thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty perſons and families had engaged themſelves to go to Nova Scotia.

ſure,

ſure, that he now met them, at a time when the re-eſtabliſhment of a general peace had reſtored to his people the bleſſings of peace and tranquillity: that the good effects reſulting from hence were already apparent in the flouriſhing condition of commerce, and the advance of public credit, which naturally laid the ſureſt foundation of an increaſe of ſtrength, and of durable proſperity to his kingdoms.

Both houſes having preſented addreſſes of thanks, to which little or no oppoſition was made, the commons proceeded to conſider the eſtimates of the enſuing year. The whole ſupply amounted to upwards of four millions. The land forces were fixed at eighteen thouſand eight hundred and fifty-ſeven men; and the number of marines at fifteen thouſand.

In the courſe of this ſeſſion, the mutiny act received conſiderable alterations. The members of a court martial were excuſed from taking the oath of ſecrecy, on their being required, by a court of juſtice, to give evidence as witneſſes in the due courſe of law; and the ſentence of a court martial was declared to be reviſable no more than once.

The daſtardly behaviour of the Dutch, during the late war, had contributed greatly to alienate the minds of the Engliſh from thoſe republicans; and this averſion was productive of an event of the utmoſt importance to Great Britain; a ſcheme for improving the Britiſh fiſhery. The ſpirit of the nation was ſtill further ſtimulated by a petition to parliament, from the inhabitants of Southwold and Loweſtoff, who declared, that the Dutch had, for the ſpace of eight years paſt, fiſhed ſo near the ſhore, that their nets ſwept upon the ground; which prevented the inhabitants from fiſhing, as a hundred Dutch fiſhing veſſels had frequently at once been anchoring in their harbour in two or three fathom water; and that, when the inhabitants complained of this unwarrantable encroachment, the Dutch had threatened to ſink their veſſels, or deſtroy their nets.

The commons, having peruſed this petition, and examined the particulars with attention, agreed at laſt to the following reſolutions; that the carrying on the Britiſh white herring, and cod fiſheries, would be of great advantage to the trade and navigation of theſe kingdoms; and that every impediment to ſuch trade ought to be removed with all convenient diſpatch; that, as a further encouragement to all perſons to engage in theſe fiſheries, a bounty of thirty ſhillings per ton ſhould be granted, and paid out of the cuſtoms, to all new veſſels from twenty to twenty-eight tons burthen, which ſhould be conſtructed for that purpoſe, and actually employed in the fiſheries: that, in order to induce adventurers to employ their money in theſe fiſheries, a ſociety ſhould be incorporated, under the name of The Free Britiſh Fiſhery, by a charter, though not excluſive, with power to raiſe a capital, not exceeding five hundred thouſand pounds, and that three and a half per cent. ſhould be granted and paid out of the cuſtoms to the proprietors for fourteen years, for ſo much of the capital as ſhould be actually employed in ſuch fiſheries.

A bill was prepared upon theſe reſolutions, which paſſed through both houſes, and received the royal aſſent. The affairs of the ſociety were committed to the management of a council conſiſting of thirty members. The prince of Wales was choſen governor, Slingſby Bethel, preſident, and Stephen Theodore Janſſen, vice-preſident.

On the twelfth of April, his majeſty repaired to the houſe of peers, and ordered the parliament to be prorogued. Immediately after the prorogation, he ſet out for his German dominions, having firſt appointed a council to govern the kingdom in his abſence.

So great was the harmony, which at this time prevailed between France and England, that each court ſeemed emulous in expreſſing their mutual regard and attachment*.

Equal reſpect was ſhewn by the Britiſh court to the marquis de Mirepoix, the French ambaſſador at London. The motives, however, by

* The earl of Albemarle, the Engliſh ambaſſador at Paris, having complained of the French kalendar, in which the young pretender was mentioned in ſuch a manner as to give offence to the Britiſh nation, the miniſters ordered the author of the kalendar to be ſent to the Baſtile, and the work to be ſuppreſſed; a ſtrict charge was alſo given to the licenſers of the preſs, not to ſuffer any thing to be printed, which might afford cauſe of umbrage to the powers with which France was at peace.

which the two nations were actuated, appear to have been extremely different. The Engliſh ſeem to have been ſincere in their profeſſions; but the French complaiſance was nothing more than artifice, intended as a cloak to cover the ambitious deſigns they had formed of engroſſing the whole empire of North America, and extirpating the Engliſh from that part of the globe.

Intelligence of this had, ſoon after the concluſion of the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, been tranſmitted to the Engliſh miniſtry by their governors in America; and proper inſtructions had been diſpatched to the colonies to reſiſt all encroachments attempted to be made upon the Britiſh territories. The earl of Albemarle had alſo been ordered to remonſtrate, in the moſt vigorous manner, againſt ſuch unwarrantable proceedings: but that nobleman, unhappily, was no politician; and all his remonſtrances had ſo little effect, that the French were rather encouraged than deterred by his repreſentations. Afraid, however, of rouſing, too ſoon, the jealouſy of the Engliſh, they conſented to refer the diſpute to the deciſion of commiſſioners, who were to meet at Paris for that purpoſe*.

The dejection occaſioned by theſe melancholy events was, in ſome meaſure, removed by the birth of a ſon to the prince of Wales, who was born on the thirteenth of May, and baptiſed by the name of Frederic William.

In the month of November, his majeſty returned from his German dominions, and on the ſeventeenth of January†, he opened the parliament with a moſt gracious ſpeech, chiefly importing, that he had taken care to ſtrengthen and conſolidate the ties of union between himſelf and his allies.

Both houſes having preſented addreſſes of thanks, the commons proceeded to conſider a caſe of a very delicate and intereſting nature. Lord Trentham, eldeſt ſon of earl Gower, and one of the repreſentatives for Weſtminſter, having, in the courſe of the former ſeſſion, accepted of the place of a lord of the admiralty, his ſeat in parliament became vacated; and having again declared himſelf a candidate, he met with a powerful opponent in the perſon of ſir George Vandeput, a private gentleman, who was powerfully ſupported by the friends of the prince of Wales, and by all thoſe who aſſumed the name of independent electors.

His intereſt was ſtill farther injured by an incident of another kind. A ſet of French players having obtained leave to perform in the little theatre in the Haymarket, had been inſulted and thrown at by the audience; and ſome young noblemen and gentlemen having been incautious enough to eſpouſe their cauſe, and to draw their ſwords upon the audience, it was affirmed in print, and even certified by affidavit, that lord Trentham was of the number.

Though the whole of this allegation was afterwards proved to be an infamous falſehood, it tended greatly to his lordſhip's prejudice. It appeared, however, that he had a majority upon the poll; and the other candidate therefore demanded a ſcrutiny, which was readily granted by the high bailiff, the returning officer.

The affair was zealouſly conducted on both

* While this affair remained in ſuſpenſe, the people of England were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation by two ſhocks of an earthquake, the former happening in February, the latter in March. Though neither of them were violent, yet being ſtrange and alarming, they filled the whole nation with the moſt dreadful terror and aſtoniſhment: which was greatly augmented by the ridiculous predictions of a wild enthuſiaſt, who pretended to foretel, that, in a little time, another ſhock would happen, which would lay all London and Weſtminſter in ruins.

The fanatic happened to be miſtaken in his conjecture; but the two ſhocks which had already been felt, had the effect of repreſſing, for a time, the ſpirit of diſſipation and profligacy. The biſhop of London wrote and diſtributed paſtoral letters on the occaſion; and though the fit of devotion ſoon wore off, the impreſſion it made, wrought a viſible amendment in the morals of the people.

An incident much leſs alarming, was more deſtructive to the lives of individuals. The priſon of Newgate having contracted an infection from foul air, occaſioned by the number of perſons confined in it, proved fatal, at the trials at the Old Bailey, to ſir Samuel Pennant, lord mayor; ſir Daniel Lambert, an alderman; Mr. Clark, a baron of the exchequer; ſir Thomas Abney, a judge of the common pleas; ſir John Stracey, recorder of London; to many of the lawyers who attended the ſeſſions; to the greateſt part of the jury, and a vaſt number of the ſpectators.

In conſequence of this cataſtrophe, ventilators were firſt introduced into the ſeſſions-houſe, in the Old Bailey; and ſince that judicious expedient has been adopted, no recurrence of ſuch an accident has happened.

† A. D. 1750

ſides; and ſuch was the implacable animoſity of the two parties, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty the more moderate among them, could prevent the more furious from ſometimes proceeding to blows. Each was attended with counſel, managers, and agents: and all the arts of deception and engines of violence were employed to eſtabliſh and overturn the validity of votes. Sir George's party was the moſt noiſy and boiſterous; and the high bailiff, during the whole of the election, appeared to be leaning to their intereſt; a circumſtance, which gave him ſo much credit with the populace, that matters were conducted with tolerable order.

But the commons having received intelligence that he experienced obſtructions in the execution of his office, ſent for him to the houſe; and a ſtrict charge was given him, that if any one ſhould preſume to moleſt him in the exerciſe of his duty, he ſhould inform againſt ſuch daring offenders. Notwithſtanding this intimation the high bailiff proceeded with great prudence and circumſpection; but all his moderation could not appeaſe the clamours of ſir George's friends, who had recourſe to very unjuſtifiable language, of which the other party threatened to complain.

This matter, however, remained in ſuſpenſe during the whole of that ſeſſion; the concluſion of which was no ſooner proclaimed by firing of the Tower guns, than Mr. Cowle, one of Vandeput's counſel, told his antagoniſt, that all his threats were now *bruta fulmina*, as the power of the houſe was totally expired. The expectations of both parties were now raiſed to the higheſt degree; but great was the ſurprize of Vandeput's adherents, when they ſaw the high bailiff return his competitor. Two petitions were immediately preſented to the houſe againſt this return; one from ſir George's friends, the other from lord Trentham; each complaining of the high bailiff's injuſtice and partiality.

In oppoſition to theſe, lord Trentham, who had now taken his ſeat, produced letters from the heads of Vandeput's party, dated the very night before the making of the return, and directed to the high bailiff, whoſe equal and diſintereſted conduct they greatly applauded. He likewiſe inſiſted, that, for his own vindication, the matter ſhould be brought under the conſideration of the houſe; and accordingly both parties were appointed to be heard on the ſixth of February.

In the mean time a motion was made and carried, that the high bailiff ſhould be called to the bar of the houſe, to give an account of his conduct in the courſe of the laſt ſeſſion, and to know from whom he had received any obſtruction in the execution of his office. The bailiff accordingly made his appearance; and named Mr. Cowle, the honourable Alexander Murray, brother to lord Elibank, and one Gibſon, an upholſterer, as the perſons who had been moſt active in obſtructing him in the diſcharge of his duty. Theſe three perſons were therefore ſummoned to the bar; and Mr. Cowle received a reprimand from the ſpeaker on his knees.

The houſe then proceeded to conſider the caſe of Mr. Murray, and, after a ſhort debate, they came to the following reſolutions; that it appeared to the houſe, that the honourable Alexander Murray, on the fifteenth of May laſt, being the day of returning a member for the city of Weſtminſter, attended by a mob, did, before the return was made, come to the houſe of Mr. Badwin, the deputy high bailiff of the ſame city, and then and there declared, in a menacing manner, that he, and a thouſand more, had ſworn, that the high bailiff ſhould make his return in the middle of Covent Garden, and not in the portico: that the ſaid Alexander Murray, immediately after the return was made, appeared in Covent Garden church-yard, while the returning office was in the veſtry, near the place where the return was made, at the head of a mob, who ſeemed to be for ſir George Vandeput, and did then utter words exciting and inflaming the ſaid multitude to inſult and murder the returning officer; and afterwards, as the returning officer was going away, the ſaid Alexander Murray, perſevering in his wicked purpoſes, did, at the head of the ſaid mob, again excite them to acts of violence, ſaying, with imprecations, "will nobody knock the dog "down! will nobody kill the dog!" or words to that effect.

It was at the ſame time reſolved, that Mr. Murray ſhould be committed to Newgate; and that he ſhould be brought to the bar of the houſe to receive his ſentence upon his knees. This laſt

act of humiliation was impoſed upon him by the influence of the young and more violent members, who heard he had declared, that he would not ſubmit to ſuch an indignity. Their information ſeems to have been well founded: for when Mr. Murray was conducted to the bar, he actually refuſed to kneel; a circumſtance which greatly alarmed the moderate members.

The commons were now at a loſs to determine what puniſhment they could inflict upon him more ſevere than impriſonment. Some of the moſt violent members, indeed, recommended more rigorous meaſures; but the committee, to whom the affair was referred, gave it as their opinion, that there was no precedent of the houſe having exerciſed a more extenſive power. They reſolved, therefore, that Mr. Murray having, in a moſt inſolent and audacious manner, at the bar of the houſe, abſolutely refuſed to appear upon his knees in compliance with their former reſolution, had been guilty of a high and moſt dangerous contempt of the authority and privilege of the houſe: that, for this offence, he ſhould be committed cloſe priſoner to Newgate: and that, while there, he ſhould not be allowed the uſe of pen, ink, or paper, nor be indulged in the privilege of having any perſon admitted to him without the leave of the houſe. Theſe reſolutions were ordered to be put in execution; and accordingly that night, or rather morning, (for it was one before the houſe roſe) Mr. Murray was conducted to Newgate.

Soon after his commitment, he was ſeized with a ſlight indiſpoſition; and the phyſicians reporting that his health was in danger, the houſe conſented to his being removed from Newgate, and taken into the cuſtody of the ſergeant at arms: but he had the reſolution to reject this offer, and continue in priſon till the end of the ſeſſion; at the concluſion of which, being delivered from his confinement, he made a kind of triumphant proceſſion to his own houſe, accompanied by the ſheriffs of London, with a large train of coaches, amidſt the acclamations of his party.

While the parliament was proceeding with the public buſineſs, an event occurred, which was deplored by every patriotic and feeling mind, the death of Frederic, prince of Wales, who, having contracted an abſceſs in the lungs, expired on the tenth of March, in the forty-fifth year of his age.

The character of this prince, in all the different relations of life, was not only irreproachable, but even worthy of the higheſt eſteem and veneration. The qualities of his heart were attractive: he was humane, ſincere, benevolent, friendly, and munificent; and his moral virtues were equal to his ſocial endowments. Poſſeſſed of a conſiderable ſhare of learning himſelf, he took a pleaſure in encouraging the learned and ingenious. When independent, he diſtinguiſhed them by his friendſhip and countenance; when their circumſtances required it, by his munificence and bounty. He had ſtudied the ſpirit of the Engliſh conſtitution with much greater accuracy than, conſidering his numerous avocations, could reaſonably have been expected; and had he lived to aſcend the throne, the people could not have failed, but through their own imprudence, to have been happy under his government.

Some blame, however, may be juſtly imputed to him for his eager encouragement of the oppoſition of party to the meaſures of his father: but though he had for ſome time favoured the oppoſition, it was in the moſt perfect conſiſtency with his duty both as a ſon and a ſubject. He had recently diſcovered the intereſted motives of thoſe who generally compoſed the minority: and it is ſuppoſed, that, had he lived much longer, he would have withdrawn his confidence from men, who, under the maſk of public ſpirit, regarded only their private advantage; and to whoſe pernicious councils he was inclined to aſcribe that unhappy miſunderſtanding, which generally prevailed between the eldeſt ſons of his family and their fathers. That theſe were really his ſentiments, appeared from a variety of circumſtances, and particularly from an expreſſion to his eldeſt ſon a few days before his death, though without having the leaſt apprehenſion of it; when embracing him with great tenderneſs, he ſaid, "Come, George, let "us be good friends while we are ſuffered to "be ſo*.

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* The prince of Wales had a numerous family Beſides George (our beloved ſovereign) who ſucceeded to his pretenſions, he had Edward, William, and Henry, dukes of York, Glouceſter, and Cumberland; and Frederic,

The death of the prince of Wales produced an entire revolution in the ſtate of national parties. The tender affection expreſſed by the king towards the princeſs and her children, and the dutiful ſubmiſſion which they manifeſted to him, made ſuch an impreſſion on the minds of the people in general, that all party-diſtinctions ſeemed at once to be annihilated.

The princeſs of Wales, in conſequence of a meſſage from his majeſty, was declared regent of the realm, in the event of the king's death, during the minority of her eldeſt ſon; and ſhe was to be aſſiſted in the adminiſtration of the government by a council of regency*.

This ſeſſion was diſtinguiſhed by a bill for the reformation of the calendar. It is unneceſſary to inform our ſcientific readers, that, between the twelve months of the calendar eſtabliſhed by Julius Cæſar, and the real ſolar year, there was an inequality of almoſt eleven minutes, and that hence aroſe a difference of one day in about one hundred and thirty-three years. For this variation, an allowance was made, by ordering that eleven days ſhould be omitted in the following year (between the ſecond and fourteenth of September); and it was alſo provided, that the year, inſtead of beginning at Lady-day, ſhould commence on the firſt of January. Thus the Britiſh ſtyle, after a long interval of inconvenient difference, coaleſced with that which had prevailed on the continent from the time of Pope Gregory XIII. The bill, after ſome obſtructions, paſſed into a law.

On the twenty-fifth of June, his majeſty repaired to the houſe of peers, where, after having thanked the parliament for the prudence and diſpatch with which they had conducted the public buſineſs, he ordered them to be prorogued to the thirteenth of Auguſt. In April prince George, eldeſt ſon of the prince of Wales, was inveſted with the dignity of that title, as well as that of earl of Cheſter; and was ſoon after choſen governor of the Free Britiſh Fiſhery.

Never were the common people of England known to be more proffigate and diſſolute than at this period; nor the ſuperior claſſes more charitable and beneficent. Numbers of perſons were executed for crimes of the greateſt atrocity†; and many new hoſpitals were erected and liberally endowed.

Beſides the prince of Wales, this year proved fatal to another of the royal family; the prince of Orange, who died on the eleventh of October, in the forty-firſt year of his age.

The French king was eagerly purſuing the ſchemes which he had formed in America; and for the execution of which, a heavy contribution was exacted from the clergy. Thus ſupplied, his miniſtry began to make the neceſſary preparations. Several regiments of their beſt troops, with a ſufficient ſtore of arms, ammunition, and proviſions, were tranſported into that part of

deric, who died in his ſixteenth year. Of the daughters, Auguſta, Elizabeth, Louiſa, and Caroline Matilda, the firſt is ducheſs of Brunſwick; the ſecond and third died unmarried; and the fourth, who was a poſthumous child, was the unfortunate queen of Denmark.

* This was compoſed of his royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland, who was then at the head of the army; the archbiſhop of Canterbury; the lord Chancellor; the lord high treaſurer of Great Britain, or firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury; the preſident of the council; the lord privy ſeal; the lord high admiral of Great Britain, or firſt commiſſioner of the admiralty; the two ſecretaries of ſtate; and the lord chief juſtice of the king's bench: all of them for the time being, except his royal highneſs the duke.

† In the courſe of this year, Miſs Blandy was executed for poiſoning her father, an eminent attorney, at Henley upon Thames. One Jefferies, a young woman, with Swan, her lover, were executed for murdering her uncle, a wealthy tradeſman, who had retired from buſineſs, and with whom ſhe had lived for a conſiderable time. A large mob aſſembled at Tring in Hertfordſhire, and ſeizing an old woman and her huſband, under the notion of their being a witch and wizard, and as ſuch having commerce with the devil, treated them with ſuch inhumanity, by inſulting, ducking, and beating them, that the woman died on the ſpot, and the man with difficulty eſcaped with his life. For this murder one Colley was hanged. Two fellows, Welſh and Jones, were diſcovered to be the authors of a rape and murder, for which one Coleman, a brewer's clerk, had unjuſtly ſuffered. Theſe wretches were preſent at Coleman's execution, heard the declaration of his innocence, and drove the cart from under him. Both of them were hanged, confeſſing the crime.

Cotemporary writers concur in their reflections on the licentious habits and depravity of manners, which now prevailed. Theſe horrid acts, however, were not ſo general as to ſtamp the character of barbarity on the nation.

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the world. Their garriſons were reinforced: their fortifications completed. Large ſums of money and vaſt quantities of intoxicating liquors were ſent to debauch the Indians, from their friendſhip with the Engliſh; and, in the mean time, the better to conceal the whole deſign, the Britiſh ambaſſador at Paris, was particularly careſſed.

The parliament meeting on the fourteenth of November, the king, in his ſpeech to both houſes, again congratulated them on the general tranquillity which prevailed in Europe, and from which his good ſubjects had reaped the moſt ſolid advantages in their trade and manufactures: addreſſes of thanks having been preſented by both houſes, the commons proceeded to ſettle the ſupply*.

The enormities of this period were aſcribed to the extravagance of the populace, who appeared to neglect all ſerious occupations, and to waſte their whole time and ſubſtance in pleaſure and diſſipation. Every city, every town, and almoſt every village, was furniſhed with aſſemblies, of muſic, revelling and gaming; and the whole nation ſeemed devoted to one perpetual holiday.

To cruſh this growing evil, a bill was prepared and paſſed by the commons, for the better preventing of thefts and robberies, for regulating places of public entertainment, and for puniſhing the keepers of diſorderly houſes. It cannot be ſuppoſed, that a bill of ſuch a beneficial tendency ſhould meet with any obſtruction in the upper houſe, where it was immediately paſſed, and ſoon after received the royal aſſent.

The eſtates, which had been forfeited in Scotland by the rebellion of one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifteen, had been expoſed to public ſale, and generally purchaſed for the former owners: on which account the ſpirit of diſaffection continued to prevail in its former vigour. To prevent the conſequences of which, a reſolution was now taken to veſt in the crown the eſtates, which had been forfeited by the late rebellion, and to apply the produce of them to purpoſes of national utility. A bill accordingly was brought into the lower houſe for annexing theſe eſtates to the crown unalienably, for making ſatisfaction to the lawful creditors, for eſtabliſhing a method for letting leaſes of the lands, and for applying the rents of them towards civilizing and improving the highlands of Scotland.

Notwithſtanding the apparent utility of this bill, it was vigorouſly oppoſed by a few members; but it was carried in the lower houſe by a majority of one hundred and thirty five againſt twenty-nine voices, and, in the upper, by a majority of eighty againſt twelve†.

The foreign tranſactions of this year were neither numerous nor intereſting. A violent diſpute had lately ariſen between the court of Vienna and the elector Palatine, who laid claim to a large ſum of money, as the arrears of his troops during the late war; but as that prince's vote was of great conſequence in the election of a king of the Romans, the difference was happily compromiſed by the intervention of his Britannic majeſty, and a treaty concluded between the contending parties.

A miſunderſtanding had likewiſe happened between his Britannic majeſty and the king of Pruſſia, concerning their reſpective pretenſions to the province of Eaſt-Frieſland, which was at preſent poſſeſſed by the latter of theſe monarchs. The Hanoverian miniſter, at the diet of Ratiſbon delivered a memorial to that aſſembly, propoſing to refer the controverſy to the deciſion of the em-

* A. D. 1752.

† Among the laws paſſed in this ſeſſion was a ſtatute that all criminals, convicted of murder, were to be executed the day ſucceeding their condemnation, and their bodies delivered to the ſurgeons to be anatomized.

The attention of the public was at this time engaged by an affair of a very ſingular nature. Sir Peter Warren, who was extremely popular in the nation, having intimated that he ſhould not be diſpleaſed at being choſen alderman of London, the inhabitants of Billingſgate ward, which happened to be vacant, immediately elected him.

The lords juſtices were no ſooner informed of this incident, than they gave it as their opinion, that his accepting the office of alderman muſt be conſidered as inconſiſtent with his duty as an admiral, and that there was no precedent of a knight of the bath having ſerved in that ſtation. Sir Peter therefore declined the intended honour; paid his fine of five hundred pounds to be excuſed from ſerving; and preſented the inhabitants of the ward with two hundred guineas for the benefit of the poor.

The inhabitants, however, equally regardleſs of the opinion of the lords juſtices and of Sir Peter's refuſal, ſtill reſolutely inſiſted on his ſerving; at length, however, Mr. Beckford, one of the moſt opulent merchants in the city, declared himſelf a candidate for that dignity, and they condeſcended to elect him.

peror and the Aulic council: yet this expedient was peremptorily rejected by his Pruſſian majeſty. But after mature deliberation, he ingenuouſly gave up the point*.

The Britiſh parliament meeting on the eleventh of January†, his majeſty opened the ſeſſion by a ſpeech, informing them, that he had found in all his allies the beſt diſpoſition to continue the preſent tranquillity of Europe: that he had no ſupplies to aſk, but what would be neceſſary for the ordinary ſervices: and that he hoped they would apply their moſt ſerious attention to the improvement of commerce and the revenue.

After voting the neceſſary ſupplies, an affair of a very intereſting and important nature came before the commons, and greatly excited the attention of the public. This was a bill to permit perſons profeſſing the Jewiſh religion to be naturalized by parliament. Againſt this bill a petition was preſented by the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council of London, who alledged that ſhould the bill paſs into a law, it would tend greatly to the diſhonour of religion, endanger our excellent conſtitution, and prove highly prejudicial to the intereſt and trade of this kingdom in general, and the city of London in particular: they therefore prayed that the ſcheme might be laid aſide. This petition was followed by another, of a very different nature, from ſome woollen-manufacturers and others, concerned in ſhipping; but the advocates of the Jews, diſregarding public clamours, purſued their aim, and the bill became a law.

The fatal effects of clandeſtine marriages had long been a ſubject of complaint in England. Every day produced hearings in the court of chancery, and appeals to the houſe of peers, concerning the validity of thoſe marriages; on account of the irregularity of which the innocent offſpring were, ſometimes, deprived of ſucceſſion to their eſtates, though their parents had been married by mutual conſent.

Men and women of the moſt infamous characters had it in their power to ruin the ſons and daughters of the greateſt families in England, by the daily opportunities of marrying in the Fleet and other unlicenſed places; which were ſo numerous, that marrying was become as much a trade as any mechanical profeſſion. From ſome ſhocking inſtances of this kind which had lately been diſcovered, this bill originated. It was introduced into the upper houſe, for preventing the practice of clandeſtine marriages; and which after ſome inconſiderable alterations, was ſent down to the commons.

There it was furiouſly oppoſed, as well from the miniſterial as antiminiſterial party: and the conteſt, it muſt be acknowledged on this occaſion, was more fair and equal than ever it had been at any former period; as the members were no longer actuated by political motives, but merely by their own private ſentiments. The chief objection urged againſt it was, that it was manifeſtly calculated for engroſſing all the wealth of the kingdom among the families of the great and rich; but this objection, however well founded, was thought to be counter-balanced by the many evils that daily flowed from the contrary practice. The ſupporters of the bill, were lord Barrington, the attorney and ſolicitor-general, and many other gentlemen of great abilities: it was as vigorouſly oppoſed by Mr. Fox, Mr. Nugent, Mr. Townſend, and ſeveral other members.

In point of eloquence and argument the two parties were equally matched: but the enemies of the bill were ſo ſucceſsful, that, during its progreſs through the houſe, few of its clauſes remained unaltered; and Mr. Fox, holding it up in his hand, as Antony expoſed the murdered body of Cæſar, pronounced a kind of parody of

* In the earlier part of this ſeſſion, on the 12th of December, one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty one, died lord viſcount Bolingbroke, one of the greateſt men of the age in which he lived. He poſſeſſed amiable talents, his mind was acute, penetrating, and comprehenſive; his manners were graceful and poliſhed; and his wit refined. Though his youth was tinctured with the love of pleaſure, he did not neglect the advantage of mental improvement. He had a great ſhare of general knowledge; was deeply converſant in politics; and was the ableſt and moſt admired orator of the Britiſh ſenate. Though he was connected with the tory faction, he was a friend to liberty; and though his ambition, and the warmth of his paſſions, led him into improprieties and inconſiſtencies of conduct, no man was better acquainted with the laws of univerſal rectitude, or could give more rational and judicious advice for the inſtruction of others. His political writings are preferable to his philoſophical works, which are juſtly condemned by chriſtian readers. *Dr. Coote.*

† A. D. 1753.

Shakeſpear's ſpeech upon that occaſion. Its friends, however, inſiſted, that its principles were ſtill the ſame; and, at length, after a long and obſtinate conteſt, it was paſſed by a great majority, and in the end confirmed by the royal ſanction. This act which has frequently been evaded, is ſtill in force, and has been productive of ſalutary effects.

About this time Sir Hans Sloane, the celebrated phyſician and naturaliſt, dying, his collection of curioſities was offered to the public for twenty thouſand pounds; a propoſal which was readily accepted. The library of the late earl of Oxford was purchaſed for half that ſum; and theſe two being joined to the Cottonian and Royal libraries, were converted into the Muſæum, which is now to be ſeen at Montague-houſe, under the direction of its truſtees and governors. They have ſince been conſiderably augmented, particularly in the article of books, both printed and in manuſcript.

On the ſeventeenth of June his majeſty terminated the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he obſerved, that the ſtate of foreign affairs had received no material alteration ſince their meeting: and that they might depend upon his purſuing the ſame principles which he had then declared to them: that to preſerve the peace, and conſult the real proſperity of his people, and, at the ſame time, to aſſert and maintain the honour and juſt rights of his crown and kingdoms, were the objects of all his meaſures and purſuits*.

An act of illiberal vengeance diſgraced the government at this time. Dr. Cameron, having notwithſtanding his attainder, ventured to return to North-Britain, to reclaim ſome money which had been embezzled by the highlanders, was apprehended, and conducted to London, where the identity of his perſon being proved, he received ſentence of death, which he accordingly ſuffered at Tyburn, notwithſtanding the reputation of his merit, and the diſtance of time from the ſuppreſſion of the revolt.

The exportation of corn, which had proved ſo advantageous to England, gave occaſion about this time to ſome inteſtine commotions of a very alarming nature. A large party of colliers and others having aſſembled in a body, made an attack upon the city of Briſtol; and, though treated by the magiſtrates with the utmoſt lenity, they began to plunder ſome loaded veſſels which were lying in the harbour. They were however repulſed, for that time, by the officers of the peace, the city being deſtitute of regular forces. On the following day the rioters renewed their attack with redoubled fury; and the tumult was carried to ſuch a height, that the citizens were obliged to call to their aſſiſtance a troop of the Scotch grey dragoons, who immediately quelled the inſurgents; ſeveral of whom were killed, and a conſiderable number wounded.

Similar tumults aroſe in Yorkſhire, on account of the turnpikes, many of which were demoliſhed by the rabble. At Leeds the civil power, having

* Early in this year an incident occurred, which long occupied the attention, and divided the nation into parties. A young woman, whoſe name was Elizabeth Canning, pretended, that on the firſt of January, as ſhe was coming home at night, ſhe was met under Bedlam-wall by two men, who ſtripped her of part of her apparel; and having ſecured her mouth with a gag, threatened to kill her if ſhe made the leaſt noiſe; that they dragged her to the houſe of one Wells near Enfield-Waſh, where a woman robbed her of her ſtays: that ſhe was then forced into a cold, damp room, where ſhe was confined almoſt a month without any other ſuſtenance than a few ſtale cruſts of bread, and about a gallon of water: that all theſe ſeverities were exerciſed upon her to induce her to ſubmit to proſtitution: that nevertheleſs, ſhe was enabled to preſerve her virtue: and that having, at laſt, found means to make her eſcape through a window, ſhe ran home to her mother's houſe almoſt naked, on the night of the twenty-ninth of January.

Though nothing could be more improbable, and indeed more incredible than this ſtory, yet it ſo powerfully operated on the paſſions of the common people, eſpecially the enthuſiaſts of all denominations, that large ſubſcriptions were raiſed for proſecuting the ſuppoſed delinquents. Warrants accordingly were immediately iſſued for apprehending Wells, miſtreſs of the houſe at Enfield-Waſh, the maid ſervant, whoſe name was Virtue Hall, and one Squires, an old gypſy woman, whom Canning charged with robbing her of her ſtays.

The gypſy being tried for the imputed robbery, was pronounced guilty, by a prejudiced jury; and ſhe would probably have ſuffered death, had not Sir Criſp Gaſcoyne, the chief magiſtrate of London, inveſtigated the caſe, developed the impoſture, and obtained by his active interpoſition a pardon for the injured old woman. The partiſans of Canning endeavoured to prove, that the witneſſes who had ſworn to the preſence of Squires in a different place from the ſcene of the robbery, had committed the crime of perjury; but they were acquitted on ſatisfactory evidence. Canning being tried for the ſame offence, was found guilty, and ſentenced to be tranſported for ſeven years. Her friends calumniated her proſecutors, and villified the jurors whoſe verdict had conſigned her to exile. But the more impartial were convinced of her guilt, and gratified with her puniſhment.

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ſent for a detachment of dragoons to ſupport the collectors of the tolls, the mob were ſo enraged at this circumſtance, that they broke into the town, and attacked the troops; who being obliged to fire in their own defence, nine of the rioters were killed, and twenty-four wounded.

The external tranquillity of France was no ſooner reſtored by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, than its internal peace was diſturbed by the diſputes which were revived between the parliament and clergy. Theſe diſſentions, however, did not prevent the French from continuing their encroachments in America, where matters were ripening to a freſh rupture between them and the Engliſh in that quarter of the world.

The Engliſh governors in America having tranſmitted an account of theſe encroachments to the government of Great-Britain, the earl of Albemarle, the Britiſh ambaſſador at Paris, received inſtructions to expoſtulate with the French miniſtry upon that ſubject.

In complaints of little conſequence he ſometimes obtained ſatisfaction; and, in all, plauſible words and liberal promiſes. Sometimes it was alledged, that the French governors and commandants in America had exceeded their inſtructions; ſometimes the complaints were declared to be ill founded; at other times, the grievances were promiſed to be redreſſed: but, in the mean time, the French were multiplying their hoſtilities, and ſtrengthening their uſurpations by new recruits of men, money, and proviſions ſent to their colonies in the Weſt-Indies. With reſpect to the conferences of the commiſſaries, they proved wholly ineffectual. The French ſo little regarded the Engliſh, that the latter ſeeing no hopes of obtaining any kind of redreſs, immediately terminated the negociation, and returned to their native country.

The Britiſh parliament terminated on the fifteenth of November, when hardly any debates aroſe in the progreſs of the pecuniary grants.

Many circumſtances occurred to produce harmony and concord in the parliament. Mr. Pelham's candour and punctuality, in fulfilling all his engagements, whether of a public or private nature, had procured him a number of friends; while thoſe who were inclined to oppoſe him, either from views of intereſt or ambition, found they only expoſed their own weakneſs, by their ineffectual attempts to depreciate his merit. The party which had been formed againſt him, during the life-time of the late prince of Wales, was now diſſipated: and a ſurprizing ſpirit of loyalty began to prevail in every part of the kingdom; a revolution that principally aroſe from the good underſtanding which ſubſiſted between the ſeveral branches of the royal family.

The firſt affair, that came before the parliament, was the repeal of the act of Jewiſh naturalization. This act had excited a moſt violent ſpirit of jealouſy and diſcontent among the whole body of the people, who were highly enraged againſt thoſe of the Jewiſh religion. The miniſtry ſaw the folly of oppoſing the popular torrent: Mr. Pelham and his brother having already declared they would uſe their utmoſt endeavours, to procure the repeal of a law, which had given ſo much diſſatisfaction to the nation.

On the firſt day of the ſeſſion, the duke of Newcaſtle preſented to the upper houſe, a bill to repeal the act, permitting perſons of the Jewiſh religion to be naturalized by parliament, and for other purpoſes therein mentioned. A clauſe had been inſerted in the act to be repealed, diſabling all naturalized Jews to purchaſe, inherit, or take any advowſon or preſentation, or other right or intereſt in any benefice, prebend, or other eccleſiaſtical living or promotion, ſchool, hoſpital, or donative, or any grant or avoidance thereof. By the firſt draught of the act for the intended repeal, this clauſe was not to be annulled; but ſome gentlemen were of opinion, that if it was permitted to remain, that the Jews might purchaſe or inherit any other kind of property in the kingdom.

The new bill, however, was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the earl of Granville, the lord chancellor, lord Raymond, and particularly by the earl Temple, who zealouſly exerted himſelf in defence of the Iſraelites. The biſhops endeavoured to vindicate their conduct in having voted for the act, which they acknowledged only to have conſidered in a political light; but the majority of the peers agreed in opinion, that the matter was, in itſelf, of too little conſequence, to hazard the general diſſatisfaction of the people.

The bill, therefore, was immediately paſſed, and tranſmitted to the lower houſe, where it met

met with a ſtrenuous oppoſition from a conſiderable number of members, eſpecially from Mr. Potter, who ſpoke againſt it with great vehemence.

A debate, however, aroſe, from ſome expreſſions in the preamble of the bill, intimating, that "occaſion had been taken from the late act, to "raiſe diſcontents, and to diſquiet the minds of "many of his majeſty's ſubjects." This paſſage being conſidered as a reflection on the oppoſers of the act, an alteration was propoſed with a view of ſoftening it, but being reſiſted by Mr. Pelham and Mr. Pitt, it was not received by the houſe. The bill of abrogation paſſed without a diviſion, and the enactment of it created much ſatisfaction among the people.

When the ſovereign diſmiſſed the two houſes, he declared, that he ſhould always remember the many eminent proofs they had given of loyalty, wiſdom, and patriotiſm. He then commanded a diſſolution, this being the ſeventh year of meeting of that auguſt aſſembly.

Soon after the parliament was diſſolved by proclamation, and writs were iſſued for convoking a new one. The ſame ceremonies were practiſed with regard to the convocations of Canterbury and York, though they no longer retained their former influence: the behaviour of the lower houſe, during ſome of their laſt meetings, had been ſo factious and turbulent, that it was thought imprudent to entruſt them again with the diſcuſſion of matters of an eccleſiaſtical nature.

In the beginning of March, the miniſtry of Great Britain ſuſtained a loſs of the firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury, by the death of Mr. Pelham, who was not only ſincerely lamented by his ſovereign, but alſo regretted by the nation in general, to whoſe good will and affection he had recommended himſelf by his candid and ingenuous behaviour, even while he was purſuing meaſures which ſome of them did not perfectly approve.

England, it may be affirmed, never enjoyed ſuch a ſtate of political tranquillity, as during the time he had the direction of the treaſury; and he is, perhaps, the only inſtance of a miniſter, who made great virtues ſupply the place of great abilities.

Poſſeſſed of a clear head, and a good heart, he was reſpectable in his public capacity, as well as amiable in his private character. But his memory deſerves ſome blame for his compliance with the Germanic ſyſtem of the court, which in his heart he diſapproved.

He had, a little before his death, concerted the plan of the new parliament, and imparted it to his majeſty, who had thought proper to honour it with his approbation. A reſolution was therefore taken to admit of as few deviations as poſſible from the ſcheme he had formed.

His brother, the duke of Newcaſtle, ſucceeded him at the board of treaſury; and ſir Thomas Robinſon, who had long reſided as ambaſſador at the court of Vienna, was appointed ſecretary of ſtate. The other department of this office was ſtill retained by the earl of Holderneſs; and the function of chancellor of the exchequer was performed by ſir William Lee, the lord chief juſtice of the King's Bench, till a proper perſon could be found to ſupport that important dignity: but, in the courſe of the ſummer, it was conferred upon Mr. Legge, by whom it was not diſgraced.

Several other alterations were made of leſs importance to the public. Sir George Lyttleton was appointed cofferer, and the earl of Hillſborough comptroller of the houſhold. Mr. George Grenville, brother of earl Temple, became treaſurer of the navy; and Mr. Charles Townſend accepted the place of a lord of the admiralty, in the room of lord Barrington, conſtituted maſter of the wardrobe. Lord Hardwicke, the chancellor, was promoted to the dignity of an earl. The ſtation of lord chief juſtice of the king's bench becoming vacant by the death of ſir William Lee, was conferred upon ſir Dudley Rider, who was ſucceeded by Mr. Murray in the office of attorney general.

The elections for the new parliament went every where in favour of the miniſtry. The ſpirit of oppoſition was now almoſt extinguiſhed; and the court and country party, which uſually produced ſuch diſaſtrous effects, had incurred the contempt not only of perſons of ſuperior underſtanding, but even of the moſt ignorant of the vulgar. The writs being returned, the parliament was opened on the tenth of May, by the duke of Cumberland, and ſome other peers, who acted by virtue of a commiſſion from his majeſty. Mr. Onſlow being choſen and preſented

ſented as ſpeaker of the lower houſe, and approved as ſuch by the commiſſioners; the lord chancellor made a ſpeech to the parliament on the occaſion.

In the beginning of this year, the Engliſh met with great embarraſſment from the Iriſh parliament. The inhabitants of this latter kingdom, bleſſed with a mild adminiſtration, had improved conſiderably in all the arts of peace: but, in proportion as they advanced in theſe ſocial advantages, they ſeemed to forget their dependency upon England, and the conſtitutional ties to which they were ſubject. The Britiſh government hardly ſuffered them to feel any inequality between their own conſtitution and that of Great Britain; and this circumſtance infuſed a belief, that Ireland was wholly independent of England. During the lieutenancy of the earl of Cheſterfield, their diſcontents had been concealed; and while the rebellion raged in Great Britain, they gave unequivocal proofs of their duty and affection to his majeſty. The manners of the earl of Harrington, who ſucceeded him as lord lieutenant, not being ſo agreeable to their genius, they began to diſcover their diſſatisfaction; but, under the duke of Dorſet, who was the next poſſeſſor of that high office, they unmaſked the deſigns which they had ſo long entertained.

The Engliſh miniſtry, having received nothing but evaſive anſwers from the court of Verſailles, relative to the complaints that were made of the encroachments in America, ſent peremptory orders to their governors in that country to repel force by force, and drive the French from their ſettlements on the river Ohio. In conſequence of theſe inſtructions the provinces of Virginia and Pennſylvania took the matter into their moſt ſerious conſideration; but, while they deliberated, the French were vigorouſly proſecuting their deſigns on the other ſide of their mountains. They ſeized Logs Town, which the Virginians had built on the river Ohio; ſurprized the block-houſe and truck-houſe, where they found ſkins and other commodities to the amount of twenty thouſand pounds; and deſtroyed all the Britiſh traders, except two, who effected their eſcape. At the ſame time, M. de Contrecœur, with a thouſand men and eighteen pieces of cannon, arrived in three canoes from Venango, a fort they had built on the banks of the Ohio, and took by aſſault a Britiſh fort, which the Virginians had erected on the forks of the Monangahela, that diſcharges itſelf into the ſame river.

Theſe hoſtilities were ſucceeded by ſeveral ſkirmiſhes between the people of the two nations, which were attended with various ſucceſs. At length the governors of the Britiſh colonies received orders from England, to eſtabliſh a political confederacy for their common defence; and the governor of New York was directed to confer with the chiefs of the ſix nations, with a view of detaching them from the French intereſt, by means of promiſes and valuable preſents which were ſent over for that purpoſe. A conference was accordingly propoſed at Albany, to which place the governors of New York, accompanied by commiſſaries from all the other Britiſh colonies, immediately repaired: but few of the Indians attended, and thoſe few ſeemed totally indifferent reſpecting the offers of friendſhip that were tendered them by the Engliſh.

This may be readily accounted for, as, by the arts of the French miſſionaries, and the intereſted conduct of ſome of the coloniſts, the Indians were entirely alienated from the Engliſh. They accepted, however, of the preſents, and renewed their treaties with the king of Great Britain; and even ſolicited his aſſiſtance in driving the French from the poſts and poſſeſſions they had ſeized within the Indian territories.

In purſuance of theſe reſolutions, colonel Waſhington was ſent from Virginia with four hundred men, and took poſſeſſion of a poſt on the banks of the Ohio, where he threw up ſome works, and erected a kind of occaſional fort, hoping to be able to defend himſelf in that ſituation, till he ſhould be reinforced by a party from New York, which however did not arrive. While he remained in this ſituation, de Villier, the French general, advanced at the head of nine hundred men, intending to diſlodge him. On his approach to the place, he detached Jamonville, an inferior officer, with a ſmall party, and a formal ſummons to Waſhington, requiring him to abandon the fort, which, he pretended, was built on ground belonging to the French, or their allies; but this party having been guilty of ſome hoſtilities, was either cut off, or made

priſoners by the Engliſh. De Villier, enraged at this ſuppoſed inſult, marched up to the attack, which Waſhington for ſome time ſuſtained under manifold diſadvantages. At length, however, he ſurrendered the fort upon terms, for the performance of which he left two officers as hoſtages in the hands of the French; and in his retreat was much harraſſed by the Indians, who plundered his baggage and maſſacred his people.

The Engliſh miniſtry were no ſooner informed of this event, than they diſpatched orders to the earl of Albemarle at Paris, to complain of it to the French court, as a direct violation of the peace; but little regard was paid to this repreſentation.

Both nations were now convinced that a war was inevitable, and each began to make ſuitable preparations. France continued to ſend reinforcements of men, and ſupplies of money and ammunition to Quebec, for the proſecution of her ambitious projects; and the miniſtry of England ſent the neceſſary cautions to the governors and provinces in North America, exhorting them to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to reſiſt the encroachments of the enemy*.

In Spain, the intereſt of Great Britain was ſo powerfully ſupported by Mr. Wall, who had been ambaſſador in England, and lately appointed ſecretary of ſtate for foreign affairs, that the French party, though patronized by the queen mother, and ſeconded by all the influence of the marquis de la Enſenada, the prime miniſter, was totally overthrown. The king, being convinced that it would be for the intereſt of his ſubjects to continue on friendly terms with England, and fully informed of Enſenada's intrigues, ordered that miniſter to be arreſted and confined, and beſtowed upon Mr. Wall the principal part of his employments. The Spaniards, however, in the Weſt Indies, ſtill continued to moleſt the ſubjects of Great Britain employed in cutting logwood in the Bay of Honduras; but repreſentations on this head being made to the court of Madrid, the diſpute was amicably adjuſted between Mr. Wall and ſir Benjamin Keene, the Britiſh ambaſſador.

While the intereſt of Britain thus prevailed in Spain, it ſeemed to decline at the court of Liſbon. His Portugueſe majeſty had formed vaſt projects of trade and commerce, and even erected an Eaſt India company: in the mean time he could not avoid expreſſing his uneaſineſs at the immenſe quantity of gold which was annually exported from his dominions, as the balance due from his ſubjects on Engliſh commodities.

On the fourteenth of November, the king of Great Britain opened the ſeſſion of parliament with a ſpeech, in which he obſerved, that the general ſtate of affairs in Europe had ſuffered very little alteration ſince the laſt meeting: that he had lately received from his good brother the king of Spain, the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of his firm reſolution to cultivate a good underſtanding with England; and that he, for his part, would continue to perſevere in the ſame ſentiments.

The government ſeemed determined to humble the pride, and check the ambition of the French nation; and this diſpoſition was ſo agreeable to the people in general, that they regarded no expence, and earneſtly ſeconded the deſigns of the miniſtry. The commons granted for the ſervice of the enſuing year, four millions and ſeventy-three thouſand pounds. Theſe ſupplies were raiſed by the permanent branches of the revenue, the land-tax and malt-tax, and a lottery for one million; one hundred thouſand pounds of it to be deducted for the ſervice of the public, and the remaining ſeven hundred thouſand to be charged on the produce of the ſinking fund.

The civil tranſactions of this ſeſſion were limited to a few objects. Several new regulations were made for encouraging and improving the whale and white herring fiſhery, as well as for completing a new fort, which had been lately built at Anamaboe on the coaſt of Africa†.

Notwithſtanding the harmony and concord which

* In the courſe of this year, the Proteſtant religion received a ſevere blow by the defection of one of its principal profeſſors. This was the hereditary prince of Heſſe Caſſel, huſband to the princeſs Mary of England, who now renounced the Proteſtant, and embraced the Catholic faith. He was ſuppoſed to have been induced to adopt that religion by the promiſes of certain powers, who flattered him with the hopes of being made an elector of the empire, and, perhaps, of even being elected king of the Romans.

† By the conſtitution of Chelſea Hoſpital, the diſabled veterans, who enjoyed the benefit of that eſtabliſhment, could not receive the firſt payment till the expiration of one year after they had been upon the liſt of penſions. This

which prevailed in parliament, the controverted election of Oxfordſhire was productive of very alarming debates. The ſheriff had made a return of all the four candidates; lord Parker, ſir Edward Turner, lord Wenman, and ſir James Daſhwood. The two former were choſen upon what was called the new or Whig intereſt; the two latter upon that of the Tory. Incredible was the expence, as well as animoſity, with which this affair had been proſecuted on both ſides; even murder had been perpetrated upon the place of election. The matter was conteſted with equal zeal in the houſe of commons. At length, after an obſtinate diſpute, lord Parker and ſir Edward Turner were declared to be the ſitting members by a majority of two hundred and thirty-three, againſt one hundred and five voices.

The attention of the legiſlature was chiefly attracted by the conduct of France, which obſerved no medium, but ſeemed reſolutely intent upon ſtriking ſome important blow, which might be conſidered as a declaration of war. At Breſt, Rochfort, and other ports in that kingdom, the French were employed in fitting out a powerful armament, and did not ſcruple to acknowledge that it was deſigned for North America*.

Rouſed at this information, the Britiſh miniſtry equipped a ſquadron with all poſſible expedition; and on the twenty-third of April, admiral Boſcawen ſet ſail with eleven ſhips of the line and ſix frigates, having on board ſix thouſand land forces, to attend the motions of the enemy; but more certain and circumſtantial intelligence being brought with regard to the ſtrength of the French armament, which conſiſted of twenty-one ſhips of the line, beſides frigates and tranſports, with a quantity of warlike ſtores, and four thouſand regular troops, under the command of baron Dieſkau; admiral Holborne was detached with ſix ſhips of the line and one frigate, to reinforce Mr. Boſcawen; and a great number of capital ſhips were alſo put in commiſſion.

On the ſixth of May, the French fleet, commanded by Mr. Macnamara, an officer of Iriſh extraction, ſailed from Breſt, directing his courſe for North America; but after having proceeded to a certain latitude, he returned with nine of the principal ſhips, while the reſt of the ſquadron continued their courſe under the direction of Mr. Bois de la Mothe.

While all Europe was in ſuſpence reſpecting the fate of the Engliſh and French ſquadrons, preparations for a war were carrying on in England with unparalleled ſpirit and alacrity. Still the French court flattered itſelf, that Great Britain, anxious for the ſafety of his majeſty's German dominions, would refrain from hoſtilities. Mirepoix continued to have frequent conferences with the Britiſh miniſtry, who did not heſitate to declare, that their admirals, particularly Boſcawen, had orders to attack the French ſhips, wherever they ſhould meet them. Mirepoix, alarmed at this intimation, declared, that his maſter would conſider ſuch a circumſtance as a formal declaration of war; and that the firſt gun, which was hoſtilely fired, ſhould kindle all Europe into a flame.

This menace, inſtead of intimidating the Engliſh, induced them to redouble their preparations for war. A general preſs for ſeamen was begun in every part of the kingdom, as well as in Ireland; and conſiderable premiums were offered, not only by the government, but by all the conſiderable cities and towns in England, to ſuch as ſhould inliſt voluntarily in his majeſty's ſervice. Other branches of the public buſineſs were forwarded with equal ſpirit; and ſuch was the eagerneſs of the people to advance their money to government, that, inſtead of one million, which was to be raiſed by way of lottery, almoſt four millions were inſtantly ſubſcribed.

Such was the ſituation of affairs at the time that his majeſty's preſence in Germany was become abſolutely neceſſary; and many people entertained the moſt terrible apprehenſions, leſt the French ſhould intercept him in his journey,

This obliged them to have recourſe to uſurers, who advanced them money at an exorbitant intereſt, involving themſelves and families in the greateſt diſtreſs.

To remedy this increaſing evil, Mr. Pitt, paymaſter-general of the forces, brought in a bill, which will ever remain a monument to his humanity. It ordained, that half a year's penſion ſhould be advanced half a year before it became due; and the practice of uſury was effectually prevented by a clauſe importing, that all contracts ſhould be void by which any penſion might be mortgaged. This excellent bill was unanimouſly approved, and having paſſed both houſes with uncommon expedition, received the royal aſſent.

* A. D. 1755.

or

or prevent his return. During the ſeſſion, earl Pawlet made a motion, to expoſtulate with his majeſty, on the impropriety of his viſiting his foreign dominions at ſuch a criſis; but it was not ſupported by any of the other lords.

The great uneaſineſs, however, on account of his majeſty's departure, ſtill continued, and was increaſed by an apprehenſion, that, during his abſence, there would be little agreement among the lords of the regency *.

Admiral Boſcawen, having taken on board two regiments at Plymouth, directed his courſe towards the banks of Newfoundland: and in a few days after his arrival there, the French fleet came to the ſame ſtation, under the command of M. de la Mothe. But the thick fogs, which prevail upon theſe coaſts, eſpecially in the ſpring ſeaſon, prevented the hoſtile fleets from perceiving each other; and part of the French fleet eſcaped up the river St. Lawrence, whilſt another part of it ſailed round, and got into the ſame river, through the dangerous ſtreights of Belle-iſle, by a courſe never known to be attempted before by ſhips of the line.

Whilſt the Engliſh fleet, however, lay off Cape Race, which is the Southernmoſt point of Newfoundland, and ſeemed to be the moſt proper ſtation for intercepting the enemy, two French ſhips, the Alcide of ſixty-four guns, and four hundred and eighty men, and the Lys, pierced for ſixty-four guns, but mounting only twenty-two, and having eight companies of land forces on board, fell in with the Dunkirk, captain Howe, and the Defiance, captain Andrews, two ſixty-gun ſhips of the Engliſh ſquadron; and, after a ſmart engagement, which continued ſome hours, and in which captain, afterwards lord Howe, behaved with the greateſt ſkill and intrepidity, were both taken, with ſeveral officers and engineers, and about eight thouſand pounds in money.

Though this action was far from anſwering the expectation of the miniſtry, yet, when the particulars of it reached England, it animated the whole nation, who now ſaw plainly, that government was reſolved to temporize no longer; but to repel with vigour, the proſecution of their ambitious ſchemes in America; and alſo to chaſtiſe them for their paſt violences.

No ſooner was the French miniſtry informed of this engagement, than the marquis de Mirepoix was recalled from London, and monſieur de Buſſy from Hanover, where he had juſt arrived to attend the king of England in a public character. They complained highly of Boſcawen's attacking their ſhips, as a breach of national faith; but it was retorted on them, with irreſiſtible force, on the part of England, that the encroachments in America had rendered repriſals both juſtifiable and neceſſary. The reſolution of making them was not taken without mature deliberation in the Engliſh council.

The Americans were not wanting to themſelves in exerting a proper ſpirit. The governor and aſſembly of Maſſachuſet's Bay, the chief of the New England provinces, had paſſed an act towards the cloſe of the year, prohibiting all intercourſe with the French at Louiſburg; and, early in the ſpring, they raiſed a body of troops, which they ſent to the aſſiſtance of Mr. Lawrence, governor of Nova Scotia, to enable him to execute a plan he had formed for driving the French from the poſts they had uſurped in that province. The enemy had foreſeen this attempt, and made preparations to reſiſt it, though without effect. A detachment of regulars and provincials, under lieutenant-colonel Monckton, advanced towards the iſthmus, which ſeparated the Britiſh poſſeſſions in Nova Scotia, from the extenſive diſtricts unjuſtly claimed by the French in that country; and quickly reduced all the French forts, one after another, and reſtored perfect tranquillity to Nova Scotia.

While colonel Monckton was employed in reducing the French forts in Nova Scotia, preparations had been made in Virginia for attack-

* Theſe were his royal highneſs William duke of Cumberland; Thomas lord archbiſhop of Canterbury; Philip earl of Hardwicke, lord high chancellor; John earl of Granville, preſident of the council; Charles duke of Marlborough, lord privy ſeal; John duke of Rutland, ſteward of the houſehold; Charles duke of Grafton, lord chamberlain; Archibald duke of Argyle; the duke of Newcaſtle, firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury; the duke of Dorſet, maſter of the horſe; the earl of Holderneſſe, one of the ſecretaries of ſtate; the earl of Rochford, groom of the ſtole; the earl of Harrington, lord lieutenant of Ireland; lord Anſon, firſt commiſſioner of the admiralty: ſir Thomas Robinſon, ſecretary of ſtate; and Henry Fox, eſq; ſecretary at war.

ing their poſts upon the Ohio. The conduct of this expedition was committed to major-general Braddock, who had been ſent from England for that purpoſe, early in the ſeaſon, with two regiments of foot. After a mortifying delay of ſome months, occaſioned by the negligence of provincial contractors, he paſſed the Allegany mountains at the head of two thouſand two hundred men, and rapidly advanced towards Fort du Queſne, the chief object of his enterprize. Though he poſſeſſed great intrepidity, he was unqualified for ſuch an enterprize, having no knowledge of the country, being too imperious and obſtinate to take advice, too bold and confident to guard againſt a ſurpriſe, and too diſdainful of the inferior ſkill of the provincial troops, to employ their aid with judgment and efficacy. Being informed, during his march, that the garriſon of that fort, which had been lately erected on the Ohio, near its conflux with the Monaungahela, expected a reinforcement of five hundred regular troops, he left colonel Dunbar, with eight hundred men, to bring up his heavy baggage, and proceeded with the reſt of his force, for the ſake of greater expedition. But unfortunately, through his haſte, he did not take ſufficient care to reconnoitre the ſavage country, with which he wss ſo little acquainted; where the danger of ſurpriſe is perpetual in woods, defiles, and moraſſes. And he was too ambitious to aſk the advice of the provincial officers, for whom he entertained a ſovereign contempt: though Hyde Park had hitherto been the only theatre of his own military experience, and the evolutions of a regiment of guards, at a review, his chief eſſays in arms.

In conſequence of theſe unpropitious circumſtances, partly from the imperious obſtinate character of the general, partly from his ignorance of the ſcene of war, and of the nature of hoſtilities in which he was engaged, Braddock's enterprize terminated in an awful misfortune. Advancing with careleſs confidence, he had arrived within ten miles of Fort du Queſne, when he fell into an ambuſcade of French and Indians, ſo artfully planted in a defile, that they could take an unerring aim from behind trees and buſhes, without expoſing themſelves to any danger. About noon, a concealed fire began upon the front and left flank of the Engliſh army, which was then in the middle of the defile. The van-guard fell immediately back upon the centre, and the Britiſh troops being ſeized with a panic, from the unuſual appearance and horrid ſhrieks of the ſavages who now ſhewed themſelves, a total rout enſued. Braddock himſelf, however, ſeemed inſenſible to fear. Equally imprudent and intrepid, he maintained his ſtation, inſtead of attempting a retreat, or bringing up his cannon to ſcour the thickets with grape-ſhot: and gave orders to the few gallant officers and ſoldiers, who remained about his perſon, to form and advance againſt the almoſt inviſible enemy, whoſe every ſhot did execution. His obſtinacy ſeemed only to increaſe with the danger by which he was preſſed. At length, after having five horſes killed under him, he was mortally ſhot through the right arm and the lungs, by a muſket-ball. He was carried off by ſome of his officers, and died of his wounds in four days. Sir Peter Halket, and many brave officers, with about ſeven hundred private men, alſo were ſlain. The artillery and ſtores, and the cabinet of the commander in chief, were left as ſpoils to the victorious party.

It is worthy of remark, that, in this action, the Virginians and other provincial troops, whom Braddock, by way of contempt, had placed in the rear, were ſo little affected with the panic that diſordered the regulars, that they offered to advance againſt the enemy, till the fugitives could be brought back to the charge. But that was found impracticable: the terror of the two front regiments being ſo great, that they never ſtopped their flight till they met the rear diviſion, which was advancing under colonel Dunbar. All the artillery, baggage, ammunition, and proviſions of the principal diviſion, under Braddock, fell into the hands of the victors, together with his own cabinet, containing his official letters and inſtructions, of which the French court afterwards made great uſe in their printed memorials and manifeſtos.

Two other expeditions were undertaken in the courſe of the year. One of theſe, Crown Point, was the chief object; and the other, the fort of Niagara, both ſuppoſed to be built on the Britiſh territories. The expedition againſt Crown Point was committed to the care of a gentleman ſince known by the name of ſir William

liam Johnſon, a native of Ireland, who had long reſided upon the Mohawk river, in the weſtern parts of New York; where he had acquired a conſiderable eſtate, and was univerſally beloved for his humanity and affability; not only by the Engliſh inhabitants, but alſo by the neighbouring Indians, whoſe language he had acquired. The expedition againſt Niagara was to be conducted by Shirley in perſon.

Albany was fixed on as the rendezvous of the forces to compoſe both armaments, and moſt of the troops arrived there before the end of June. But by the delay in bringing up the artillery, proviſions, and other neceſſaries for the expedition againſt Crown Point, general Johnſon could not ſet out before the end of Auguſt. Shirley was ſooner ready, though not before the melancholy intelligence of Braddock's defeat had reached Albany. The effect of that intelligence on the ſpirit of the troops was aſtoniſhing. Terror communicated itſelf from rank to rank, and many ſoldiers deſerted: in conſequence of which, when Shirley arrived at Oſwego, he had hardly the appearance of an army, inſtead of a force ſufficient to ſecure the Britiſh ſettlements in thoſe parts, and to reduce the ſtrong fortreſs of Niagara, ſituated between the lakes Ontario and Erie, and the great key of communication between Canada and Louiſiana. The attempt was therefore abandoned, as impracticable; and Shirley, having at length advanced to Oſwego, which ſtands on the ſouth-eaſt ſide of lake Ontario, and augmented the garriſon of that place to the number of ſeven hundred men, returned ingloriouſly to Albany, with the wretched remnant of his army.

In the mean time general Johnſon, having advanced as far as lake George, on which he intended to embark, was unexpectedly attacked in his camp by the baron Dieſkau, commander in chief of the French forces in Canada, at the head of two thouſand men. And though the camp was both naturally and artificially ſtrong, the French general might probably have forced it, if he had immediately ſtormed the Engliſh entrenchments. Fortunately, however, he ordered his troops to halt at the diſtance of about an hundred and fifty yards, whence they began their attack with platoon-firing, which had little effect upon troops defended by a ſtrong breaſt-work. The Engliſh, in the mean time, plied their great guns and muſketry ſo warmly, that the central body of the enemy, compoſed of the French regulars, began to flag; and the Canadians and Indians, who formed the flanks of their army, ſkulked behind trees and buſhes. Encouraged by theſe favourable appearances, the Engliſh and the Indian allies leaped over the breaſt-work, and completed the diſcomfiture of the aſſailants. After killing many, and entirely diſperſing the whole, they took many priſoners, among whom was Dieſkau himſelf, an old and experienced officer, who was mortally wounded. But though this action was deciſive in favour of the Engliſh, it was followed by no important conſequences; as general Johnſon thought it imprudent to purſue his victory, and it was found too late in the ſeaſon to proceed to the attack of Crown Point.

Thus terminated the firſt campaign in North America; which, notwithſtanding the defeat of Dieſkau, and the expulſion of the French from Nova Scotia, was eſtimated to the diſadvantage of Great Britain. But that diſadvantage was counterbalanced, in the opinion of the nation, by the great number of French merchants ſhips that had been captured during the ſummer. No ſooner was intelligence brought of the taking of the Alcide and Lys, which it was thought would be conſidered by the court of Verſailles as an indirect declaration of war, than an order was iſſued by the Britiſh miniſtry, to make prize of all French ſhips on the high ſeas, wherever they might be found. In conſequence of which, upwards of three hundred trading veſſels belonging to France, many of which were very valuable, and about eight thouſand ſeamen, were brought into the ports of England, before the concluſion of the year.

Contrary to all political conjecture, the French made no repriſals. As this inaction was aſcribed to a conſciouſneſs of their inferiority at ſea, and a deſire of intereſting in their cauſe other European powers, they were at a loſs how to proceed; having always flattered themſelves, that the anxiety of George II. for the ſafety of his German dominions, which they had for ſome time threatened, would prevent him from adopting any vigorous meaſures, notwithſtanding their encroachments in America. But diſcovering their

their miſtake, by the capture of their ſhips and ſeeing no hopes of reſtitution, the count of Madrid having declined the office of mediator, they now reſolved to carry their threat into execution; and an army of two hundred thouſand men, with their vicinity to the country to be invaded, ſeemed to promiſe the moſt brilliant ſucceſs *.

As it was univerſally believed, even at the time of his Britannic majeſty's ſetting out for his German dominions, that the French would endeavour to invade Hanover, if a war ſhould happen between them and England, which ſeemed not only inevitable, but haſtily approaching; it was natural for his majeſty to form ſuch alliances among the princes of Germany, as might moſt effectually ſecure his poſſeſſions on the continent.

For this purpoſe, during his ſtay at Hanover, he concluded a treaty with the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, by which his ſerene highneſs engaged to hold in readineſs, during four years, for his majeſty's ſervice, a body of eight thouſand men, to be employed, if required, upon the continent, or in Britain, or Ireland; but not on board the fleet, or beyond the ſeas: and alſo, if his Britannic majeſty ſhould judge it neceſſary or advantageous for his ſervice, to furniſh and add to this body of eight thouſand men, within ſix months after they ſhould be demanded, four thouſand more, of which ſeven hundred were to be horſe or dragoons, and each regiment of infantry to have two field-pieces.

The king of England, on his part, engaged to pay the landgrave, for theſe ſuccours, eighty crowns banco, by way of levy-money, for every trooper or dragoon duly armed and mounted, and thirty crowns banco for every foot ſoldier: and alſo to pay to his ſerene highneſs, for the eight thouſand men, an annual ſubſidy of one hundred and fifty thouſand crowns banco, during the four years; which ſubſidy was to be increaſed to three hundred thouſand crowns yearly, agreeable to certain ſtipulations therein mentioned.

On the thirteenth of Auguſt, commodore Keppel ſet ſail from Spithead for the Weſt Indies, with four men of war, furniſhed with inſtructions to commit hoſtilities upon the enemy, as well as to protect our ſugar iſlands from any inſults they might offer: orders were iſſued to all our ſhips of war to make repriſals upon the French, by ſeizing their ſhips wherever they ſhould meet them; and the duke de Mirepoix, their ambaſſador at the court of London, immediately ſet out for Paris, without taking leave.

His majeſty prudently returned to his Britiſh dominions much ſooner than uſual, having left Hanover on the eighth of September, and arrived at Kenſington on the fifteenth, where the treaty of alliance between him and the empreſs of Ruſſia, which he had begun during his abſence, was ſigned on the laſt day of the ſame month. In conſideration of the ſuccours of the empreſs, his Britannic majeſty engaged to pay her an annual ſubſidy of one hundred thouſand pounds ſterling a year, each year to be paid in advance, and to be reckoned from the day of the ratification, to the day that theſe troops ſhould, upon requiſition, go out of Ruſſia; from which day the annual ſubſidy to her Imperial majeſty was to be increaſed to five hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, to be paid always four months in advance, until the troops ſhould return into the Ruſſian dominions, and for three months after their return.

His Britannic majeſty alſo required, as king of Great Britain, the auxiliaries ſtipulated to

* While the flames of war were thus burſting out between France and England, the ſouthern parts of Europe were viſited by a more dreadful calamity †. A violent earthquake, accompanied with the blaze of volcanic materials, which continued burning above a fortnight, and ſhook all Spain, Portugal, and the neighbouring countries, threw the inhabitants into the utmoſt conſternation, and laid the city of Liſbon in ruins. Upwards of ten thouſand perſons loſt their lives; and many of the ſurvivors, deprived of their habitations, and wholly deſtitute of the means of ſubſiſtence, were obliged to take up their abode in the open fields. But they were not ſuffered to periſh. The Britiſh parliament, though preſſed with new demands, generouſly voted one hundred thouſand pounds ſterling for the relief of the unhappy ſufferers in Portugal. And this noble inſtance of public liberality was enhanced by the manner of conferring the benefit. A number of ſhips, laden with proviſions and clothing, were immediately diſpatched for Liſbon; where they arrived ſo opportunely, as to preſerve thouſands from periſhing with cold and hunger.

The ſhocks were felt with intermiſſion till the ſecond week in December. Leſs violent concuſſions, accompanied with extraordinary inundations, were perceived in Spain and other countries of Europe; and alſo in the north-weſtern parts of Africa.

† November 1ſt.

him

him by treaty from the empreſs-queen: but theſe were peremptorily refuſed, under pretence, that as the conteſt between him and France related to America only, it was not a *caſus fœderis*; though at the ſame time the French made no ſcruple of acknowledging, that they intended to make a powerful deſcent upon Great Britain early in the ſpring.

Though the Engliſh continued to annoy the French trade, not only in the ſeas of America, but alſo in thoſe of Europe, by taking every ſhip they could meet with, and detaining them, their crews, and cargoes; yet the French, partly from a conſciouſneſs of their want of power by ſea, partly that they might have a pretext to repreſent England as the aggreſſor, were ſo far from retorting theſe hoſtilities, that their fleet, which returned from America, having, on the thirteenth of Auguſt, taken the Blandford man of war, with governor Lyttleton on board, going to Carolina; they ſet the governor at liberty, as ſoon as the court was informed of the ſhip's being brought into Nantes, and, in a ſhort time after, releaſed both the ſhip and crew.

The intention, however, of this artifice, was eaſily ſeen through; eſpecially as their preparations for a war by land were ſtill carried on with greater diligence, and their utmoſt arts and efforts were employed to perſuade the Spaniards and Dutch to join them. The Engliſh were equally diligent in making preparations for the approaching rupture: ſeveral new ſhips were put in commiſſion, and many others taken into the ſervice of the government: the exportation of gunpowder was prohibited; the bounty to ſeamen continued; and the captures from the French were multiplied, among which was the Eſperance, of ſeventy guns, taken as ſhe was going from Rochfort to Breſt to be manned. Augmentations were alſo made in the land and ſea forces of Great Britain.

The Britiſh parliament meeting on the thirteenth of November, his majeſty informed them, among other particulars, that he had greatly increaſed his naval force, and augmented his army in ſuch a manner, as might be leaſt burthenſome to his ſubjects; and that he had concluded a treaty with the empreſs of Ruſſia, and another with the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, which ſhould be ſubmitted to their peruſal.

The oppoſition, however, to the new treaties was ſo great, that, when a draft came over from Ruſſia for part of the ſubſidy ſtipulated to that crown, ſome of the miniſtry, who were then at the head of the finances, refuſed to pay it, at leaſt till the treaty ſhould be approved of by parliament.

Sir Thomas Robinſon, who had long enjoyed the office of ſecretary, was now conſcious of his inability, and want of influence in that important truſt; he, therefore, very prudently reſigned the ſeals of his office to his majeſty, who delivered them to Mr. Fox, and appointed ſir Thomas maſter of the wardrobe, with a penſion during his life, and, after his death, to his ſons. Lord Barrington ſucceeded Mr. Fox as ſecretary at war: ſir George Lyttleton was made chancellor of the exchequer in the room of Mr. Legge; and Mr. Pitt, and moſt of the other gentlemen in the oppoſition, were removed from their places.

Theſe alterations ſerved only to increaſe the ſtrength of the minority; for when the treaty with Ruſſia and Heſſe Caſſel came to be conſidered in the houſe, ſome of the members propoſed referring them to the examination of a committee: but this motion was rejected, in conſideration of his majeſty having contracted them, with a view to avert the ſtorm which threatened his electoral dominions, merely on account of our quarrel with the French. They were, therefore, approved by a majority of three hundred and eighteen, againſt one hundred and twenty-ſix in the lower houſe, and by eighty-four againſt eleven in the upper*.

* On the twenty-eight of January, Mr. Fox preſented to the houſe a meſſage from the king, deſiring them to take into conſideration the faithful ſervices of the people of New England, and of ſome other parts of North America, and to grant them a ſuitable reward and encouragement; on which account one hundred and fifteen thouſand pounds were voted, and five thouſand as a gratuity to ſir William Johnſon in particular.

An act was paſſed in this ſeſſion, ſtrictly prohibiting, under pain of death, any of his majeſty's ſubjects from ſerving as officers under the French king, or from enliſting as ſoldiers in his ſervice; and alſo obliging ſuch of his majeſty's ſubjects, as ſhould, in future, accept of commiſſions in the Scotch brigade in the Dutch ſervice, to take the oaths of allegiance and abjuration on pain of forfeiture of five hundred pounds.

While the parliament of Great Britain was proceeding with the public buſineſs, the whole ſyſtem of affairs in Europe took a new and a ſudden turn*. His Pruſſian majeſty, to the moſt diſtinguiſhed abilities, had added the moſt indefatigable application; by means of which he had procured intelligence, that a negociation was carrying on with the courts of Peterſburgh, Vienna, and Verſailles, in order to effect his ruin; and he plainly perceived, that if the Ruſſians, in the pay of Great Britain, ſhould ever get footing in Germany, his ſituation muſt be very precarious; eſpecially as her Czariſh majeſty had offered to ſend, to the aſſiſtance of his Britannic majeſty, twenty thouſand troops more than what had been ſtipulated. He, therefore, publicly and ſolemnly proteſted againſt the introduction of any foreign troops into Germany; and declared, that he would as readily draw the ſword againſt the French, as againſt any others.

His Pruſſian majeſty's ſituation in Germany, with regard to the Ruſſians, was now the very ſame as that of his Britannic majeſty, with regard to the French. Though the latter continued to preſerve the appearance of a good underſtanding with the court of Berlin, yet nothing was to be expected from their friendſhip; and though her Ruſſian majeſty appeared ready to fulfil her engagements with Great Britain, yet, conſidering her growing connections with France, the experiment was too dangerous to be attempted. As nothing but neceſſity had ever induced his Britannic majeſty to apply for Ruſſian auxiliaries, it was natural for him to adopt the views of his nephew; eſpecially as they had now but one common intereſt, the preventing the introduction of foreign troops into Germany. A convention, therefore, was inſtantly concluded between theſe two monarchs, by which they reciprocally bound themſelves not to ſuffer foreign troops, of any nation whatſoever, to enter into Germany, or paſs through it, during the troubles, and the conſequences that might reſult from them; but to oppoſe the ſame with their utmoſt ability, in order to ſecure Germany from the calamities of war, defend her fundamental laws and conſtitutions, and preſerve her peace uninterrupted.

On the twenty-ſeventh of May, his majeſty terminated the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he informed his parliament, that he found himſelf obliged, in vindication of the honour of his crown, and of the rights of his people, to declare war in form againſt France: and that he relied on the divine protection, and the vigorous aſſiſtance of his faithful ſubjects, in ſo juſt a cauſe.

The miniſtry of Verſailles preſented remonſtrances, which they knew would prove ineffectual, and exclaimed againſt the conduct of Great Britain with all the arts of defamation, while they continued to make ſuch preparations as diſcovered a reſolute deſign to proſecute the war with uncommon vigour.

The fortifications of Dunkirk were begun to be repaired: orders were iſſued for all Britiſh ſubjects to quit the dominions of France: many Engliſh veſſels were ſeized in different ports of that kingdom, and their crews conveyed to priſon. At the ſame time an edict was publiſhed, inviting the French ſubjects to fit out privateers; offering a premium of forty livres for every gun, and as much for every man they ſhould take from the enemy; and promiſing, that, if a peace ſhould be ſpeedily concluded, the king would purchaſe the privateers at prime coſt.

The war between the two nations being now begun, and all negotiation at an end, both nations proceeded to intimidate and annoy each other. Convinced that diſcontent and faction divided the council of the Engliſh, the French menaced them with formidable invaſion. Several bodies of their troops had for ſome time been ſent down to the coaſts that lay oppoſite to the Britiſh ſhore: theſe were inſtructed in the diſcipline of embarking and re-landing from flat-bottomed boats, which were made in great numbers for that expedition.

Whether theſe preparations were intended for actual deſcent, or merely to terrify the Engliſh, cannot be aſcertained; but it is certain that the latter intent was completely anſwered. The people of England ſaw themſelves expoſed without arms, leaders, or diſcipline, to the deſigns of their enemies. In this exigence, they applied to the Dutch for ſix thouſand men, which they had engaged by treaty to furniſh in caſe of invaſion. The Dutch, however, refuſed the ſupply,

* A. D. 1756.

ſupply, alledging, that they were to furniſh troops only in caſe of an *actual*, not a *threatened* invaſion.

The miniſtry, diſappointed of this aſſiſtance, conſidered on whom they ſhould make a demand. The aid of a body of Heſſians and Hanoverians, amounting to about ten thouſand men, was to be purchaſed; and theſe were brought over to protect about as many millions of Engliſhmen, who were ſuppoſed incapable of defending themſelves. This remedy was conſidered as worſe than the diſeaſe: the miniſtry was reviled for having plunged the nation into ſuch a diſgraceful condeſcenſion; not ſuppoſing themſelves reduced to the neceſſity of borrowing ſuch a feeble aid: a vigorous exertion of their internal ſtrength, they conſidered as fully ſufficient to deter invaders. Theſe diſſenſions among the Engliſh, gave the French an opportunity of carrying on their deſigns in another quarter; and while the miniſtry were employed in guarding againſt the neighbouring terrors, they were attacked in the Mediterranean, where they expected no danger. The iſland of Minorca, which had been taken from the Spaniards in the reign of queen Anne, was ſecured to England by repeated treaties. But the miniſtry, blinded by domeſtic fears, had neglected to take ſufficient precautions for its defence; in conſequence of which, the garriſon could not reſiſt the efforts of a vigorous ſiege.

The French landed near the fortification of St. Philip, ſuppoſed to be one of the ſtrongeſt in Europe, and commanded by general Blakeney. The ſiege was carried on with vigour, and for ſome time as obſtinately defended by the Engliſh.

The miniſtry, apprized of this attack, reſolved to raiſe the ſiege, if poſſible, and ſent out admiral Byng with ten ſhips of war, with orders to relieve Minorca at any rate. Byng accordingly ſailed from Gibraltar, where he was refuſed any aſſiſtance of men from the governor of that garriſon, under pretence that his own fortification was in danger.

On his approaching the iſland, he ſaw the French banners diſplayed upon the ſhore, and the Engliſh colours ſtill flying on the caſtle of St. Philip. He had received orders to throw a body of troops into the garriſon; but, thinking this too hazardous an undertaking, he did not even make an attempt. While he was thus deliberating between his fears and his duty, his attention was ſuddenly called off by the appearance of a French fleet, which ſeemed to be of nearly equal force to his own.

Confounded by a variety of objects, he knew not which to purſue, and therefore gave orders to form the line of battle, and act upon the defenſive. Byng had long enjoyed the reputation of extraordinary ſkill in naval tactics; and perhaps valuing moſt thoſe talents for which he was extolled, he ſacrificed all claims to courage to the applauſe for naval diſcipline. The French fleet advanced, a part of the Engliſh engaged, the admiral ſtill kept aloof, and aſſigned very plauſible reaſons for not coming into action. The French fleet therefore deliberately ſailed away, and no other opportunity occurred of coming to a cloſer engagement.

The diviſion under rear-admiral Weſt, however, who was the ſecond in command, drove three of the French ſhips out of the line: and, if ſupported, would have gained a complete victory. As an apology for not bearing down upon the enemy, Byng ſaid to his captain, that he would avoid the error of admiral Mathews, who incurred the cenſure of a court-martial by his wrong-headed temerity, in raſhly violating the laws of naval diſcipline!

The conſequences of this indeciſive action were ſuch as had been foreſeen by thoſe acquainted with the ſentiments of the Engliſh admiral. Byng, though in ſome degree victorious, as the French admiral bore away to ſupport that part of his line which had been broken by Mr. Weſt, and though the Engliſh fleet had loſt only forty men, immediately retired to Gibraltar, as if he had ſuſtained a defeat. The reaſons aſſigned for that retreat, in which a council of war concurred, were his inferiority to the enemy in number of men and guns; his apprehenſions for the ſafety of Gibraltar, and the impoſſibility of relieving Minorca; though it appeared, on the fulleſt evidence, that no attempt to afford ſuch relief was made, and that the landing of troops, at the ſally-port of the caſtle, was very practicable*.

Nothing could exceed the reſentment of the nation, upon being informed of Byng's conduct. The

* See the examination of lord Blakeney and Mr. Boyd in the printed trial of admiral John Byng.

The miniſtry, endeavouring to throw from themſelves the blame of thoſe meaſures which were attended with ſuch indifferent ſucceſs, only tended to fan the flame. The intelligence which ſoon after arrived, of the ſurrender of the garriſon to the French, drove the general ferment almoſt to frenzy. In the mean time Byng continued at Gibraltar, perfectly ſatisfied with his own conduct, and little expected the dreadful ſtorm which was gathering againſt him at home. Orders were ſpeedily diſpatched for putting him under an arreſt, and for carrying him to England.

On his arrival, he was committed to cloſe cuſtody in Greenwich Hoſpital. Several addreſſes were preſented from different counties, demanding juſtice on the delinquent, which the miniſtry were much inclined to ſecond. He was ſoon after tried by a court-martial, in Portſmouth harbour, where, after ſitting a few days, they adjudged him to ſuffer death, by the twelfth article of war, as he did *not exert his utmoſt endeavours to relieve St. Philip's Caſtle.* At the ſame time, however, they recommended him as an object of mercy, as they conſidered his conduct rather as the effects of error than of cowardice.

The government was reſolved upon ſhewing him no mercy; he therefore advanced from his cabin, on the day fixed for his execution, upon deck; and after delivering a paper, containing the ſtrongeſt aſſertions of his innocence, he came forward to the place where he was to kneel down, and for ſome time perſiſted in not covering his face; but his friends, repreſenting that his looks might poſſibly intimidate the ſoldiers, and prevent their taking proper aim, he had his eyes bound with a handkerchief; and then, giving the ſignal for the ſoldiers to fire, he ſuffered the death which was awarded. There appears ſome ſeverity in his puniſhment, but, as Voltaire ſarcaſtically obſerved, it was productive of beneficial effects to the nation*.

On the eighteenth of May, his majeſty thought proper to publiſh a declaration of war againſt the French king, importing, that the unwarrantable proceedings of the French in the Weſt Indies and North America, from the concluſion of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and other articles of accuſation, which are too well known to require a recapitulation, made ſuch a meaſure neceſſary.

On the ninth of June, the French king declared war againſt his Britannic majeſty, and his declaration was conceived in the moſt viru-

* Perceiving that all hope of life was now cut off, admiral Byng collected a degree of courage that would have done him honour, and which had been better exerted in the day of battle. He was ſho', according to his ſentence, on board of ſhip, and behaved to the laſt with compoſure and dignity. Immediately before his death, he delivered a paper to the marſhal of the admiralty, in which he lays claim to *a faithful diſcharge of his duty*, according to *the beſt* of *his judgment*. And perhaps he was ſincere; but men, under ſuch circumſtances, are very apt to be partial to themſelves. "Perſuaded I am," adds he, (after congratulating himſelf that a few moments would deliver him from the virulent perſecution of his enemies) "that juſtice will be done to my reputation hereafter. "The manner, and cauſe, of raiſing, and keeping up the "popular clamour and prejudice againſt me will be ſeen "through. I ſhall be conſidered as a victim deſtined to "divert the indignation and reſentment of an injured "and deluded people from the proper objects."

Dr. Smollet, who was his warm advocate, after ſaying, "he was raſhly condemned, meanly given up, and cru"elly ſacrificed to vile conſiderations," has the candour to admit, that "the character of admiral Byng, in point "of *perſonal courage*, will *with many people* remain *problema"tical*: they will think be of opinion, that if the *ſpirit* "of a *Britiſh admiral* had been *properly exerted*, the "French fleet would have been *defeated*, and Minorca "*ſaved*. A man's opinion of danger," continues he, "varies at different times, in conſequence of an irregular "tide of animal ſpirits: he is often *actuated* by *conſidera"tions* which he *dares* not *avow*. And after *an officer*, "*thus influenced*, has *heſitated* or *kept aloof* in the *hour of* "*trial*, the mind, *eager* for its own JUSTIFICATION, "*aſſembles*, with ſurpriſing induſtry, *every favourable cir"cumſtance of excuſe*, and *broods* over them with *parental* "*partiality*; until it becomes not only *ſatisfied* but *enamoured of* their *beauty* and *complexion*, like a doting "mother, *blind* to the *deformity* of her *own offspring*." *(Continuat. Hiſt. England*, vol. i.) Theſe ingenuous reflections, and others of a like kind, which do honour to the diſcernment of Smollet, and diſtinguiſh his character as an hiſtorian, will long be remembered, after the malice of his enemies, and his own political prejudices, his generous but ſelf-deluding perſonal attachments, and his violent reſentments are forgot. *Ruſſell's Mod. Eur.*

At this time a number of public-ſpirited merchants of the city of London, and others, formed themſelves into a very laudable aſſociation, under the name of the Marine Society, and contributed conſiderable ſums of money for equipping ſuch friendleſs and forlorn boys, as were willing to engage in the ſervice of the navy. In conſequence of this excellent plan, which was executed with equal zeal and diſcretion, many thouſands were reſcued from miſery, and rendered uſeful members of that ſociety, of which they muſt have been the bane, without this humane interpoſition.

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lent terms: charging him with fraud, perfidy, and deceit; though the accuſers themſelves muſt have been perfectly acquainted with the falſity of their own imputations, and at the ſame time conſcious of their having practiſed the very arts which they ſo much affected to decry.

The news of the taking of Minorca tranſported the French populace, and even the court, with the moſt extravagant joy. Nothing was to be ſeen in France but triumphs and proceſſions; nor any thing heard but anthems, congratulations, and hyperbolical compliments to the victory. The people of England were depreſſed in an equal degree, when informed of the loſs of that important place. But, inſtead of aſcribing it to the number and valour of the French ſoldiers and ſailors, or to the ſkill of their commanders, the great body of the nation imputed it wholly to the cowardice of admiral Byng, and the improvidence of the Britiſh miniſtry. Petitions accordingly poured in from all quarters, demanding juſtice, and an inquiry into the conduct of adminiſtration relative to Minorca*.

The French, being now maſters of Minorca, were willing to follow their blow by an attack upon a country, which they knew was dearer to the king of England. Convinced that they were incapable of holding their acquiſitions againſt ſuch a ſuperiority as the Engliſh were poſſeſſed of at ſea, and the numerous reſources they had of aſſiſting their colonies with all the neceſſaries of war; they did not ſcruple to declare that they would revenge all injuries which they might ſuſtain in their colonies, upon the king of England's territories in Germany; a menace, which they believed, would ſoon oblige the Engliſh miniſtry to accept of ſuch terms as they ſhould deign to offer. Or, in caſe of perſeverance, they knew it would divide the Engliſh forces, and lead them to a country where they muſt be manifeſtly inferior.

In theſe hopes they were not much diſappointed. The court of London, dreading the conſequences of their indignation, and eager to procure the ſecurity of Hanover, entered into a very expenſive treaty with the court of Ruſſia, by which it was ſtipulated, that a body of fifty thouſand Ruſſians ſhould be ready to act in the Engliſh ſervice, in caſe Hanover ſhould be invaded; and for this the Czarina was to receive an hundred thouſand pounds annually, to be paid in advance.

This treaty with the Ruſſians, which was conſidered as a maſter-ſtroke of politics by the miniſtry in England, ſoon appeared to be as nugatory as it was expenſive. The king of Pruſſia long conſidered himſelf as guardian of the intereſts of Germany, and was ſtartled at a treaty which threatened to deluge the empire with an army of barbarians. This monarch, whoſe talents were well known, had learned by his ſagacity to prevent the deſigns of his enemies, while they were only brooding, and to repreſs them by his courage when they were manifeſt. He, therefore, took the firſt opportunity to declare, that he would not ſuffer any foreign forces to enter the empire, either as principals or auxiliaries. This conſummate politician, it appears, had already been apprized of a ſecret negotiation between the Ruſſians and the Auſtrians, by which the latter were to enter the empire and ſtrip him of his late conqueſts of Sileſia. Thus England became the dupe of Ruſſian politics; ſhe paid them a large ſubſidy for entering the empire, which they had already determined on without her permiſſion.

The king of England, whoſe fears for Hanover directed all his counſels, now ſaw himſelf in the ſituation he principally dreaded. His native dominions were now expoſed to the reſentment of France and Pruſſia; either of which was ſufficient to over-run and ravage his electorate, while the Ruſſian ſubſidiaries were at

* The opinions of the public have long been divided with regard to the equity of admiral Byng's doom. By many it has been condemned as unreaſonably ſevere; and, by others, it has been pronounced juſt and neceſſary. That the admiral did not behave with due ſpirit, is manifeſt. He attended to punctilio, when vigour ought to have been exerciſed; and, by deſpairing of ſucceſs, becauſe the enemy had ſome ſuperiority in weight of metal and number of men, he proved himſelf deficient in that determined intrepidity which his ſituation required, though he poſſeſſed a ſufficient degree of courage for the occaſions of ordinary ſervice. Perhaps, however, it would have been an adequate ſacrifice to the demands of juſtice, if he had been diſmiſſed from the navy with ignominy and contempt. *Dr. Coote.*

Admiral Forbes, one of the court-martial upon the trial of admiral Byng, from conſcientious motives, refuſed to ſign the warrant for his execution.

too great a diſtance to afford him the ſmalleſt relief. Treaties were once more propoſed to lend a precarious ſecurity; and the king of Pruſſia was applied to, in hopes of giving his reſentment another bias. All the king of England wiſhed for was to keep a foreign enemy from invading Germany, and this the king of Pruſſia profeſſed to deſire with equal ardour. From this ſimilitude of intention, theſe two monarchs were induced to unite their intereſts; and as they were both inſpired by the ſame wiſh, they ſpeedily came to an agreement, by which they promiſed to aſſiſt each other, and to prevent all foreign armies from entering the empire.

From this new alliance both powers expected great advantages. Beſides preſerving the independence of the German ſtates, which was the oſtenſible object, each had their peculiar benefits in view. The king of Pruſſia knew the Auſtrians were his ſecret enemies, and that the Ruſſians were in league with them againſt him. An alliance, therefore, with the court of London kept back the Ruſſians, whom he dreaded, and furniſhed him with hopes of puniſhing Auſtria, whom he long ſuſpected. France he conſidered as a natural ally, which, from her long and hereditary enmity with the Auſtrians, would ever continue ſtedfaſt in his intereſts. On the other ſide, the elector of Hanover had ſtill ſtronger expectations from the benefits that would reſult from this alliance. By this meaſure he procured a powerful and neighbouring ally, which he ſuppoſed the French would not venture to diſoblige. He conſidered the Auſtrians as naturally attached to his own intereſts by gratitude and friendſhip, and he ſuppoſed the Ruſſians would at leaſt continue neuter from their former ſtipulations and ſubſidy. The two contracting powers, however, ſoon found themſelves deceived in all their expectations.

From this alliance another aroſe of a very oppoſite nature, which aſtoniſhed all Europe. The queen of Hungary had long meditated deſigns for recovering Sileſia, which the king of Pruſſia had invaded when ſhe was unable to defend her native dominions, and kept poſſeſſion of by a reluctant conceſſion. Her chief hopes of aſſiſtance were from Ruſſia; and ſhe expected the reſt of the powers in queſtion would continue neuter. But ſhe now found by the late treaty, that all her hopes of Ruſſian aſſiſtance were fruſtrated, as England was joined with Pruſſia to counteract her intentions. Thus deprived of one ally, ſhe thought it expedient to ſubſtitute another. She applied to France for that purpoſe; and to procure the alliance of that court, gave up her barrier in the Netherlands, which England had been for many ages ſecuring againſt that power with its blood and treaſures. By this extraordinary revolution, the whole political ſyſtem of Europe acquired a new aſpect, and the treaties of a century were at one blow rendered wholly ineffectual.

This treaty between France and Auſtria was no ſooner ratified, than the Czarina was invited to accede; and ſhe, regardleſs of her ſubſidies from England, readily embraced the propoſal. A ſettlement in the weſtern parts of Europe, that ſtate had long wiſhed to obtain; poſſeſſed of that, this fierce northern empire could then pour down freſh legions at any time upon the ſouthern powers, exhauſted by luxury and contention. Not only Ruſſia, but Sweden, was alſo induced to accede by the intrigues of France; and a war between that nation and Pruſſia was commenced, though contrary to the inclinations of the reſpective ſovereigns of either ſtate.

Thus the forces of the contending powers were now drawn out in the following manner. England oppoſed France in America, Aſia, and on the ocean. France attacked Hanover on the continent of Europe. This country the king of Pruſſia undertook to protect; while England promiſed to furniſh him with troops and money to aſſiſt his operations. Auſtria had her aims on the dominions of Pruſſia, and drew the elector of Saxony into the ſame deſigns. In theſe views ſhe was ſupported by France and Sweden, and by Ruſſia, who entertained hopes of acquiring a ſettlement in the weſt of Europe. Such were the different combinations which were formed for beginning the general war, while the reſt of the powers remained anxious ſpectators of the contention.

The warlike preparations were firſt begun on the ſide of Auſtria, who had engaged the elector of Saxony in the general diſpute. Great armaments were, therefore, raiſing in Moravia and Bohemia, while the elector of Saxony, under a

pretence of military parade, drew together about fifteen thouſand men, which were poſted in a ſtrong ſituation at Pirna. But the intent of theſe preparations was ſoon perceived by the vigilant king of Pruſſia; and he ordered his miniſter at the court of Vienna to demand a perfect explanation, and to extort proper aſſurances of the amicable intentions of that court. To this demand he received an evaſive anſwer; and having ordered his miniſter to inſiſt upon an open and ingenuous reply, whether the empreſs-queen was for peace or war, and whether ſhe had any intentions to attack him that or the enſuing year, an ambiguous anſwer was ſtill returned. He now reſolved to ſuſpend all negociations, and to carry the war into the enemy's country, rather than wait for it in his own.

He therefore entered Saxony with a large army, and in the uſual ſtrain of civility, demanded from the elector a paſſage through his dominions, which he well knew the poſſeſſor was not able to refuſe. In the mean time, he diſguiſed his ſuſpicions of the elector's having entered into a ſecret treaty with his enemies, and profeſſed himſelf extremely pleaſed with that ſovereign's promiſes of obſerving a ſtrict neutrality. But to carry on the deceit ſtill farther, he intreated, that as the elector's troops were perfectly unneceſſary, in conſequence of his pacific diſpoſition, that he would diſband them for the preſent, as he could not poſſibly have occaſion for their ſervices.

This propoſal the elector neither expected, nor was willing to accede to. He rejected the requeſt with diſdain; and the king, who probably intended it ſhould be refuſed, reſolved to direct the occurrence to his own advantage. Such was the ſituation of the Saxon camp, that though a ſmall party could defend it againſt the moſt numerous forces, yet the ſame difficulty attended the quitting it, which hindered the enemy from ſtorming it. Of this, therefore, his Pruſſian majeſty took the advantage; and by blocking up every avenue of egreſs, he cut off the proviſions of the Saxon army, and the whole body was ſoon obliged to capitulate. He incorporated the common ſoldiers into his own army; and thoſe officers who refuſed to ſerve under him, he made priſoners of war.

His Pruſſian majeſty thus launched into a tumult of war, with all the moſt powerful ſovereignties of Europe againſt him, and England only in alliance, proceeded with a vigour that exceeded what hiſtory can relate, and which may appear incredible to poſterity. King only of a ſmall territory, and aſſiſted by an ally, whoſe ſituation was too remote to render him any conſiderable ſervices, attacked and ſurrounded by his enemies, he ſtill oppoſed them on every ſide, invaded Bohemia, defeated the Auſtrian general at Lowoſcutch, retreated, began his ſecond campaign with another victory near Prague, and was on the point of taking that city, but a temerity, inſpired by ſucceſs, ſuffered a defeat at Kolin. Still, however, unconquered, "Fortune," ſaid he, "has turned her back upon "me this day. I ought to have expected it. "She is a female, and I am no gallant. Succeſs often occaſions a deſtructive confidence. "Another time will do better." We can mention thouſands of inſtances of thoſe who gained battles; but no general ever, before him, candidly acknowledged his errors, except Cæſar.

What the king ſaid of the inſtability of fortune ſhortly began to appear; and ſhe ſeemed totally to have turned her back upon him. One diſaſter regularly followed another. The Hanoverians, who were joined with him by his treaty with England, had armed in his favour, and were commanded by the duke of Cumberland*, who appeared

* Alarmed at the danger which threatened his electoral dominions, George II. had entered deeply into the continental quarrel, and even ſent over a body of Britiſh troops for the protection of Hanover. In theſe views, however, he was thwarted by Pitt and Legge, his new miniſters; who, adhering to the patriotic principles in which they had been bred, and in the diffuſing of which they had acquired popularity, and raiſed themſelves to power, conſidered Hanover as a uſeleſs and expenſive appendage to the crown of Great Britain; and all continental connexions as inconſiſtent with our inſular ſituation. The popular miniſters were deprived of their employments, for preſuming to oppoſe the will of their ſovereign in council. And though it was too late to adopt new meaſures for the campaign, with any probability of ſucceſs, the duke of Cumberland was ſent over to command an army of *obſervation*, as it was called, intended for the defence of Hanover. This army, which conſiſted of forty thouſand Heſſians and Hanoverians, including a few regiments of Pruſſians, attempted in vain to obſtruct the

appeared, from the beginning, ſenſible of the inſufficiency of his troops to face the enemy, by whom he was greatly outnumbered. He was driven beyond the Weſer, the paſſage of which might probably have been diſputed with ſucceſs, yet the French were permitted to paſs it unmoleſted. The Hanoverian army, therefore, was now chaſed from one part of the country to another, till at length it made a ſtand near the village of Haſtenback, where it was hoped the numbers of the enemy would have the leaſt opportunity of coming to a general action. But the inferior army was ſtill obliged to retire; and after a feeble effort, left the field of battle to the French, who were not remiſs in urging the purſuit.

The Hanoverian army retired towards Stalde, marching through a country in which they could procure no proviſions, nor attack the enemy with any probability of ſucceſs. Unable, therefore, by their ſituation to eſcape, or by their ſtrength to advance, they were compelled to ſign a capitulation, by which the whole body laid down their arms, and were diſperſed into different quarters of cantonment. By this remarkable capitulation, which was called the treaty of Cloſter Seven, Hanover was obliged to ſubmit quietly to the French, who were now determined to turn upon the king of Pruſſia with undiminiſhed forces.

The ſituation of this monarch was become deſperate, nor could human foreſight diſcover how he could extricate himſelf from his difficulties. The French forces, now united, invaded his dominions on one ſide, commanded by marſhal Broglio. The Ruſſians, who for ſome time had hovered over his empire, under the conduct of general Apraxin, ſuddenly haſtened onward to deſtroy him, marking their way with cruelty and ſlaughter. A large body of Auſtrians entered Sileſia; and, penetrating as far as Breſlau, turned to the ſtrong fortreſs of Schweidnitz, which, after an obſtinate defence, they obliged to ſurrender. Another army of the ſame power entered Luſatia, made themſelves maſter of Zittau, and, preſſing forward, laid the capital of Berlin under contribution.

On another quarter, a body of twenty-two thouſand Swedes penetrated into Pruſſian Pomerania, took the towns of Anclam and Demmin, and exacted tribute from the whole country. In this multitude of invaders, the king of Pruſſia faced about to every incurſion, when his enemies fled before him, while he purſued one body, another penetrated from behind, and even while he was victorious, his territories were daily diminiſhing. The greateſt part of his dominions was laid under contribution, moſt of his ſtrongeſt cities were taken, and he had no reſources but in the generoſity of a Britiſh parliament, and his own eminent abilities.

He could derive little ſuccour from the Engliſh, eſpecially as the Hanoverians were reſtrained by treaty from acting in his favour. The miniſtry, however, convinced that ſomething ſhould be done, projected an enterprize againſt the coaſts of France, which, by creating a diverſion in that part of the kingdom, would draw off the attention of the enemy from Pruſſia, and afford that monarch time to reſpire. Beſides this intention, England alſo meditated a blow to their marine, by deſtroying ſuch ſhips as were building, or were remaining in the harbour of Rochfort, againſt which city their operations were principally intended. The Engliſh miniſtry kept the object of the enterprize a profound ſecret; and France entertained diſagreeable apprehenſions, till at length the fleet appeared before Rochfort, where the commanders paſſed ſome time in deliberating how to proceed. After ſome conſultation, it was determined to ſecure the little iſland of Aix, an eaſy conqueſt, and of no advantage to the invaders.

In the mean time, the militia of the country, recovering from their conſternation, had leiſure to aſſemble, when two camps preſented themſelves upon ſhore. The commanders, therefore, who, from the inclemency of the weather, were prevented from landing, now began to fear greater dangers from the enemy on land. They took into conſideration the inconvenience of the coaſt, the danger of landing, the time the city had been preparing for a vigorous defence, and

the progreſs of mareſchal d'Etrees. The duke of Cumberland, after ſome unſucceſsful ſkirmiſhes, was obliged to retire behind the Weſer; and the French paſſed that river without oppoſition.

their

their own inability of reducing it by any other means than a ſudden attack. This conſideration induced them to deſiſt from farther operations; and they unanimouſly reſolved to return home.

From this expedition, therefore, the king of Pruſſia derived but little advantage; and the deſpondence among the Engliſh was ſo extreme, that the miniſtry had it in contemplation to give up his cauſe entirely. It was ſuppoſed, that no military efforts could ſave him; and that the only chance remaining was to make the beſt terms poſſible for him with his victorious enemies. The king of England was actually meditating a negotiation of this nature, when his diſtreſſed ally expoſtulated with him to the following effect. "Is it poſſible that your ma-
" jeſty can have ſo little fortitude and conſtancy,
" as to be diſpirited by a ſmall reverſe of for-
" tune? Are our affairs ſo ruinous that they
" cannot be repaired? Conſider the ſtep you
" have made me undertake, and remember,
" you are the cauſe of all my misfortunes. I
" ſhould never have abandoned my former al-
" liances, but for your flattering aſſurances. I
" do not now repent of the treaty concluded
" between us; but I entreat that you will not
" ingloriouſly leave me at the mercy of my ene-
" mies, after having brought upon me all the
" powers of Europe."

In this terrible ſituation, England reſolved, more from motives of generoſity than of intereſt, to ſupport his declining cauſe. In conſequence of which, ſucceſs that had ſo long deſerted him, now began to return with all its attractions*.

The eaſt was the quarter on which ſucceſs firſt began to dawn upon the Britiſh arms. The war in our Aſiatic territories had never been wholly ſuſpended. It was undertaken at firſt, by both nations, under the colour of lending aſſiſtance to the contending chiefs of the country, but the allies ſoon became the principals in the contention. This war at firſt, and for a conſiderable time after the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, was carried on with doubtful ſucceſs; but at length the affairs of the Engliſh ſeemed to gain the aſcendancy, by the conduct of Mr Clive. This gentleman had firſt entered the company's ſervice in a civil capacity, but finding his talents

* On the fifth of January, 1757, a French fanatic, named Robert Francis Damien, attempted to aſſaſſinate the king of France. As his majeſty was ſtepping into his coach, to return to Trianon whence he had that day come to Verſailles, Damien, mingling among his attendants, ſtabbed him with a knife on the right ſide, between the fourth and fifth ribs. Immediately his majeſty, applying his hand to his ſide, cried out, "I am wound-
" ed! Seize him; but do not hurt him." A vein was opened, the wound dreſſed, and happily found not dangerous.

Damien made no attempts to eſcape; but ſuffering himſelf quietly to be ſeized, was carried to the guard room, where being interrogated if he committed the horrid action, he boldly anſwered in the affirmative. A proceſs againſt him was inſtantly commenced at Verſailles: many perſons, ſuppoſed acceſſaries to the deſign upon the king's life, were ſent to the Baſtile: the aſſaſſin himſelf put to the torture, and the moſt excruciating torments applied, with intention to extort a confeſſion of the reaſons that could induce him to ſo execrable an attempt upon his ſovereign. Inciſions were made in the muſcular parts of his legs, arms, and thighs, into which boiling oil was poured. Every ſpecies of cruelty, that human invention could deviſe, was practiſed without effect: nothing could overcome his obſtinacy; and his ſilence was conſtrued into a preſumption, that he muſt have had accomplices in the plot.

It was equally foreign to our purpoſe, and contrary to our inclination to relate all the circumſtances of this cruel and tragical event. Suffice it to ſay, that, after ſuffering the moſt exquiſite torments that human wit could invent, or human nature ſupport, his judges thought proper to terminate his miſery by a death ſhocking to imagination, and ſhameful to humanity. On the twenty-eighth of March he was conducted, amidſt a vaſt concourſe of the populace, to the Greve, the common place of execution, ſtripped naked, and faſtened to the ſcaffold by iron gyves. One of his hands was then burned in liquid flaming ſulphur; his thighs, legs, and arms torn with red hot pincers; boiling oil, melted lead, roſin, and ſulphur, were poured into the wounds. The unfortunate culprit expired under the extremity of pain. His body and limbs were reduced to aſhes under the ſcaffold; his father, wife, daughter, and family, baniſhed the kingdom for ever; the name of Damien obliterated, and the innocent involved in the puniſhment of the guilty. Thus ended the cruel procedure againſt Damien and his family, in a manner not very favourable to the avowed clemency of Lewis, or the pretended humanity of the French nation: it appeared, from inconteſtible proofs, that the attempt on the king's life was the reſult of inſanity, and a diſturbed imagination. Several inſtances of a diſordered mind, had been before obſerved, and the deteſtation juſtly due to the enormity of his crime, ought now to have been abſorbed in the conſideration of his misfortune, the greateſt attendant upon human nature.

better adapted to military purſuits, he reſigned his clerkſhip, and joined among the troops as a volunteer. His courage, which is all that ſubordinate officers can at firſt diſplay, ſoon became remarkable, but his conduct, activity, and military ſkill, ſoon after became ſo conſpicuous as to raiſe him to a principal rank in the army.

The firſt advantage obtained from his promptitude and courage was the clearing the province of Arcot. Soon after, the French general was taken priſoner; and the nabob, whom the Engliſh ſupported, was re-inſtated in the government, of which he had formerly been deprived.

The French, diſcouraged by theſe circumſtances, and ſenſible of their own inferiority in theſe regions, ſent over a commiſſary to Europe to reſtore peace. A convention between the two companies was accordingly concluded, importing that the territories taken on either ſide, ſince the concluſion of the laſt peace ſhould be mutually reſtored; that the nabobs advanced by the influence of either party ſhould be acknowledged by both: and that for the future neither ſhould interfere in the differences which ſhould ariſe between the princes of that country.

This ceſſation, which promiſed ſuch permanent tranquillity, was, nevertheleſs, of ſhort duration. Compacts made between trading companies can never be of long continuance, when emolument is oppoſed to integrity. In a few months both parties renewed their operations, no longer under the name of auxiliaries, but as rivals in arms, in government, and in commerce.

What were their reſpective motives for this conduct, are not ſufficiently known; but wherever there is trade there is avarice; and that is a paſſion which overleaps the bounds of equity. Certain it is, that the prince of the greateſt power in that country declared war againſt the Engliſh, from motives of perſonal reſentment, and levying a numerous army, laid ſiege to Calcutta, one of the principal Britiſh forts in that quarter of the world; but which was not in a ſtate of ſtrength to defend itſelf againſt the attack even of barbarians. The governor of the fort, intimidated by the number and power of the enemy, abandoned the fort, and took refuge on board a ſhip in the river, carrying with him his moſt valuable effects, and the books of the company. Thus the defence of the place devolved to Mr. Holwell, the ſecond in command, who, with the aſſiſtance of a few gallant officers, and a very feeble garriſon, maintained it with extraordinary courage and reſolution, againſt ſeveral attacks, till he was overpowered by numbers, and the enemy had forced a paſſage into the caſtle. He was now compelled to ſubmit; when the ſuba or viceroy declared, on the word of a ſoldier, that no injury ſhould be ſuſtained by him or his garriſon. The fort was accordingly taken, and the garriſon, to the number of one hundred and forty-ſix perſons, were made priſoners.

They expected the uſual treatment of priſoners of war, and were therefore the leſs vigorous in their defence; but they ſoon diſcovered what mercy was to be expected from a ſavage conqueror. They were all crouded together into a narrow priſon, called the Black Hole, of about eighteen feet ſquare, and receiving air only by two ſmall iron windows to the weſt, which by no means afforded a ſufficient circulation. It is terrible to reflect on the ſituation of the unfortunate men, ſhut up in this narrow place, in the burning climate of the eaſt, and ſuffocating each other. Their firſt efforts, upon perceiving the effects of their horrid confinement, were to break open the door of the priſon; but as it opened inward, they ſoon found that impoſſible. They next endeavoured to excite the compaſſion, or the avarice of the guard, by offering him a conſiderable ſum of money for his aſſiſtance in removing them to ſeparate priſons; but with this he was not able to comply, as the viceroy was aſleep, and no perſon could preſume to diſturb him. They were therefore abandoned to deſtruction without hopes of relief; and the whole priſon reſounded with groans, ſhrieks, conteſt, and deſpair. This turbulence, however, ſoon after ſunk into a calm, ſtill more hideous; their efforts of ſtrength and courage were exhauſted, and an expiring langour ſucceeded. In the morning, when the keepers came to viſit the priſon, all was horror, ſilence, and deſolation. Of an hundred and forty-ſix who had entered alive, twenty-three only ſurvived, and of theſe

theſe the greateſt part were taken off with putrid fevers upon being ſet at liberty*.

The deſtruction of this important fortreſs ſerved to interrupt the proſperous ſucceſſes of the Engliſh company. But the fortune of Mr. Clive, ſupported by the activity of an Engliſh fleet under admiral Watſon, ſtill turned the ſcale in their favour. Among the number of thoſe who experienced the power of the Engliſh in this part of the world, was the famous Tullagee

* Mr. Holwell, who had placed himſelf at one of the windows, accoſted a Jemmatdaar, or ſerjeant of the Indian guard, and having endeavoured to excite his compaſſion, by drawing a pathetic picture of their ſufferings, promiſed to make him a preſent of a thouſand rupees in the morning, if he could find means to convey half of them into a ſeparate apartment. The ſoldier, tempted by the proſpect of ſuch a reward, aſſured him he would do his endeavour for their relief, and retired for that purpoſe; but, in a few minutes returned, and told him, that the ſuba, by whoſe order alone ſuch a ſtep could be taken, was aſleep, and no perſon durſt venture to diſturb his repoſe. By this time every individual was covered with a profuſe ſweat, which was attended with an inſatiable thirſt. In vain did thoſe miſerable objects ſtrip themſelves of their cloaths, ſink down upon the ground, and fan the air with their hats, in order to produce a refreſhing undulation; ſome of whom, unable to riſe again from this poſture, were trod to death or ſuffocated. The dreadful ſymptom of thirſt was now accompanied with a difficulty of reſpiration; and every individual gaſped for breath. Their deſpair became outrageous: again they endeavoured to force open the door, and provoke the guard to fire upon them by curſes and imprecations. The cry of "Water! Water!" iſſued from every mouth. Even the Jemmatdaar was moved with compaſſion at their diſtreſs†. He ordered his ſoldiers to bring ſome ſkins of water, which ſerved only to inflame deſire, and increaſe the general confuſion. There was no other way of conveying it through the windows but by hats, and this was rendered ineffectual by the violent tranſports of the wretched priſoners, who, on beholding it, ſtruggled and raved even into fits of madneſs. In conſequence of theſe conteſts, very little reached even thoſe who were neareſt the windows, while thoſe at the farther end of the priſon were totally cut off from all relief, and continued calling upon their friends for aſſiſtance, and conjuring them by all the tender ties of pity and affection. To thoſe who were indulged with it, it proved pernicious; for, inſtead of allaying their thirſt, it inflamed their appetite for more. The confuſion became general and horrid: all was clamour and uproar: thoſe who were at a diſtance endeavoured to force their paſſage to the window, and the weak were preſſed down to the ground never to riſe again. The barbarous ruffians without, ſeemed to triumph in their miſery; they ſupplied the priſoners with more water, and held up lights cloſe to the bars, that they might enjoy the inhuman pleaſure of ſeeing them combat for the baneful indulgence. Mr. Holwell, ſeeing all his particular friends lying dead around him, and trod upon by the living, finding himſelf wedged ſo cloſe as to be deprived of all motion, begged, as the laſt inſtance of their regard, they would remove the preſſure, and permit him to retire from the window, that he might die in quiet. Even in thoſe dreadful circumſtances, which might be ſuppoſed to have deſtroyed all diſtinction; the poor delirious wretches diſcovered a reſpect for his rank and character. They at length gave way, and he forced his paſſage into the center of the place, which was leſs crouded; becauſe, by this time, a third of the number had periſhed, and lay in little compaſs on the floor, while the reſt ſtill preſſed forward to the windows. He retired to a platform at the farther end of the room, and, lying down upon ſome of his dead friends, recommended his ſoul to heaven Here his thirſt grew intolerable: his difficulty in breathing increaſed, and he was ſeized with a ſtrong palpitation. Theſe violent ſymptoms, which he could not bear, urged him to make another effort: he forced his way back to the window, and cried aloud, "Water! for God's "ſake!" His wretched companions finding him ſtill alive, exhibited another extraordinary proof of tenderneſs and regard to his perſon: "Give him water," they cried, nor would one of them preſume to touch it till he had drank. He now breathed more freely, and the palpitation ceaſed: but finding himſelf ſtill more thirſty after drinking, he abſtained from water, and moiſtened his mouth from time to time by ſucking the perſpiration from his ſhirt-ſleeves. The miſerable priſoners, perceiving that water rather provoked than allayed their thirſt, grew clamorous for air, and repeated their inſults to the guard, pouring forth the moſt bitter imprecations againſt the ſuba and his governor. From imprecations they had recourſe to prayer, beſeeching heaven to put a period to their miſery. They now began to drop more abundantly; but a ſteam aroſe from the living, and the dead, as pungent and volatile as ſpirit of hartſhorn: all who could not approach the windows were ſuffocated. Mr. Holwell, weary of life, retired once more to the platform, and ſtretched himſelf by the reverend Mr. Jervas Bellamy, who, together with his ſon, a lieutenant, lay dead in each other's arms. In this ſituation, he was ſoon deprived of ſenſe, and ſeemed to all appearance dead till day-break, when his body was diſcovered, and carried by his ſurviving friends to one of the windows, where the freſh air revived his ſpirits, and reſtored him to the uſe of his ſight and ſenſes. The ſuba, at laſt, being told that the greater part of the priſoners were ſtifled, enquired if the chief was alive; and being anſwered in the affirmative, ſent an order for their immediate releaſe, when no more than twenty-three ſurvived of an hundred and forty-ſix, who had been impriſoned.

† "*Unhappy men!*" *ſaid the Jemmatdaar.* "*Submit to* "*neceſſity. The ſuba is aſleep!—and what ſlave dares diſ-*"*turb his repoſe?*" Holwell's Narrative. *A ſtronger picture of deſpotiſm was never drawn, nor a deeper ſcene of human miſery exhibited.*

Angria

Angria a piratical prince, who had long infeſted the Indian Ocean, and made the princes on the coaſt his tributaries. He maintained a large number of gallies, with which he attacked the largeſt ſhips, and generally with ſucceſs. As the company had been greatly harraſſed by his depredations, they reſolved to ſubdue ſo dangerous an enemy, and attack him in his own fortreſs. In purſuance of this reſolution, admiral Watſon and colonel Clive ſailed into his harbour of Geriah; and though they ſuſtained a heavy fire as they entered, they ſoon communicated unextinguiſhable flames to his fleet, and obliged his fort to ſurrender at diſcretion. The conquerors found in that repoſitory, a large quantity of warlike ſtores, and effects to a conſiderable value.

From this conqueſt colonel Clive proceeded to revenge the cruelty practiſed upon the Engliſh at Calcutta; and about the beginning of December arrived at Balaſore, in the kingdom of Bengal. He met with little oppoſition, either to the fleet or the army, till they came before Calcutta, which ſeemed determined to ſtand a regular ſiege. As ſoon as the admiral, with two ſhips, arrived before the town, he received a furious fire from all the batteries, which he ſoon returned with greater energy; and in leſs than two hours, compelled them to abandon their fortifications. By theſe means the Engliſh took poſſeſſion of the ſtrongeſt ſettlements on the banks of the Ganges; but that of Geriah they demoliſhed to the ground.

Soon after theſe ſucceſſes, Hughly, a mercantile city, was reduced with as little difficulty as the former; and all the viceroy of Bengal's ſtore-houſes and granaries were demoliſhed and deſtroyed. In order to repair theſe loſſes, this barbarous prince aſſembled an army of ten thouſand horſe, and fifteen thouſand foot, and expreſſed a firm reſolution of expelling the Engliſh from all their ſettlements in that part of the world. On the firſt intelligence of his march, colonel Clive, obtaining a reinforcement of men from the admiral's ſhips, advanced with his little army to attack theſe numerous forces. He attacked the enemy in three columns; and though the numbers were ſo diſproportioned, victory ſoon declared in favour of the Engliſh. This, and ſeveral other triumphs obtained by this commander, againſt ſuch a hoſt of foes, teach us no longer to wonder at thoſe conqueſts which were formerly gained by European troops over this weak and effeminate people. All the cuſtoms, habits, and opinions of the Aſiatics, tend to enervate and effeminate the body, and diſpirit the mind. When we conceive a body of men led up to the attack, clad in long ſilken garments, with no other courage than what opium can inſpire, no other fear from a defeat but that of changing their tyrant, with their chief commander mounted on an elephant, and conſequently a more conſpicuous object of aim, their artillery drawn by oxen, impatient and furious on the ſlighteſt wound, every ſoldier among them unacquainted with cool intrepidity, which provides againſt danger, and only fighting by the ſame fury which raiſes their paſſions; if we conſider all theſe circumſtances we ſhall not be ſurpriſed at European victories, and that two or three thouſand men are able to vanquiſh the largeſt armies they can bring into the field. All the heroiſm of a Cyrus, or an Alexander, in this view, will ſink in our eſteem, and no longer continue the object of admiration.

A victory ſo eaſily acquired by a few foreigners, ſoon rendered the viceroy of Bengal contemptible to his ſubjects at home. His cowardice now rendered him deſpicable, and his former cruelty odious. A conſpiracy was therefore formed againſt him by Ali Kan, his prime miniſter; and the Engliſh, having received intimation of the plan, reſolved to encourage it with their beſt endeavours. Colonel Clive, knowing he had a friend in the enemy's camp, marched forward, and approached the viceroy, who had by this time recruited his army, and once more fitted them for action. After a ſhort conteſt, however, Clive was again victorious; the whole Indian army was put to flight, and routed with great ſlaughter. Kan, who firſt incited his maſter to this undertaking, had concealed his attachments to the Engliſh, till he ſaw there was no danger from his perfidy. But, fully aſſured of the victory, he openly eſpouſed the ſide of the conquerors, and in conſequence of his private ſervices, was ſolemnly proclaimed by colonel Clive viceroy of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa, in the room of the former nabob, who

was as ſolemnly depoſed, and ſoon after put to death by his perfidious ſucceſſor.

The Engliſh having ſeated a viceroy on the throne (the Mogul having long been deprived of all power in India) they took care to exact ſuch ſtipulations in their own favour, as would ſecure them the poſſeſſion of the country whenever they thought proper to reſume their authority.

From the conqueſt of the Indians, colonel Clive conceived an idea of humbling the French, who had long diſputed empire in that part of the world. Chadenagore, a French ſettlement higher up the Ganges than Calcutta, was compelled to ſubmit to the Engliſh arms. The goods and money found in this place were conſiderable; but the political injury the French ſuſtained, was the ruin of this important ſettlement on the Ganges, by which they had long divided the commerce of this part of the continent. Thus in a ſingle campaign, carried on by the activity of Clive, and ſeconded by the operations of the admirals Watſon and Pococke, the Engliſh became poſſeſſed of a territory ſuperior in wealth, fertility, extent, and the number of its inhabitants, to any part of Europe. Upwards of two millions ſterling were given to the company, and to the ſurvivors of the impriſonment at Calcutta: the ſoldiers and ſeamen ſhared ſix hundred thouſand pounds, and the Engliſh power became irreſiſtible in that part of the world.

This ſucceſs was not a little alarming to the French miniſtry: and it may be reaſonably ſuppoſed, that even the Dutch entertained ſome jealouſy of this growing greatneſs. To make ſome degree of oppoſition, they ſent out a conſiderable reinforcement under the command of general Lally, an Iriſhman, from whoſe great experience, ſanguine expectations were conceived. Lally was one of the braveſt ſoldiers in the French ſervice, but totally unqualified for the direction of a trading company, as he was inſolent, proud, and precipitate: he had alſo a conſiderable mixture of avarice in his compoſition, which tempted him to ſhare in their emoluments. He had been from his youth bred up to arms, and carried the ſpirit of diſcipline to a ridiculous extreme, in a place where the nature of the ſervice required its relaxa-

Guided by this whimſical man, the affairs of the French for ſome time ſeemed to wear a complexion of ſucceſs. He took from the Engliſh their ſettlement of fort St. David's, and plundered the country of the king of Tanjore, in alliance with the enemy. He then entered the province of Arcot, and prepared for laying ſiege to Madras, the principal ſettlement of the Engliſh on the coaſt of Coromandel. In the ſiege of this important place, a greater variety of difficulties preſented themſelves than he had expected. The artillery of the garriſon was well conducted, while the French ſoldiers acted with the moſt daſtardly timidity; nor did even the council of Pondicherry ſecond the ardour of the general. It was in vain that Lally attempted to lead on his forces to a breach that had been practicable for ſeveral days; it continued open for a fortnight and not a man of them had dared to venture the aſſault. To add to his embaraſſments, he was very ill ſupplied with proviſions, and he found the garriſon had received a reinforcement. Deſpairing, therefore, of ſucceſs, he raiſed the ſiege; a circumſtance which ſo intimidated his troops, that they appeared abſolutely diſpirited in every ſucceeding operation,

But while ſucceſs ſeemed doubtful between the two contending nations, a rupture ſeemed to be preparing in a quarter where the Engliſh leaſt expected. The Dutch, under pretence of reinforcing their garriſons in Bengal, equipped a ſtrong armament of ſeven ſhips, which was directed to ſail up the Ganges, and render their fort at Chincura ſo formidable, as to exclude all other nations from the ſaltpetre trade, which was carried on there, and thus monopolize ſo beneficial a commodity.

But colonel Clive thought proper to oppoſe this project. He accordingly ſent the Dutch commander a letter, informing him that he could not ſuffer his landing, and marching his forces to the fort intended, as he foreſaw that it would be injurious to the commerce of Europe. To this meſſage the Dutchman replied, that he had no ſuch deſigns of a monopoly as were imputed to him, and only requeſted the liberty of landing and refreſhing his troops; a requeſt, apparently ſo reaſonable, was therefore readily granted. The Dutch commander, however, continued ſubmiſſive no longer than he ſuppoſed him-

ſelf unable to act with vigour, for when he knew that the ſhips which were to ſecond his operations were come up the river, he boldly began his march to Chincura, and took ſeveral ſmall veſſels belonging to the Engliſh in his paſſage up the river, to retaliate for the affront he pretended to have received.

Whether the Calcutta Indiamen was ſent out upon this occaſion to oppoſe the Dutch, or whether it was only purſuing its voyage down the river to England, is not known; but certain it is, that ſhe was prevented by the Dutch commander from going onward, and obliged to return to Calcutta with the complaints of this treatment to colonel Clive. The colonel was not ſlow in vindicating the honour of his country; and as there happened to be three India ſhips then in the harbour, he gave them immediate orders to meet the Dutch fleet, and ſink them if they preſumed to reſiſt. This command was obeyed with alacrity; but, after a few broadſides on either ſide, the Dutch commander ſtruck, and the reſt of the fleet followed his example. The victory thus obtained, without any conſiderable damage, captain Wilſon, who commanded in the expedition, took poſſeſſion of the enemy's fleet, and ſent their men priſoners to the Engliſh fort; while in the meantime, their land forces were defeated by colonel Ford, ordered by Clive upon that duty. This conteſt would probably have produced a freſh rupture in that part of the world; but a negociation ſoon after taking place, the Dutch wiſely yielded to a power that they were not able to withſtand, and were content to ſit down with the loſs.

In the mean time, the operations againſt the French were carried on with much more ſplendid ſucceſs. The Britiſh forces in the Carnatic, though greatly inferior to thoſe of the enemy in numbers, now took the field in different diviſions, and reduced ſucceſſively the French ſettlement of Maſulipatam and Conjeveram. Major Brereton, however, unhappily failed in a raſh but vigorous attack upon Wandiwaſh. He was repulſed with the loſs of two hundred men. But Wandiwaſh was afterwards reduced, and alſo Carnagolly, by colonel Coote, who had ſuperſeded Brereton in the command of the Britiſh forces. This able officer bravely maintained his conqueſt, and defeated a ſtrong army under general Lally, who made a bold attempt to regain poſſeſſion of the diſputed ſettlement.

The battle of Wandiwaſh was accompanied with ſeveral circumſtances ſufficiently intereſting to merit a particular deſcription. General Lally, being early deſerted by his whole body of cavalry, in conſequence of a briſk cannonade, put himſelf at the head of his line of infantry, and impetuouſly ruſhed into action. Colonel Coote coolly received the enemy at the head of his own regiment, which he had formed in a line, oppoſed obliquely to theirs. After two diſcharges, the regiment of Lorraine vigorouſly preſſed on, in the form of a column, through a heavy fire, and threatened to bear down all reſiſtance. In an inſtant the two regiments were engaged at the puſh of the bayonet. The front of the French column at firſt broke the Engliſh line, and a momentary confuſion enſued. But no ſooner did man encounter man in ſingle oppoſition, than the ſuperiority of Britiſh proweſs was conſpicuous. The field was ſuddenly ſtrewed with killed and wounded Frenchmen. The regiment of Lorraine was broken, routed, and purſued.

Another bloody conflict enſued, which finally decided the fortune of the day. As ſoon as colonel Coote could reſtrain the ardor of his own victorious battalion, he rode along the line, and ordered major Brereton to advance with Draper's regiment (the colonel having returned to England for the recovery of his health) and take poſſeſſion of a fortified poſt, which the enemy ſeemed to have abandoned. In making this effort, the major was mortally wounded, but not before he ſaw the poſt was gained. "Follow your blow!" exclaimed he, to ſome of the ſoldiers, who offered to aſſiſt him; "and leave me to my fate!"

That ſervice was gallantly performed by major Monſon, who now ſucceeded to the command of Draper's regiment. In vain did M. de Buſſy attempt to recover the dear-earned poſt, at the head of the regiment of Lally; in vain, did he ſtrive to maintain the combat on the plain. His horſe being ſhot under him, he was made priſoner, in leading on to the puſh of the bayonet the few troops that preſerved any countenance. Major Monſon received his ſword. The regiment of Lally was utterly broken; and the French

French general, having loſt ſix hundred men, was happy to ſave the wreck of his army, by abandoning his camp to the victors*. The routed infantry formed behind the cavalry, which had recovered from their panic, and the flight was conducted with ſome degree of order.

Nor were theſe the only achievements of the Britiſh forces in the Eaſt Indies, in the courſe of this memorable year. During the progreſs of colonel Coote on the coaſt of Coromandel, admiral Pococke, with an inferior force, defeated the French fleet, under M. d'Aché, in a third and deſperate engagement, though without capturing any ſhips. Surat, a place of great conſequence on the coaſt of Malabar, was taken by a detachment from the Engliſh ſettlement of Bombay. The French factory there was deſtroyed; and, on the oppoſite ſide of the peninſula, the Dutch were chaſtiſed for attempting to acquire an aſcendancy in Bengal.

The retaking the city of Arcot, was the conſequence of this victory; and nothing now remained to the French, of all their former dominions in India, but the ſtrong city of Pondicherry, their largeſt and moſt beautiful ſettlement. This city, which was the capital of the French eſtabliſhments in India, exceeded, in the days of its proſperity, all other European factories there, in trade, opulence, and ſplendor; and whatever wealth the French ſtill poſſeſſed, after repeated loſſes, was depoſited there. Colonel Coote afterwards proceeded to Arcot, reduced that capital, and ſurrendered it to the nabob. Having captured ſeveral inferior forts, he encamped near Pondicherry, and began to block up that important ſettlement; while major Monſon ſailed with rear-admiral Corniſh to inveſt Carical, which was taken after a ſhort ſiege. Other inſtances of ſucceſs followed; but the conqueſt of Pondicherry was reſerved for another reign.

While conqueſt thus ſhone upon us from the Eaſt, it was ſtill more ſplendid in the weſtern world. But ſome alterations in the miniſtry led to thoſe ſucceſſes which had been long wiſhed for by the nation, and were at length obtained. The affairs of war had been hitherto guided by a miniſtry, not countenanced by the commons, becauſe not confided in by the people. They ſeemed timid and wavering; and but feebly held together, rather by their fears than their mutual confidence. When any new meaſure was propoſed, which could not receive their approbation, or any new member was introduced into government whom they did not appoint, they deemed it an infringement upon their reſpective departments, and threw up their places in diſguſt, with a view to reſume them with greater luſtre. Thus the ſtrength of the crown was daily diminiſhing, while an ariſtocracy filled up every avenue to the throne, intent on the emoluments, but regardleſs of the duties of their ſituations.

This was the general opinion of the people, and that opinion was communicated to the throne. The miniſtry that had hitherto aſſumed the power of the throne, were at length obliged to admit ſome perſons into a ſhare of the government, whoſe activity at leaſt would counterbalance their timidity and irreſolution. At the head of the newly introduced party, was the celebrated Mr. William Pitt, from whoſe vigour the nation formed very great expectations, and they were not deceived.

But though the old miniſters were obliged to admit theſe new members into their ſociety, there was no legal penalty for refuſing to operate with them; they therefore aſſociated with each other, and practiſed every art to make their new aſſiſtants obnoxious to the king, upon whom they had been almoſt forced by the people. His former miniſtry flattered him in all his attachments to his German dominions; that which now guided the reins of government had long clamoured againſt all continental connections, as utterly incompatible with the intereſts of the nation.

Theſe two opinions, carried to the extreme, might have been erroneous; but the king was naturally led to agree with thoſe who favoured his own ſentiments, and to reject thoſe who oppoſed them. Mr. Pitt, therefore, after continuing a few months in office, was diſmiſſed by his majeſty's command, and his coadjutor, Mr. Legge, was no longer chancellor of the exchequer. But this check to their ambition was of very ſhort continuance; the whole nation roſe up in their defence, and Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge were

* Orme, *Hiſt. Indoſt.* book xii.

were once more reluctantly reſtored to their former employments, the one of ſecretary of ſtate, the other of chancellor of the exchequer.

The conſequences of the former injudicious counſels ſtill continued in America. The general ſent over to conduct the operations of the war, condemned the timidity and delays of the natives, whoſe duty it was to unite in their own defence. The natives as warmly expoſtulated againſt the pride, avarice, and incapacity of thoſe who were ſent over to command them. General Shirley, who had been appointed to the ſupreme command there, had been for ſome time recalled, and his place ſupplied by lord Loudon; and this nobleman ſoon after returning to England, three diſtinct commanders were placed at the head of ſeparate operations. General Amherſt commanded that which was intended to act againſt the iſland of Cape Breton. The other was conſigned to general Abercrombie, againſt Crown Point and Ticonderago; and the third ſtill more to the ſouthward, againſt fort du Queſne, commanded by brigadier-general Forbes.

Cape Breton, which had been taken from the French during the preceding war, had been reſtored at the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. It was not till the Engliſh had been put in poſſeſſion of that iſland, that they began to perceive its advantageous ſituation; and the convenience of its harbours for annoying the Britiſh trade with impunity. It was alſo a convenient port for carrying on their fiſhery, a branch of commerce of the utmoſt benefit to that nation. The wreſting it, therefore, once more from the hands of the French, was a meaſure ardently deſired by the whole nation. The fortreſs of Louiſburgh, by which it was defended, had been ſtrengthened by the aſſiſtance of art, and was ſtill better defended from the nature of its ſituation. The garriſon alſo was numerous, the commander vigilant; and every precaution was taken to oppoſe a landing. An account of the operations of the ſiege can afford little pleaſure in abridgement; be it ſufficient to ſay, that the Engliſh ſurmounted every obſtacle with great intrepidity. Their former timidity and irreſolution ſeemed to vaniſh, their natural courage and confidence returned, and the place ſurrendered by capitulation. The fortifications were ſoon after demoliſhed, and rendered abſolutely unfit for future protection.

The expedition to Fort du Queſne was equally ſucceſsful; but that againſt Crown Point was again defeated. This was now the ſecond time that the Engliſh army had attempted to penetrate into thoſe hideous wilds; by which nature had ſecured the French poſſeſſions in that quarter of the world. Braddock fell in the attempt a martyr to his impetuoſity; too much caution was equally injurious to his ſucceſſor. Abercrombie ſpent much time in marching to the place of action; and the enemy were thus perfectly prepared to give him a ſevere reception. As he approached Ticonderago, he found them deeply intrenched at the foot of the fort, and ſtill farther ſecured by fallen trees, with their branches pointing againſt him.

Theſe difficulties the Engliſh ardour attempted to ſurmount: but as the enemy, being in perfect ſecurity, took aim at leiſure, a terrible carnage of the aſſailants enſued; and the general, after repeated efforts, was obliged to order a retreat. The Engliſh army, however, was ſtill ſuperior; and it was ſuppoſed that when the artillery was arrived, ſomething more ſucceſsful might be performed; but the general felt too ſenſibly the terrors of the late defeat to remain in the neighbourhood of a triumphant enemy. He therefore withdrew his troops, and returned to his camp at Lake George, from whence he had taken his departure.

But though the Engliſh arms were in ſome degree unſucceſsful, yet upon the whole, the campaign was greatly in their favour. The taking of Fort du Queſne ſerved to remove from their colonies the terror of the incurſions of the Indians, while it interrupted that correſpondence which ran along a chain of forts, with which the French had environed the Engliſh ſettlements in America. This, therefore, promiſed a fortunate campaign the following year, and vigorous meaſures were adopted to enſure ſucceſs.

Early in the enſuing year, the miniſtry, ſenſible that a ſingle effort carried on in ſuch an extenſive country, could not poſſibly reduce the enemy, reſolved to attack them in ſeveral parts of their empire at the ſame time. Prepara-

rations were accordingly made, and expeditions commenced againſt three different parts of North America at the ſame time. General Amherſt, the commander in chief, with a body of twelve thouſand men, was commiſſioned to attack Crown Point, which had hitherto been the reproach of the Engliſh army. General Wolfe was at the oppoſite quarter to enter the river St. Lawrence, and undertake the ſiege of Quebec, the capital of the French dominions in America; while general Prideaux, and ſir William Johnſon, were directed to attempt a French fort, near the cataracts of Niagara.

The laſt-mentioned expedition was the firſt that ſucceeded. The fort of Niagara was a place of great importance, and ſerved to command all the communication between the northern and weſtern French ſettlements. The ſiege was begun with vigour, and an eaſy conqueſt was expected; but general Prideaux was killed in the trenches, by the burſting of a mortar; in conſequence of which, the whole command of the expedition devolved upon general Johnſon, who omitted nothing to puſh forward the vigorous operations of his predeceſſor, to which alſo he added his own popularity with the ſoldiers under him. A body of French troops, who were ſenſible of the importance of this fort, attempted to relieve it; but Johnſon attacked them with intrepidity and ſucceſs; for in leſs than an hour their whole army was routed. The garriſon ſoon after, perceiving the fate of their countrymen, ſurrendered priſoners of war. The ſucceſs of general Amherſt was leſs ſplendid though not leſs ſerviceable. On his arrival at the deſtined place, he diſcerned that the forts of Crown Point and Ticonderago were both deſerted and deſtroyed*.

Nothing now remained but one grand and deciſive blow, to put all America into the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh; and this was the taking of Quebec, the capital of Canada, a city handſomely built, populous, and flouriſhing. Admiral Saunders was ſelected to command the naval part of the expedition; the ſiege by land was committed to the conduct of general Wolfe, of whom the nation entertained great expectations. This young ſoldier† had diſtinguiſhed himſelf on many former occaſions, particularly at the ſiege of Louiſbourgh‡, a part of the ſucceſs of which was juſtly aſcribed to him, who, without being indebted to family or connexions, had elevated himſelf ſolely by his merit to his preſent ſtation§.

* Among the remarkable incidents of this period, the following is extremely intereſting. One Bruluman, a ſilverſmith, had abandoned his buſineſs, and entered as an officer into the royal American regiment; but being afterwards diſmiſſed from thence, on account of his counterfeiting, or uttering falſe money, he returned to Philadelphia, the place of his former reſidence, where, growing inſupportable to himſelf, and yet being unwilling to take away his own life, he determined upon the commiſſion of ſome crime, for which he might get executed by the law. Having formed this reſolution, he loaded his gun with a brace of balls, and aſked his landlord to go a ſhooting with him, intending to murder him before his return; but his landlord not chooſing to go, eſcaped the danger. He then ſet out alone, and on the way met a man, whom he was preparing to kill; but recollecting, that there was no witneſs to prove him guilty, he permitted the man to paſs. He next repaired to a public houſe, where he drank ſome liquor, and hearing ſome people playing at billiards, in a room above ſtairs, he went and ſat down with them, and was talkative, facetious, and ſeemingly good-humoured. After ſome time, he called to the landlord, and deſired him to hang up his gun. Mr. Scull, who was at play, having ſtruck his antagoniſt's ball into one of the pockets, "Sir," ſaid Bruluman to him, "you are a good markſman, and now I'll "ſhew you a fine ſtroke." Upon this he levelled his piece, and took aim at Mr. Scull, who, imagining him in jeſt, did not attempt to get out of the way, and was immediately ſhot through the body. He then approached Mr. Scull, who did not expire nor loſe his ſenſes till a conſiderable time after, and ſaid to him, "Sir, I had no malice nor ill-will againſt you, for I never ſaw you before; but I was determined to kill ſomebody, that I might be hanged, and you happen to be the man, and as you are a very likely young man, I am very ſorry for your misfortune." Mr. Scull had time to ſend for his friends, and to make his will. He forgave his murderer, and, if it could be done, deſired he might be pardoned. This requeſt, however, it would have been imprudent to have granted, as he would doubtleſs have committed the like aſſaſſination upon ſome other perſon. He was therefore tried at Philadelphia, and being found guilty, as well by his own confeſſion, as by the evidence of ſeveral witneſſes, was executed at that place on the eighth of October.

† His age did not exceed thirty-five.

‡ A. D. 1759.

§ Wolfe, at the age of thirty-five, to all the fervour of ſpirit, the liberality of ſentiment, the humanity, generoſity, and enlarged views of the hero, united no inconſiderable ſhare of the prudence of mind and military ſkill which conſtitute the great commander. He only required years and opportunity of action, to place him on a level with the moſt celebrated generals of any age or nation.

The war in this part of the world had been hitherto carried on with intolerable barbarity; and retaliating murders were committed without any knowledge from whence they originated. Wolfe, however, diſdained to imitate an example which had been ſet him even by ſome of his aſſociate officers; he carried on the war with all the humanity which it permits. It is not our aim to enter into a minute detail of the ſiege of this city; it will be ſufficient to ſay, that when we conſider the ſituation of the town on the ſide of a great river, the fortifications with which it was ſecured, the natural ſtrength of the country, the great number of veſſels and floating batteries the enemy had provided for the defence of the river, the numerous bodies of ſavages continually hovering round the Engliſh army, we muſt acknowledge there was ſuch a combination of difficulties, as might have diſcouraged and perplexed the moſt reſolute commander.

The general himſelf was perfectly ſenſible of the difficulty of the undertaking. After ſtating, in a letter to the miniſtry, the dangers that preſented, "I know," ſaid he, "that the affairs of "Great Britain require the moſt vigorous mea-"ſures. But then, the courage of a handful of "brave men, ſhould be exerted only where "there is ſome hope of a favourable event. At "preſent the difficulties are ſo various, that I am "at a loſs how to determine."

The only proſpect of attempting the place with ſucceſs, was to land a body of troops in the night below the town, who were to climb up the banks of the river, and take poſſeſſion of the ground on the back of the city. This attempt, however, appeared extremely diſcouraging. The ſtream was rapid, the ſhore ſhelving, the bank above lined with ſentinels, the landing-place ſo narrow as not to be hardly perceptible in the dark, and the ſteepneſs of the ground ſo great as hardly to be aſcended in the day-time. All theſe difficulties, however, were ſurmounted by the conduct of general Wolfe, and the bravery of the men. Colonel Howe, with the light infantry and the Highlanders, mounted the woody precipices with admirable courage and activity, and diſlodged a ſmall body of troops which defended a narrow path up the bank; thus, a few having aſcended, the general drew the reſt up in order as they arrived. Monſieur de Montcalm, the French commander, was no ſooner informed that the Engliſh had gained theſe heights, which he had confidently declared inacceſſible, than he reſolved to hazard a battle; and a furious encounter inſtantly began. This was one of the moſt deſperate engagements during the war. General Wolfe was ſtationed on the right, in the very heat of the action. Standing conſpicuous in the front line, he had been aimed at by the markſmen of the enemy, and received a ſhot in the wriſt, which, however, did not oblige him to quit the field. Having wrapped a handkerchief round his hand, he continued to deliver his orders without the leaſt emotion, and advanced at the head of the grenadiers with their bayonets fixed; but a ſecond and more fatal ball unfortunately pierced his breaſt. Unable to proceed, he leaned on the ſhoulder of a ſoldier who was near him. Now ſtruggling in the agonies of death, and almoſt expiring, he heard the cheering words pronounced,—"They run!" On which he ſeemed for a moment to revive, and aſking who ran, was informed the French. Expreſſing his wonder that they ran ſo ſoon, and unable to gaze any longer, he ſunk on the ſoldier's breaſt, and his laſt words were, "I die "happy." Perhaps the loſs of the Engliſh on that day was greater than the conqueſt of Canada was advantageous. But it is the lot of mankind only to know true merit on that dreadful occaſion, when they are on the point of loſing it.

General Wolfe being ſlain, and, at the ſame time, colonel Monckton dangerouſly wounded at the head of Laſcelles's regiment, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf with great gallantry, the command devolved to brigadier Townſhend, who haſtened to the centre; and finding the troops diſordered in the purſuit, formed them again with uncommon expedition. This neceſſary taſk was hardly performed, when M. de Bougainville, with a body of two thouſand freſh men, appeared in the rear of the Engliſh. He had begun his march from Cape Rouge, as ſoon as he received intelligence that the Britiſh troops had gained the heights of Abraham; but did not come up in time to have a ſhare in the battle. Mr. Townſhend immediately ordered two battalions,

tallions, with two pieces of artillery, to advance againſt this officer, who retired, at their approach, among woods and ſwamps; where general Townſhend was too wiſe to hazard a precarious attack. He had already gained a complete victory; taken a great number of French officers; and was poſted in a very advantageous ſituation, which it would have been imprudent to forego.

The French general, M. de Montcalm, was mortally wounded in the battle, and conveyed into Quebec, from whence, before he died, he wrote a letter to general Townſhend, recommending the priſoners to that generous humanity, by which the Britiſh nation has been always diſtinguiſhed. His ſecond in command, was left wounded on the field, and the next day expired on board an Engliſh ſhip, to which he had been carried. About a thouſand of the enemy were made priſoners, including a great number of officers; and five hundred were ſlain on the field of battle. This important victory was gained at the expence of fifty-ſix men killed, including officers; and of five hundred and ſix men wounded; but the death of general Wolfe was a national loſs, and univerſally lamented.

The ſurrender of Quebec was the conſequence of this victory; and with it ſoon after the ceſſion of all Canada. The French, indeed, in the following ſeaſon, made a vigorous effort to retake the city; but, by the reſolution of governor Murray, and the appearance of an Engliſh fleet under the command of lord Colvile, they were obliged to abandon their project. The whole province was ſoon after reduced by the prudence and activity of general Amherſt, who obliged the French army to capitulate. To theſe ſucceſſes, about the ſame time, we may add the reduction of the iſland of Guadaloupe, under commodore More and general Hopſon, an acquiſition of great importance.

Great as theſe ſucceſſes were in India and America, they were achieved without any very expenſive efforts; on the contrary, the efforts the Engliſh made in Europe, and the operations of their great ally, the king of Pruſſia, though they were aſtoniſhing, produced no ſignal advantages. A defenſive war in Germany was all that could be expected; and that he maintained againſt the united powers of the continent, with unexampled bravery. The French and Imperialiſts were left triumphing in repeated ſucceſſes, and enjoying the fruits of an advantageous ſummer campaign. But as if ſummer was not ſufficient for the horrors of war, they now reſolved to exert them amidſt the rigours of winter, and in the depth of that ſeaſon ſet down and formed the ſiege of Leipſic. The capture of that city would have been fatal to the intereſts of the king; and by one of thoſe rapid marches, for which he was remarkable, he ſeemed, with his army, unexpectedly to riſe up before the town. Such was the terror of his arms, that even vanquiſhed as he ſeemed, the French, though ſuperior in numbers, raiſed the ſiege, and retreated. He was determined to purſue, and at length overtook them at a village called Roſbach, where he obtained ſo complete a victory, that night alone preſerved their whole army from deſtruction.

In the mean time, the Auſtrians in another part of the empire, were victorious, and had taken the prince of Bevern, the king of Pruſſia's generaliſſimo, priſoner. The king, after an engagement, again undertook a dreadful march of two hundred miles in the depth of winter, and came up with the Auſtrian army near Breſlau. He there diſpoſed his forces with his uſual celerity and judgment, and acquired another bloody victory, in which he took fifteen thouſand priſoners. Among the ſlain, on the ſide of the Auſtrians, were general Wurben and ſeveral other officers of diſtinction. Breſlau, with a garriſon of ten thouſand men, ſurrendered ſoon after. Theſe ſucceſſes diſpirited the enemy, and cheriſhed his diſtreſſed Hanoverian allies with the pleaſing hopes of being able to expel the French army from their territories.

Soon after the capitulation of Cloſter Seven had been ſigned between the duke of Cumberland, and the duke of Richelieu, both parties began to complain of the violation of the treaty. The Hanoverians exclaimed againſt the rapacity of the French general, and the brutality of his ſoldiers. The French retorted the charge againſt them, accuſed them of inſolence and inſurrection, and reſolved to confine them ſtrictly to the terms of their agreement, ſenſible of their own ſuperiority. Treaties between nations are

ſeldom

ſeldom obſerved any longer than intereſt or fear cements the union; and among nations that take every advantage, political faith is a term without a meaning. The Hanoverians only deſired a pretext to take arms, and a general to conduct their ſoldiers. Neither were long wanting. The oppreſſions of the tax-gatherers, whom the French had appointed, were conſidered as ſo ſevere, that the army once more roſe to vindicate their freedom, while Ferdinand, prince of Brunſwic, placed himſelf at their head.

Nothing could be more fortunate for the intereſts of the king of Pruſſia, than this ſudden inſurrection of the Hanoverian forces. From this time he began to oppoſe the enemy on more equal terms; he faced them on every ſide, often victorious, ſometimes repulſed, but ever formidable. Never was the art of war carried to ſuch a pitch as by him, and it muſt be added, its horrors alſo. In this war, Europe ſaw, with aſtoniſhment, campaigns carried on in the depth of winter, great and deſolating battles fought, yet productive of no viſible advantage to the victors. At no time ſince the days of heroiſm, were ſuch numbers deſtroyed, ſo many cities taken, ſo many ſkirmiſhes fought, ſuch ſtratagems practiſed, or ſuch intrepidity diſplayed. Armies were, by the German diſcipline, conſidered as compoſing one great machine, directed by one commander, and animated by a ſingle will. From the narration of theſe campaigns, ſucceeding generals will receive their leſſons of devaſtation, and improve upon the arts of increaſing human calamity.

In the preceding year, a ſmall armament was equipped at Dunkirk, under the command of M. de Thurot, who, in ſpite of all the vigilance of the Britiſh commander, ſtationed in the Downs, found means to eſcape from the harbour in the month of October, and arrived at Gottenburgh, in Sweden, from whence he proceeded to Bergen in Norway. His inſtructions were to make occaſional deſcents upon the coaſt of Ireland, and, by dividing the troops, and diſtracting the attention of the government in that kingdom, to facilitate the enterprize of M. de Conflans. The original armament of Thurot conſiſted of five ſhips, one of which, the maréſchal de Belleiſle, was mounted with forty-four guns. The number of ſoldiers put on board this little fleet, did not exceed one thouſand two hundred and ſeventy, excluſive of marines, to the number of ſeven hundred.

The intention of Thurot was to make a deſcent about Derry; but before this deſcent could be executed, the weather growing tempeſtuous, and the wind blowing off ſhore, they were driven out to ſea, and, in the night, loſt ſight of the Marante, of twenty-four guns, which never joined them in the ſequel. After having been tempeſt-beaten for ſome time, and reduced to a very ſcanty allowance of proviſion, the officers requeſted Thurot to return to France, leſt they ſhould all periſh by famine; but he was deaf to their propoſal, and frankly told them he could not return to France, without having ſtruck ſome ſtroke for the ſervice of his country. Nevertheleſs, in hope of meeting with ſome refreſhment, he ſteered to the iſland of Iſla, where the troops were landed, and here they found black cattle, and a ſmall ſupply of oatmeal, for which they paid a reaſonable price; and it muſt be owned, Thurot himſelf behaved with great moderation and generoſity.

While this gallant adventurer ſtruggled with theſe difficulties, his arrival in the Britiſh ſeas filled the whole kingdom with alarm. Bodies of regular troops and militia were poſted along the coaſts of Ireland and Scotland; and beſides the ſquadron of commodore Boys, who ſailed to the northward on purpoſe to purſue the enemy, other ſhips of war were ordered to ſcour the Briſtol channel, and cruize between Scotland and Ireland. The weather no ſooner permitted Thurot to purſue his deſtination, than he ſailed from Iſla to the bay of Carrickfergus in Ireland, and made all the neceſſary preparations for a deſcent; which was accordingly effected, with ſix hundred men, on the twenty-firſt of February. Lieutenant-colonel Jennings, who commanded four companies of raw undiſciplined men at Carrickfergus, having received information that three ſhips had anchored about two miles and a half from the caſtle, which was defenceleſs, immediately detached a party to make obſervations, and ordered the French priſoners there confined to be removed to Belfaſt.

Meanwhile the enemy landing without oppoſition

poſition, advanced towards the town, which they found as well guarded as the nature of the place, which was entirely open, and the circumſtances of the Engliſh commander, would admit. A regular attack was carried on, and a ſpirited defence ſupported, till the ammunition of the Engliſh failed; then colonel Jennings retired in order to the caſtle, which however was in all reſpects untenable; for, beſides a breach in the wall of near fifty feet wide, they found themſelves deſtitute of proviſion and ammunition: Nevertheleſs, they repulſed the aſſailants in their firſt attack, even after the gate was burſt open, and ſupplied the want of ſhot with ſtones and rubbiſh. At length the colonel and his troops were obliged to ſurrender, on condition that they ſhould not be ſent priſoners to France, but be ranſomed by ſending thither an equal number of French priſoners from Great Britain or Ireland; that the caſtle ſhould not be demoliſhed, nor the town of Carrickfergus plundered or burned, on condition that the mayor and corporation ſhould furniſh the French troops with neceſſary proviſions.

Captain John Elliot, who commanded three frigates at Kinſale, and had, in the courſe of the war, already ſignalized himſelf by extraordinary acts of valour, was informed by a diſpatch from the duke of Bedford, lord lieutenant of Ireland, that three of the enemy's ſhips lay at anchor in the bay of Carrickfergus, and thither he immediately ſteered his courſe in the ſhip Æolus, accompanied by the Pallas and Brilliant, under the command of the captains Clements and Logie. On the twenty-eighth of February they diſcovered the enemy, and gave chace, in ſight of the iſle of Man; and about nine in the morning captain Elliot, in his own ſhip, attacked the Belleiſle, commanded by Thurot, although conſiderably his ſuperior in ſtrength of men, number of guns, and weight of metal. In a few minutes his conſorts were alſo engaged with the other two ſhips of the enemy. After a warm action, maintained with great ſpirit on all ſides for an hour and a half, captain Elliot's lieutenant boarded the Belleiſle, and, ſtriking her colours with his own hand, the commander ſubmitted: his example was immediately followed by the other French captains, and the Engliſh commodore, taking poſſeſſion of his prizes, conveyed them to the Iſle of Man, that the damage might be repaired.

Though the Belleiſle was very leaky, and had loſt her bowſprit, mizen-maſt, and a main-yard, it is probable that the victory would not have been ſo eaſily purchaſed, had not the gallant Thurot fallen during the action. The victor had not even the conſolation to perform the laſt offices to his brave enemy; for his body was thrown into the ſea by his own people, in the hurry of the engagement. The loſs on the ſide of the Engliſh did not exceed forty men killed and wounded; though three hundred of the enemy were ſlain or diſabled.

The ſervice performed on this occaſion was deemed ſo eſſential to the peace and commerce of Ireland, that the thanks of the houſe of commons in that kingdom were voted to the conquerors of Thurot, as well as to lieutenant colonel Jennings, for his ſpirited behaviour at Carrickfergus: and the freedom of the city of Cork was preſented in ſilver boxes to the captains Elliot, Clements, and Logie. The name of Thurot was become terrible to all the trading ſea ports of Britain and Ireland: and therefore the defeat and capture of his ſquadron were celebrated with as hearty rejoicings, as could have been produced by the moſt important victory.

All this time, England was happily at a diſtance from the principal miſeries which oppreſſed the reſt of Europe; yet from her natural military ardour, ſhe ſeemed deſirous of experiencing thoſe dangers which ſhe heard related. This paſſion for ſharing in a continental war, was not leſs pleaſing to the king of England, from his native attachments, than from a deſire of revenge upon the plunderers of his country. As ſoon, therefore, as it was known that prince Ferdinand had put himſelf at the head of the Hanoverian army, his Britannic majeſty, in a ſpeech to his parliament, obſerved, that the late ſucceſſes of his ally in Germany had given a happy turn to his affairs, which it would be neceſſary to improve. The commons, concurring in his ſentiments, liberally granted ſupplies both for the ſervice of the king of Pruſſia, and for enabling the army formed in Hanover to act vigorouſly in conjunction with him.

From ſending money over into Germay, the nation began to extend their benefits; and it

was ſoon conſidered that men would be a more gratifying ſupply. Mr. Pitt, who had acquired popularity and power by oppoſing ſuch meaſures, was now prevailed on to enter into them with even greater ardor than any of his predeceſſors. The hopes of ſpeedily terminating the war by vigorous meaſures, the connexions with which he was obliged to co-operate, and perhaps the pleaſure he found in giving ſatisfaction to the king, alike incited him eagerly to puſh forward a continental war. But, he only conſpired with the general inclinations of the people at this time, who, allured by the noble efforts of their only ally, were unwilling to ſee him fall a ſacrifice to the united ambition of his enemies.

To indulge this general inclination of aſſiſting the king of Pruſſia, the duke of Marlborough was at firſt ſent into Germany with a ſmall body of Britiſh forces to join prince Ferdinand, whoſe activity againſt the French began to be attended with ſucceſs. After ſome ſmall advantages gained by the allied army at Crevelt, the duke of Marlborough dying, his command devolved upon lord George Sackville, who was at that time a favourite with the Engliſh army. A miſunderſtanding however aroſe between him and the commander in chief, which diſcovered itſelf ſhortly after at the battle of Minden. The cauſe of this mutual diſguſt is not clearly known; it is ſuppoſed that the extenſive genius, and the inquiſitive ſpirit of the Engliſh general, were by no means agreeable to his ſuperior in command, who wiſhed to reap ſome pecuniary advantages which the other was unwilling to permit.

Both armies advancing near the town of Minden, the French began the attack with great vigour, and a general engagement of the infantry enſued. Lord George, at the head of the Britiſh and Hanoverian horſe, was ſtationed at ſome diſtance on the right of the infantry, from which they were divided by a ſmall wood that bordered on a heath. The French infantry loſing ground, the prince imagined that this would be a favourable opportunity to pour down the horſe among them, and therefore ſent lord George orders to come on. Theſe orders were not regularly obeyed; and whether they were unintelligible, or contradictory, ſtill remains a point for poſterity to illuſtrate. It is certain that lord George was ſhortly after recalled, tried by a court martial, found guilty, and declared incapable of ſerving in any military command for the future*. The enemy, however, were repulſed

* The intereſting trial of lord George Sackville, drew off the public attention from the parliamentary deliberations. He laboured under a high degree of popular odium, as one who had obſtructed the ſucceſs of the Britiſh arms, and ſullied the glory of his country. On the evidence of ſeveral officers it was proved, that he had diſregarded the orders of prince Ferdinand, at the time of the battle of Minden. He defended himſelf with ſome diſplay of ability; but his vindication did not prevail with the court; for he was pronounced guilty of diſobedience to thoſe orders which he was bound to regard, and "unfit to ſerve his majeſty in any military capacity whatſoever." The king readily ſanctioned this adjudication; and, to increaſe the efficacy of it, commanded the ſentence to be given out in public orders, that, when officers ſhould find, "that neither high birth nor great "employments ſhould ſhelter offences of ſuch a nature," and that they were obnoxious to "cenſures much worſe "than death to a man who has any ſenſe of honour," they might avoid the fatal conſequences of diſobedience.

The delinquency of lord Ferrers, about this time, was more atrocious than that of Sackville; for he was guilty of a deliberate murder. Johnſon, the earl's ſteward, having incurred the diſpleaſure of his employer, he reſolved to take away his life†. Not ſuſpecting the intention of the peer, the attentive ſteward obeyed a no-

† *The following is a ſummary account of the evidence. On Sunday the thirteenth of January, he appointed this unhappy man to come to his houſe, on the Friday following, in order to peruſe papers, or ſettle accounts; and Johnſon went thither, without ſuſpecting what was prepared for his reception; for though he was no ſtranger to his lordſhip's dangerous diſpoſition, and knew he had ſome time before incurred his diſpleaſure, he imagined his reſentment had entirely ſubſided, as the earl had of late behaved to him with remarkable complacency. He therefore, at the time appointed, repaired to his lordſhip's houſe of Stanton in Leiceſterſhire, at the diſtance of a ſhort mile from his own habitation, and was admitted by a maid ſervant. The earl had diſmiſſed every perſon in the houſe, upon various pretences, except three women, who were left in the kitchen. Johnſon, advancing to the door of the apartment, was received by his lordſhip, who deſired him to walk into another room, where he joined him in a few minutes, and then the door was locked on the inſide. After much warm expoſtulation, the earl inſiſted upon his ſubſcribing a paper, confeſſing himſelf a villain; and on his refuſing to comply with this demand, declared he would put him to death. In vain the unfortunate man remonſtrated againſt this cruel reſolution. He remained deaf to all his intreaties, drew forth a piſtol, which he had loaded for the purpoſe, and commanding him to implore heaven's mercy on his knees, ſhot him through the body while he remained in that ſupplicating poſture. In conſequence of this outrage, he expired about nine in the morning.*

pulſed in all their attacks with conſiderable loſs, and at length giving way, were purſued to the very ramparts of Minden, The triumph was ſplendid, but laurels were the only advantage gathered from the field of battle.

After theſe victories, which were conſiderably magnified in England, it was ſuppoſed that one reinforcement more of Britiſh troops would terminate the war in favour of the allies; another reinforcement was ſpeedily ſent: the Britiſh army in Germany then amounted to upwards of thirty thouſand men; and the whole nation was flushed with the hopes of immediate conqueſt. But theſe deluſive hopes ſoon vaniſhed, in finding victory and defeat ſucceſſively following each other. The allies were defeated at Corbach; but retrieved their honour at Exdorf. A victory at Warbourg enſued, and another at Zierenberg; but they experienced a defeat at Compen, after which both ſides retired into winter quarters. The ſucceſſes thus on either ſide might be conſidered as a compact by which both engaged to loſe much, and gain little; for no advantages whatever aroſe from victory. The Engliſh at length began to open their eyes to their own intereſt, and diſcovered that they were waging unequal war, and loading themſelves with taxes for conqueſts they could never preſerve nor enjoy.

It muſt be acknowledged, that the efforts of England, at this time, over every part of the globe, were amazing; and the expence of her operations greater than had ever been known before. The king of Pruſſia received a ſubſidy; a large body of Engliſh forces commanded the extenſive peninſula of India; another army of twenty thouſand men confirmed their conqueſt in North America; thirty thouſand men were employed in Germany, and ſeveral other bodies diſperſed in the different garriſons in various parts of the world; but all theſe were inconſiderable, compared to the force maintained at ſea, which carried command wherever it came, and had totally annihilated the French power on that element. The courage and conduct of the Engliſh admirals had ſurpaſſed whatever had been related in hiſtory; neither ſuperior force, nor number, nor even the terrors of the tempeſt, could intimidate them. Admiral Hawke gained a complete victory over an equal number of French ſhips, on the coaſt of Bretagne, in Quiberon Bay, in the midſt of a tempeſt, during the darkneſs of the night, and what is ſtill more terrible to a ſeamen, upon a rocky ſhore.

Such was the glorious triumph of the Britiſh nation at this period. But while their arms proſpered in every effort for promoting the real intereſts of the nation, an event happened, which for a while obſcured the ſplendor of her victories*. On the twenty-fifth of October, the king, without having complained of any previous diſorder, was found, by his domeſtics, expiring in his chamber. He had ariſen at his uſual hour, and obſerved to his attendants, that as the weather was fine he would take the air in the gardens of Kenſington, where he then reſided. In a few minutes after his return, being left alone, he was heard to fall down upon the floor. This circumſtance alarming his attendants, they haſtily entered his apartment, and lifted him into bed, where he deſired, with a faint voice, that the princeſs Amelia might be ſent for; but before ſhe could arrive, he expired. An attempt was made to bleed him, but without effect; and afterwards, the ſurgeons, upon opening him, diſcovered that the right ventricle

tice which ſummoned him to a meeting; and he was ſhot by his inhuman maſter. On the trial of the perpetrator of this crime, witneſſes were produced in ſupport of his inſanity; but it appearing to the court, that, at the time of the murder, his judgment was cool, and his intellects unimpaired, the plea of inſanity was diſallowed, and he was condemned to death. The king reſpited the execution of the ſentence for a fortnight; but, with a laudable impartiality, rejected all ſolicitations in his favour; and even refuſed to grant his requeſt of ſuffering in the Tower rather than at Tyburn. He was hanged as a common felon, behaving in this laſt ſcene of his life, with compoſure and intrepidity. His body was not exempted from the ignominy of diſſection; but it was afterwards delivered to his friends for interment.

* An incident, which denoted the wealth and ſpirit of the nation, was the indifference and unconcern with which they ſuſtained the loſs of a vaſt magazine of naval ſtores, belonging to the dock yard at Portſmouth, which, in the month of July, was ſet on fire by lightning, and being compoſed of combuſtibles, burned with ſuch fury, notwithſtanding all the endeavours of the workmen in the yard, the ſailors in the harbour, and the troops in the town, that, before a ſtop was put to the conflagration, it had deſtroyed a variety of ſtores to an immenſe value. The damage, however, was ſo immediately repaired, that it had no ſort of effect in diſconcerting any plan, or even in retarding any naval preparation.

of

of the heart was actually ruptured, and that a great quantity of blood was discharged through the aperture into the surrounding pericardium.

George the Second died* in the seventy-seventh year of his age, and the thirty-third of his reign; lamented by his subjects, and in the midst of victory. If any monarch was happy in the peculiar mode of his death, and the precise time of its arrival, it was this sovereign. The universal enthusiasm of the people for conquest, was now beginning to subside, and sober reason to take her turn in the administration of affairs. The factions which had been fostering during his long reign, had not yet come to maturity; but threatened, with all their virulence, to afflict his successor. He was himself a prince of no splendid abilities; and while he was permitted to guide and assist his German dominions, he entrusted the care of Britain to his ministers at home. However, as we stand too near to be impartial judges of his merits or defects, let us state his character as delivered by two writers of opposite opinions. With regard to his person, he was rather below the middle size, well proportioned, erect, eyes remarkably prominent, a high nose, and fair complexion.

"On whatever side," says his panegyrist, we "look upon his character, we shall find ample "matter for just and unsuspected praise. None "of his predecessors on the throne of England, "lived to so great an age, or enjoyed longer fe-"licity. His subjects were still improving un-"der him, in commerce and arts; and his own "œconomy set a prudent example to the na-"tion, which, however, they did not follow. "He was, in his temper sudden and violent "but this, though it influenced his conduct, "made no change in his behaviour, which was "generally guided by reason. He was plain "and direct in his intentions; true to his word "steady in his favour and protection to his "servants, nor parting even with his ministers "till compelled to it by the violence of faction. "In short, through the whole of his life, he "appeared rather to live for the cultivation of "useful virtues than splendid ones; and, satis-"fied with being good, left others their un-"envied greatness."

Such is the picture given by his friends, but there are others who reverse the medal. "As "to the extent of his understanding, or the "splendor of his virtue, we rather wish for op-"portunities of praise, than undertake the task "ourselves. His public character was marked "with a predilection for his native country, "and to that he sacrificed all other considera-"tions. He was not only unlearned himself, "but he despised learning in others; and though "genius might have flourished in his reign, yet "he neither promoted it by his influence or ex-"ample. His frugality bordered upon avarice, "and he hoarded not for his subjects, but him-"self. He was remarkable for no one great "virtue, and was known to practise several of "the meaner vices." Which of these two characters are true, or whether they may not in part be both so, we will not pretend to decide. If his favourers are numerous, so are those who oppose them; let posterity therefore decide the contest†.

* October 25, 1760.

† Mr. Russel, in his delineation of this portrait, in some of the leading features, resembles both these artists. He says, "His character is by no means complicated. "Violent in his temper, but humane and candid in his "disposition, he conciliated the affection, if he failed to "command the respect, of those who were most about "his person. If his understanding was not very capa-"cious, his judgment was sound; and if he had little of "the munificence of a great monarch, he possessed in "perfection the œconomy of a prudent prince. Nor did "that œconomy, though perhaps too minute for his ex-"alted station, remarkably impair the splendor of his "royal dignity, until age rendered state inconvenient "to him. His fond attachment to German politics made "the early part of his reign unpopular. But the bold "spirit with which he resented the insult offered to his "crown, and the brilliant conquests with which the latter "years of his reign were adorned, have endeared his "memory to the English nation."

He has been accused of accumulating public money for his private uses, on pretence of debts and deficiencies, when his coffers superabounded with treasure.

His sons were Frederic prince of Wales, and William duke of Cumberland. His daughters were, Anne, who became princess of Orange; Amelia, who died unmarried in 1786, at an advanced age; Elisabeth, whom her father survived; Mary, the wife of the late landgrave of Hesse Cassel; and Louisa, who became queen of Denmark.

GEORGE

GEORGE III. A.D. 1760.

GEORGE the Second was ſucceeded, in his regal and electoral dominions, by his grandſon George the Third, a young prince of an amiable diſpoſition, and of the moſt unblemiſhed manners. His death was no ſooner known, than Mr. Pitt, one of the principal ſecretaries of ſtate, repaired to Kew, and communicated the intelligence to his new ſovereign, George the Third, who thus aſcended the throne, when he had recently completed his twenty-ſecond year. The lords of the privy council were immediately aſſembled; and the following day his majeſty was proclaimed before Saville Houſe, in Leiceſter Fields, in the preſence of the great officers of ſtate, the nobility, the lord mayor, and the aldermen of the city of London. The ſame ceremony was performed with the uſual ſolemnities in different parts of the capital.

The council being aſſembled at Charlton Houſe, the king addreſſed them, with unaffuming firmneſs, in the following terms: "The loſs that I and the nation have ſuſtained, by the death of the king my grandfather, would have been ſeverely felt at any time: but coming at ſo critical a juncture, and ſo unexpected, it is by many circumſtances augmented; and the weight now falling upon me, much increaſed, I feel my own inſufficiency to ſupport it as I wiſh: but animated by the tendereſt affection for this my native country, and depending on the advice, experience, and abilities of your lordſhips, and on the ſupport and aſſiſtance of every honeſt man, I enter with cheerfulneſs into this arduous ſituation, and ſhall make it the buſineſs of my life to promote, in every thing, the glory and happineſs of theſe kingdoms; to preſerve and ſtrengthen the conſtitution, both in church and ſtate; and as I mount the throne in the midſt of an expenſive but juſt and neceſſary war, I ſhall endeavour to proſecute it in the manner the moſt likely to effect an honourable and laſting peace, in concert with my allies." This declaration, implying a reſolution to proſecute the ſame meaſures which had been planned under the late king, was publiſhed at the requeſt of the lords in council, and effectually diſpelled the apprehenſions of all thoſe who dreaded an alteration.

On the twenty-ſeventh of October, only one day having intervened ſince the death of George the Second, the earl of Bute was ſworn a member of the privy council. After a ſhort interval, the rangerſhip of Richmond Park * was transferred from the princeſs Amelia to that nobleman; and, by an order of the king in council, the name of the duke of Cumberland, rendered dear to the Whigs, by the memory of the battle of Culloden, was ſtruck out of the liturgy.

The firſt ſpecimen, which his majeſty gave of his amiable diſpoſition, was a proclamation, which he iſſued for the encouragement of piety and virtue, and the preventing and puniſhing of vice, profaneneſs, and immorality.

This proclamation was immediately ſucceeded by another, requiring all perſons poſſeſſing offices of authority, at the deceaſe of the late king, to proceed in the execution of their reſpective offices. The tide of affection towards the young monarch began to run ſo high, that addreſſes, expreſſing the warmeſt profeſſions of attachment, were poured in from every quarter of the kingdom. The magiſtrates of London led the way; and their example was followed by the merchants and traders of that city †. The clergy of

* The rangerſhip of Richmond Park, the princeſs could not be deprived of, without her conſent; which was procured by the grant of a penſion of one thouſand two hundred pounds *per annum*, on the Iriſh eſtabliſhment. But, conſidering the diſreſpectful treatment ſhe had received as a kind of inſult, ſhe withdrew entirely from court, and, at her death, bequeathed her immenſe wealth among the deſcendants of her ſiſter, the princeſs of Heſſe.

† A committee appointed to manage the undertaking of a new bridge over the river Thames at Black Friars, having received and examined a variety of plans, preſented by different artiſts, at length gave the preference to the deſign of one Mr. Mylne, a young architect, a native of North Britain, juſt returned from the proſecution of his ſtudies at Rome, where he had gained the prize in the Capitol. The place being already aſcertained, the lord mayor of London, accompanied by the committee, and a great concourſe of people, repaired to Black Friars, and laid the firſt ſtone of the bridge, placing on it a plate with an inſcription, which does more honour to the public ſpirit of the undertakers, than to the claſſical taſte of the author. It may be thus rendered in Engliſh.

On the laſt day of October, in the year 1760,
and in the beginning of the moſt auſpicious Reign of George the Third,
Sir Thomas Chitty, Kt. Lord Mayor,
laid the firſt Stone of this Bridge,
undertaken by the Common Council
of London,
(amidſt the rage of an extenſive war)
for the public Accommodation

of London and Weſtminſter, preceded by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, complimented his majeſty on his acceſſion to the throne; and the two univerſities were not backward in preſenting their addreſſes of congratulation. In a word, all the bodies politic and corporate, in all the cities and counties of the three kingdoms, ſeemed to vie with each other in expreſſions of loyalty and affection to their new ſovereign, who received them with ſuch affability and marks of regard as could not fail of being highly gratifying to a people remarkable for ſenſibility and ſentiment *.

It was hoped by a majority of the people, that a change of politics would take place; that the young king, from his known and declared attachment to his native country, would no longer ſuffer the public treaſure to be laviſhed in penſions to foreign princes, under the denomination of ſubſidies, to enable them to fight their own battles; nor the blood of the Britiſh ſoldiery ſpilt to fertilize the plains of Germany. But though the youthful ſovereign might diſapprove of the continental ſyſtem, he could not immediately adopt new meaſures, without inflicting a direct cenſure on the conduct of his venerable predeceſſor. Nor could he abruptly deſert his German confederates, after the important ſteps that had been taken in conjunction with them, without impairing the luſtre of the Britiſh crown, and bringing into queſtion the faith of the Britiſh nation.

The two parties were ruminating on the nature of our German commotions, when the parliament, aſſembling on the eighteenth of November, the king repaired to the houſe of lords, and the commons attending as uſual, he delivered from the throne, (attired with all the ſplendid decorations of royalty) an appropriate ſpeech to both houſes.

After expreſſing his regret at the death of his grandfather, and declaring his reliance on the affection of his people, the bleſſing of Heaven, and his own integrity, his majeſty thus proceeded:

"Born and educated in *this country*, I *glory in* "*the name of Briton*; and the peculiar happineſs "of my life will ever conſiſt in promoting the welfare of a people, whoſe loyalty and warm affection to me, I conſider as *the greateſt and moſt* "*permanent ſecurity of my throne*; and I doubt "not, but their ſteadineſs in thoſe principles will "equal the firmneſs of my invariable reſolutions to "adhere to, and ſtrengthen, this excellent conſtitution in church and ſtate; and to maintain the "toleration inviolable. The civil and the religious "rights of my loving ſubjects are equally dear to "me with the moſt valuable prerogatives of my "crown: and, as the ſureſt foundation of the whole, "and the beſt means to draw down the divine favour on my reign, it is my fixed purpoſe to countenance and encourage the practice of true religion and virtue."

In the progreſs of his ſpeech, he expatiated on the flouriſhing circumſtances of the kingdom, and added, "In this ſtate I have found things at my acceſſion "to the throne of my anceſtors:—happy, in viewing "the proſperous part of it; happier ſtill ſhould I "have been, had I found my kingdoms, whoſe true "intereſt I have entirely at heart, in full peace: but "ſince the ambition, injurious encroachments, and "dangerous deſigns of my enemies, rendered the "war both juſt and neceſſary, and the generous "overture, made laſt winter, towards a congreſs for "a pacification, has not yet produced any ſuitable "return, I am determined, with your cheerful and "powerful aſſiſtance, to proſecute this war with vigour, in order to that deſirable object,—a ſafe "and honourable peace. For this purpoſe, it is abſolutely incumbent upon us to be early prepared; "and I rely upon your zeal and hearty concurrence "to ſupport the king of Pruſſia, and the reſt of my "allies, and to make ample proviſion for carrying "on the war, as the only means to bring our ene"mies to equitable terms of accommodation."

He concluded by obſerving, in his addreſs to both houſes, that, "The eyes of all Europe are upon you. "From your reſolutions, the Proteſtant intereſt hopes "for protection, as well as all our friends for the

And ornament of this City,
Robert Mylne being Architect.
And that there might remain to Poſterity
a monument of this City's Affection to
the Man,
who, by the ſtrength of his genius,
the Steadineſs of his Mind,
and a certain kind of happy contagion
of his Probity and ſpirit,
(under the Divine Favour
and the fortunate Auſpices of George III.)
recovered, augmented, and ſecured,
the Britiſh Empire
in Aſia, Africa, and America;
And reſtored the ancient Reputation
and Influence of his Country
among the Nations of Europe;

The Citizens of London have unanimouſly voted this Bridge to be inſcribed
with the Name of
William Pitt.

* On the tenth of November, in the evening, the body of the late king was removed from Kenſington to the apartment called the Prince's Chamber, near the houſe of peers, where it lay in ſtate till next night, when it was interred, with great funeral pomp, in the royal vault in the chapel of Henry the Seventh, adjoining to Weſtminſter Abbey, the duke of Cumberland appearing in the character of chief mourner. Theſe laſt duties to the deceaſed monarch being ſolemnly diſcharged, the eyes of the people were directed towards their youthful ſovereign,

"preſervation

" preſervation of their independency; and our ene-
" mies fear the final diſappointment of their ambi-
" tious and deſtructive views. Let theſe hopes and
" fears be confirmed and augmented by the vigour
" and diſpatch of our proceedings.

" In this expectation I am the more encouraged
" by a pleaſing circumſtance, which I look upon as
" one of the moſt auſpicious omens of my reign.
" That happy extinction of diviſions, and that union
" and good harmony which continue to prevail
" amongſt my ſubjects, afford me the moſt agree-
" able proſpect. The natural diſpoſition and wiſh
" of my heart, are to cement and promote them;
" and I promiſe myſelf that nothing will ariſe on
" your part to interrupt or diſturb a ſituation ſo
" eſſential to the true and laſting felicity of this great
" people."

The ſentiments contained in this ſpeech were equally acceptable to the members of the two houſes, and to the people at large. Loyal addreſſes were unanimouſly preſented to both houſes; and, in a paroxyſm of enthuſiaſtic joy, the commons even voted a ſecond addreſs, thanking his majeſty for the gracious manner in which he received the firſt.

His majeſty then took the oaths to maintain the church of Scotland, as by law eſtabliſhed; and having formally ſigned two inſtruments for that purpoſe, one of them was depoſited among the archives of the council, and the other tranſmitted to Edinburgh, to be recorded in the court of ſeſſion.

His majeſty having repreſented to the houſe of commons, that it was neceſſary to make proviſion for ſupporting his civil government with honour and dignity, they granted the ſum of eight hundred thouſand pounds to defray the expences of the civil liſt. The ſum total of all the ſupplies granted for the ſervice of the current year, amounted to nineteen millions ſix hundred thouſand one hundred and nineteen pounds nineteen ſhillings and three farthings: a ſum, which, however large, and even ſeemingly enormous, was perhaps no more than was abſolutely neceſſary.

This great ſupply was raiſed by a continuation of the land and malt taxes, which conſtituted the ſtanding revenue of the nation, and by borrowing the ſum of twelve millions, the intereſt to be paid by an additional duty impoſed on beer and ale: and by a continuation of the duties on wines, vinegar, and cyder. The whole of the proviſions made this ſeſſion, fell very little ſhort of twenty millions ſterling; the ſurplus being intended to ſupply any deficiencies that might happen in any of the funds which had been eſtabliſhed.

In the beginning of March *, the king acquired great popularity, by recommending from the throne a method for ſecuring the independency of the judges. He informed both houſes of parliament, that, upon granting new commiſſions to the judges of aſſize, the preſent ſtate of their offices fell naturally under conſideration: that, notwithſtanding the act of William the Third, for ſettling the ſucceſſion to the crown, by which act the commiſſions of the judges were continued in force during their good behaviour, yet their offices had determined at the demiſe of the crown, or in ſix months after that event, as often as it had happened: that as he thought the independency and uprightneſs of the judges as eſſential to the impartial adminiſtration of juſtice, one of the beſt ſecurities to the rights and liberties of his ſubjects, as well as conducive to the honour of the crown, he recommended this intereſting object to the conſideration of parliament, that ſuch further proviſion might be made for ſecuring the judges in the enjoyment of their offices during their good behaviour, notwithſtanding any ſuch demiſe, as ſhould be moſt expedient: that he hoped the commons would enable him to grant, and eſtabliſh upon the judges, ſuch ſalaries as he ſhould think proper, ſo as to be abſolutely ſecured to them during the continuance of their commiſſions: and that he could not omit the preſent opportunity of thanking both houſes for the great unanimity and application with which they had hitherto carried on the public buſineſs: exhorting them to proceed with the ſame good diſpoſition, and with ſuch diſpatch, that this ſeſſion might be brought to a happy concluſion.

The ſpeech was received with that univerſal applauſe, which it ſo well deſerved. The commons unanimouſly reſolved to diſplay their gratitude in an addreſs to the throne. They aſſured him, that his faithful commons ſaw, with joy and veneration, the warm regard and concern which animated his royal breaſt for the ſecurity of the religion, laws, liberties, and properties of his ſubjects: that the houſe would immediately proceed upon the important work recommended by his majeſty; and would enable him to eſtabliſh the ſalaries of the judges in ſuch a permanent manner, that they might be enjoyed during the continuance of their commiſſions. They inſtantly began to deliberate upon this buſineſs. Their reſolutions terminated in a law, enacting, among other particulars, that ſuch part of the ſalaries of the judges as was before payable out of the yearly ſums granted for the ſupport of the king's houſehold, and of the honour and dignity of the crown, ſhould, after the demiſe of his preſent majeſty, be charged upon all duties or revenues, granted for the uſe of the civil government, as ſhould ſubſiſt after the demiſe of his majeſty. Thus the individuals, intruſted with the adminiſtration of the laws, were effectually emancipated from the power of the prerogative, and of improper influence †.

Mr.

* A. D. 1761.

† Though, in this caſe, no real ſacrifice was made on the part of the crown, yet as princes are, in general, not only fond of power, but of the ſhadow of it, praiſe is due to

Mr. Onſlow, who long filled the ſpeaker's chair with the higheſt honour and reputation, having ſignified his intention to retire from buſineſs in conſequence of age, infirmities, and other motives of a private nature, the commons determined to beſtow on him ſome ſignal tokens of their regard. They accordingly reſolved, that the thanks of the houſe ſhould be given to Mr. Speaker, for his faithful ſervices, during the courſe of above thirty-three years, in five ſucceſſive parliaments; for the unſhaken integrity and ſteady impartiality of his conduct in the chair; and for the indefatigable pains he had, with uncommon abilities, conſtantly endeavoured to promote the honour and dignity of parliament, and to preſerve inviolable the rights and privileges of the commons of Great Britain. The venerable patriot was ſo much affected by this proof of their eſteem, that he could only anſwer in broken ſentences, burſting unconnectedly from a heart whoſe ſenſations were too powerful for utterance. They alſo inſtantly reſolved, that thanks ſhould be given to Mr. Speaker for what he had now ſaid: that an addreſs ſhould be preſented to the king, humbly to beſeech his majeſty, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to confer ſome ſignal mark of his royal favour upon the right honourable Arthur Onſlow, Eſq. for the great and eminent ſervices he had rendered to his country for the ſpace of thirty-three years. This application was very agreeable to the king, who expreſſed a proper ſenſe of the ſpeaker's great ſervices and unblemiſhed character; and that gentleman was gratified with an annual penſion of three thouſand pounds, for his own life and that of his ſon*. All the public buſineſs being diſpatched, and all the bills having received the royal ſanction, the king repaired to the houſe of lords on the nineteenth of March, and cloſed the ſeſſion with a gracious ſpeech from the throne, on the concluſion of which the preſent parliament was diſſolved, and orders iſſued for calling a new one†.

With regard to public affairs, the acceſſion of his preſent majeſty was attended with no important revolution, either in the church, the ſtate, or the army. The metropolitan ſee of Canterbury was ſtill poſſeſſed by Secker, alike diſtinguiſhed for his piety and learning. The office of lord high chancellor was conferred upon lord Henley, baron Grange, who had given manifold proofs of his independent ſpirit, knowledge, and integrity. Lord Mansfield maintained his ſeat on the king's bench, and judge Willes in the common pleas. The miniſtry and cabinet council received no material alteration, except in the acceſſion of the earl of Bute, who ſucceeded the earl of Holderneſs as ſecretary of ſtate for the northern department, and was ſuppoſed to ſtand with Mr. Pitt, the other ſecretary, as joint pilot at the helm of adminiſtration. The duke of Newcaſtle ſtill directed the treaſury; earl Granville preſided at the council; and lord Anſon at the board of admiralty. Earl Temple poſſeſſed the privy ſeal; and Mr. Legge acted as chancellor of the exchequer, though he was ſpeedily diſmiſſed from that employment. Mr. Charles Townſhend being appointed ſecretary at war, ſoon proved by his conduct the fallacy of that maxim which holds genius inconſiſtent with induſtry; and performed every part of his office with ſuch accuracy and expedition, as had never before been exhibited in that ſcene of tranſaction. The lucrative poſt of paymaſter continued with Mr. Henry Fox, who, though not very acceptable to either party, had, by mere ſuperiority of talents, been able to maintain his ground with both.

The management of the king's houſehold devolved upon noblemen of unblemiſhed characters. The chamberlain's wand was delivered to the duke of Devonſhire, univerſally beloved for his generoſity and ſuavity of diſpoſition. The duke of Rutland was created maſter of the horſe: and the office of lord ſteward was conferred upon earl Talbot, who, with ſpirit and perſeverance, reformed many enormous abuſes in the economy of the king's houſehold; and

to every indication of a diſpoſition favourable to liberty; and it is a conceſſion, however occaſionally over-rated, which ought not to be mentioned but in terms of approbation and applauſe. *Belſham's Memoirs.*

Other uniforms have expreſſed themſelves more rapturouſly on this occaſion. Mr. Adolphus ſays, "This truly "*patriotic* and *wiſe* declaration was received with merited "attention; and an act paſſed fully providing for the "important objects of his majeſty's recommendation." Another writer declares, "This enactment gave no ſmall "ſatisfaction to the public."

* Who was afterwards ennobled by the title of Lord Onſlow.

† A new tax impoſed upon beer excited loud clamours among the labouring claſſes of the people, eſpecially in the metropolis, where ſome publicans began to raiſe the price, in conſequence of this new duty: but as they did not act in concert, thoſe houſes in which the attempt was made, were immediately abandoned by their cuſtomers. Menacing letters and intimations were ſent to ſome individuals, ſuppoſed to have adviſed the new impoſt. The ſtreets reſounded with the noiſe of popular clamour and uproar; nor was it till after ſome time, and many experiments, that the price of ſtrong beer could be actually raiſed to the conſumer.

From the king's acceſſion, lord Bute became an object of jealouſy, and his conduct was ſeverely ſcrutinized. Suppoſing he would ſoon obtain a place in the miniſtry, many ſtratagems were put in practice, to inflame the national prejudice againſt the Scots, and the public were taught to believe that every unpopular act was the reſult of his advice. In the fourth month of his reign, the king experienced the licentious ſpirit of the mob, by a riot when he was in Drury-lane play-houſe. They ſuppoſed lord Bute had adviſed the tax upon beer, and adopted this method of expreſſing their diſapprobation.

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the earl of Halifax was nominated lord lieutenant of Ireland *.

The chief command of the army in Great Britain was enjoyed by lord viſcount Ligonier. The German army in Weſtphalia in the pay of England, remained under the auſpices of prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick; the marquis of Granby commanded the Britiſh forces on that ſervice; and the direction of the troops in America was committed to Sir Jeffery Amherſt.

As a rage for public ſpectacles appears to be the ruling paſſion of the Engliſh, the ceremony of the coronation, which was now approaching, engaged their attention in the ſtrongeſt manner. A proclamation was iſſued for celebrating this ſolemnity in September; in conſequence of which the curioſity of weak minds was foſtered, during the whole ſummer, and the thoughts of the people ſeemed to centre entirely in this gaudy exhibition: ſuch preparations were made, and ſuch eagerneſs was expreſſed by perſons of all ranks, that the whole nation appeared to be on the very brink of lunacy.

The king, ever attentive to the great purpoſes of his elevation, and deſirous of giving all poſſible permanency of his preſent happy eſtabliſhment, reſolved to chooſe a conſort, whoſe participation might ſweeten the cares of government, and whoſe virtues ſhould make his private happineſs coincident with the ſatisfaction of his people. Struck with the character of the amiable Charlotte, princeſs of Mecklenburgh Strelitz†, overtures were made to her. The propoſal of ſuch an illuſtrious alliance could not be unacceptable to the court of Mecklenburgh; and the princeſs was not unacquainted with the extraordinary accompliſhments of the young monarch, who had thus diſtinguiſhed her by his affection and eſteem.

On the eighth of July, the members of the privy council being aſſembled to a very conſiderable number, the king acquainted them in a formal ſpeech, that, "having nothing ſo much at heart as to procure the welfare and happineſs of his people, and to render the ſame permanent to poſterity, he had ever ſince his acceſſion to the throne, directed his attention towards the choice of a princeſs for a conſort; and now, with great ſatisfaction, acquainted them, that, after the fulleſt information, and mature deliberation, he had formed a reſolution to demand in marriage the princeſs Charlotte of Mecklenburgh-Strelitz; a princeſs diſtinguiſhed by every eminent virtue, and amiable endowment; whoſe illuſtrious line had conſtantly ſhewn the firmeſt zeal for the proteſtant religion, and a particular attachment to his family‡.

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* The commencement of this reign was alſo diſtinguiſhed by a grand creation of peers, and far more offenſively by the nomination of twelve additional lords of the treaſury. *Belſham's Memoirs.*

† The duchy of Mecklenburg lies between Lunenburg and the Baltick, and is neither rich nor extenſive. The dukes are ſaid to be deſcended from the kings of the Vandals. The people were converted to the Chriſtian religion in the twelfth century, and at preſent profeſs the Lutheran perſuaſion. The duke of Mecklenburg-Swerin, being the eldeſt branch, poſſeſſes an annual revenue of about forty thouſand pounds. The revenue of the duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, does not exceed twenty-thouſand pounds *per annum*; but he has a voice in the diet of the empire. The princeſs Charlotte who was then in the ſeventeenth year of her age, is ſiſter to the laſt mentioned prince, born of Elizabeth, daughter of Erneſt Frederick, duke of Saxe Hildburghauſen.

‡ His majeſty is ſaid to have received the firſt intimation of the extraordinary qualities of the princeſs from the following letter, which ſhe wrote to the king of Pruſſia on his entering the territories of her couſin, the duke of Mecklenburg Swerin, and which that monarch tranſmitted to his late majeſty as a prodigy of patriotiſm and good ſenſe in ſo young a princeſs.

"May it pleaſe your majeſty,

"I am at a loſs whether I ſhall congratulate or condole with you on your late victory; ſince the ſame ſucceſs that crowns you with laurels, has overſpread the country of Mecklenburg with deſolation. I know, Sire, that it ſeems unbecoming my ſex, in this age of vicious refinement, to feel for one's country, to lament the horrors of war, or wiſh for the return of peace. I know you may think it more properly my province to ſtudy the arts of pleaſing, or to turn my thoughts to ſubjects of a more domeſtic nature; but however unbecoming it may be in me, I cannot reſiſt the deſire of interceding for this unhappy people.

It was but a very few years ago that this territory wore the moſt pleaſing appearance. The country was cultivated, the peaſants looked chearful, and the towns abounded with riches and feſtivity. What an alteration at preſent from ſuch a charming ſcene! I am not expert at deſcription, nor can my fancy add any horrors to the picture; but ſure, even conquerors themſelves would weep at the hideous proſpect now before me. The whole country, my dear country, lies one frightful waſte, preſenting only objects to excite terror, pity, and deſpair. The buſineſs of the huſbandman and the ſhepherd is quite diſcontinued; the huſbandman and the ſhepherd are become ſoldiers themſelves, and help to ravage the ſoil they formerly occupied. The towns are inhabited only by old men, women, and children; perhaps here and there a warrior, by wounds or loſs of limbs, rendered unfit for ſervice, left at his door; his little children hang round him, aſk a hiſtory of every wound, and grow themſelves ſoldiers, before they find ſtrength for the field. But this were nothing, did we not feel the alternate inſolence of either army, as it happens to advance or retreat. It is impoſſible to expreſs the confuſion, which even thoſe, who call themſelves our friends, excite. Even thoſe from whom we might expect redreſs, oppreſs us with new calamities. From your juſtice, therefore, it is that we hope for relief; to you even children and women may complain, whoſe humanity ſtoops to the meaneſt

This declaration was fo agreeable to the council, that they unanimouſly requeſted it might be made public for the ſatisfaction of the nation in general. The earl of Harcourt was appointed ambaſſador-plenipotentiary to the court of Strelitz, to demand the princeſs, and to ſign the contract of marriage. After a negociation not very tedious, the royal yachts were prepared, under convoy of a gallant ſquadron, commanded by lord Anſon, to convey the future queen to England. In the mean time, her houſhold being eſtabliſhed, the ambaſſador proceeded to the continent on this important affair. The ducheſſes of Ancaſter and Hamilton, and the counteſs of Effingham were appointed ladies of the bed-chamber, to attend her from the court of Mecklenburgh in her paſſage to England; and embarking at Harwich, the whole fleet ſet ſail for Stade on the [illegible] of Auguſt. The contract of marriage being figned by the earl of Harcourt at Strelitz, the royal bride-groom was complimented by the [illegible] the country, and the deputies of the towns. The ambaſſador and the ladies were magnificently entertained; and the event was celebrated with the moſt ſplendid rejoicings.

On the ſeventeenth of the month, the princeſs, accompanied by the reigning duke her brother, ſet out for Mirow, amidſt the tears and prayers of all ranks of people. Next day ſhe arrived at Perleberg, where the count de Gotter complimented her in the name of the Pruſſian monarch. On the twenty-third ſhe embarked in the yacht at Carlhaven, where ſhe was ſaluted by the Britiſh ſquadron aſſembled for her convoy.*

The ceremony of the nuptials was ſucceeded by that of the coronation on the twenty-ſecond of September, and the new queen ſoon acquired great po-

pularity by the ſweetneſs and affability of her manners.

The oſtentation of the year was cloſed with the anniverſary pageants that celebrate the election of a new lord-mayor in the city of London. As the kings and queens of Great Britain are uſually entertained at Guildhall by the magiſtrates, it happens to be choſen in the year of the coronation, extraordinary preparations were made for the reception of their majeſties [illegible] with a great number of the nobility, honoured the banquet, in the midſt of the moſt tumultuous [illegible] of loyalty and attachment.

The operations [illegible] were ſtill carried on [illegible] and ſucceſsfully. In the month of June the [illegible] of Belleiſle was undertaken about the [illegible] of Belleiſle, ſituated on the [illegible]. A ſquadron was equipped, [illegible] of the line and ſeveral frigates, [illegible] Keppel, and near ten thouſand [illegible] under major-general Hodgſon, [illegible] on the coaſt of France. Before the [illegible] about twelve leagues in circumference, the Britiſh fleet appeared on the ſeventh of April. A deſcent was immediately attempted at three different places, but without effect. The invaders were repulſed, in ſpite of their moſt vigorous efforts, with the loſs of five hundred men. Not being diſcouraged, they reſolutely perſevered in their purpoſe. At length the troops, ſurmounting every obſtacle, effected their landing; drove the enemy from their poſts before Palais the capital of the iſland; entered the town ſword in hand, and

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meaneſt petition, and whoſe power is capable of repreſſing the greateſt injuſtice."

I am, &c.

Sire,

* In this interval the minds of the Engliſh people were raiſed to the higheſt pitch of expectation. The king having ſignified his intention that the princeſs ſhould land at Greenwich, both ſides of the Thames were for ſeveral days lined with innumerable multitudes. The river itſelf was covered with pleaſure-boats, wherries, and other veſſels filled with ſpectators, and croſſing between Blackwall and Graveſend, to meet and welcome their future queen's arrival. Seats and ſcaffolds were prepared along the ſhore for ſeveral miles. Every individual obſerved the wind as earneſtly as if his whole fortune had depended upon this event; and London poured forth her ſwarms like an immenſe hive during the firſt gleams of vernal ſunſhine. After a tedious voyage of ten days, during which the fleet was expoſed to three different ſtorms, and often in danger of being driven on the coaſt of Norway, the princeſs landed on the ſeventh of September in the afternoon at Harwich. She advanced with her attendants by the way of Colcheſter to Witham, and took up her abode at the ſeat of the earl of Abingdon, where ſhe gratified the curioſity of the people with the moſt obliging condeſcenſion. In the mean time, while the king, whoſe impatience far ſurpaſſed the impatience of his ſubjects, being apprized by couriers of her arrival, diſpatched his own coaches, with a party of the horſe guards, who met her at Rumford, and conducted her to London, through innumerable crowds of people.

After a ſtage or two, this amiable princeſs proceeded through Old ſtreet to the city road, Iſlington, along the new road into Hyde-park, and down Conſtitution-hill, to the garden-gate of the palace of St. James, where ſhe was handed out of her coach by the duke of Devonſhire, the lord chamberlain. At the gate ſhe was received by the duke of York, and in the garden ſhe was met by his majeſty, whoſe countenance proclaimed the tranſports of his joy. When ſhe made her obeiſance, he raiſed her by the hand, which he affectionately kiſſed, and then conducted her up ſtairs to the palace, where they dined together, with the whole royal family. At nine the nuptial ceremony was performed by the archbiſhop of Canterbury in the royal chapel, which had been magnificently decorated for the occaſion.

compelled

QUEEN CHARLOTTE.

This declaration was so agreeable to the council, that they unanimously requested it might be made public for the satisfaction of the nation in general. The earl of Harcourt was appointed ambassador-plenipotentiary to the court of Strelitz, to demand the princess, and to sign the contract of marriage. After a negociation not very tedious, the royal yachts were prepared, under convoy of a gallant squadron, commanded by lord Anson, to convoy the future queen to England. In the mean time, her household being established, the ambassador proceeded to the continent on this important affair. The duchesses of Ancaster and Hamilton, and the countess of Effingham were appointed ladies of the bed-chamber, to attend her from the court of Mecklenburgh in her passage to England; and embarking at Harwich, the whole fleet set sail for Stade on the eighth of August. The contract of marriage being signed by the earl of Harcourt at Strelitz, her royal highness was complimented by the states of the country, and the deputies of the towns. The ambassador and the ladies were magnificently entertained; and the event was celebrated with the most splendid rejoicings.

On the seventeenth of the month, the princess, accompanied by the reigning duke her brother, set out for Mirow, amidst the tears and prayers of all ranks of people. Next day she arrived at Perleberg, where the count de Gotter complimented her in the name of the Prussian monarch. On the twenty-third she embarked in the yacht at Cuxhaven, where she was saluted by the British squadron assembled for her convoy.*

The ceremony of the nuptials was succeeded by that of the coronation on the twenty-second of September, and the new queen soon acquired great popularity by the sweetness and affability of her manners.

The ostentation of the year was closed with the anniversary pageants that celebrate the election of a new lord-mayor in the city of London. As the kings and queens of Great Britain are usually entertained at Guildhall by the magistrate who happens to be chosen in the year of the coronation, extraordinary preparations were made for the reception of their majesties; who, with a great number of the nobility, honoured the banquet, in the midst of the most tumultuous expressions of loyalty and attachment.

The operations of the war were still carried on with vigour and success. In the month of June the island of Dominique was reduced, with little difficulty or loss, by an armament commanded by sir James Douglas, and a body of troops under lord Rollo. A more hazardous enterprise was undertaken about the same time against the island of Belleisle, situated on the coast of Bretagne. A squadron was equipped, consisting of ten ships of the line and several frigates, under commodore Keppel, and near ten thousand land-forces, commanded by major-general Hodgson, against Belleisle, on the coast of France. Before that island, which is about twelve leagues in circumference, the British fleet appeared on the seventh of April. A descent was immediately attempted at three different places, but without effect. The invaders were repulsed, in spite of their most vigorous efforts, with the loss of five hundred men. Not being discouraged, they resolutely persevered in their purpose. At length the troops, surmounting every obstacle, effected their landing; drove the enemy from their lines before Palais the capital of the island: entered the town sword in hand, and

earnest petition, and whose power is capable of repressing the greatest injustice."

I am,

Sire, &c.

* In this interval the minds of the English people were raised to the highest pitch of expectation. The king having signified his intention that the princess should land at Greenwich, both sides of the Thames were for several days lined with innumerable multitudes. The river itself was covered with pleasure-boats, wherries, and other vessels filled with spectators, and cruising between Rochwal and Gravesend, to meet and welcome their future queen's arrival. Seats and scaffolds were prepared along the shore for several miles. Every individual observed the wind as earnestly as if his whole fortune had depended upon this event; and London poured forth her swarms like an immense hive during the first gleams of vernal sunshine. After a tedious voyage of ten days, during which the fleet was exposed to three different storms, and often in danger of being driven on the coast of Norway, the princess landed on the seventh of September in the afternoon at Harwich. She advanced with her attendants by the way of Colchester to Witham, and took up her abode at the seat of the earl of Abercorn, where she gratified the curiosity of the people with the most obliging condescension. In the mean time, while the king, whose ardour far surpassed the impatience of his subjects, being apprized by couriers of her arrival, dispatched his own coaches, with a party of the horse guards, who met her at Rumford, and conducted her to London, through innumerable crowds of people.

Thus accompanied, this amiable princess proceeded through Old street to the city road, Islington, along the new road into Hyde-park, and down Constitution-hill, to the garden-gate of the palace of St. James, where she was handed out of her coach by the duke of Devonshire, the lord chamberlain. At the gate she was received by the duke of York, and in the garden she was met by his majesty, whose countenance proclaimed the transports of his joy. When she made her obeisance, he raised her by the hand, which he affectionately kissed, and then conducted her up stairs to the palace, where they dined together, with the whole royal family. At nine the nuptial ceremony was performed by the archbishop of Canterbury in the royal chapel, which had been magnificently decorated for the occasion.

compelled

QUEEN CHARLOTTE.

compelled the garriſon to take refuge in the citadel. That fortreſs, built by the celebrated Vauban, and defended by three thouſand men, under the chevalier de St. Croix, the governor, an able and experienced officer, made a gallant defence. But after it had been inveſted ſix weeks, and a practicable breach made in the works, St. Croix, thought it prudent to capitulate, to avoid the danger of an aſſault: and the whole iſland ſubmitted to his Britannic majeſty. Honourable terms being granted, the articles were immediately executed, and the citadel was taken poſſeſſion of by Beauclerc's grenadiers.

The taking of Belleiſle, which was celebrated with bonfires, illuminations, and every expreſſion of triumph and tumultuous joy, greatly elated the pride of the Engliſh populace, and was no inconſiderable mortification to France. But the expedition having failed in its ultimate aim, which was to induce the French to weaken their army in Weſtphalia, in order to defend their own coaſts, and thus enable Prince Ferdinand to ſtrike ſome deciſive blow; and the iſland itſelf, which is little more than a barren rock, and having no harbour for ſhips of force, the chief circumſtance that could render it valuable to Great Britain, the poſſeſſion of it was generally thought too dearly purchaſed with the lives of two thouſand brave men, with an immenſe expenditure of naval and military ſtores. The miniſtry, however, repreſented it as a place of great importance, from its poſition, while they highly and juſtly extolled the valour of the troops employed in reducing it.

The French king, in conſequence of the loſſes he had ſuſtained, by the victories with which the Britiſh arms had been crowned in every quarter of the globe, began to intimate by his ambaſſadors at different courts, his diſpoſition to reſtore the peace of Europe, and affected a peculiar moderation with reſpect to Great Britain, if ſhe ſhould appear to acquieſce in reaſonable terms. In conſequence of this intimation the courts of Peterſburgh, Vienna, France, Sweden, and Poland, having made ſeveral declarations which were ſigned at Paris, the twenty-fifth of March, and delivered at London the thirty-firſt of the ſame month; the counter declaration of Great Britain and Pruſſia appeared on the third of April; and Augſburg was appointed for the place of Congreſs, as being moſt conveniently ſituated for the ſeveral powers at war. Lord Egremont, lord Stormont, ambaſſador in Poland, and general Yorke, ambaſſador in Holland, were nominated as plenipotentiaries for England; and the count de Choiſeul was ſelected on the part of France. It was unanimouſly agreed, with a view to render the negociation as unembarraſſed as poſſible, to admit only the principal parties, and their allies, to this treaty. As the German war was referred to the treaty of Augſburg, the limits of America were ſeparately conſidered at London and Paris. For this purpoſe, miniſters were mutually ſent from thoſe courts; M. de Buffy on the part of France, and Mr. Stanley on that of England. But notwithſtanding theſe ſeeming diſpoſitions for peace, the war in Germany was carried on with great ſpirit.

The congreſs at Augſburg never aſſembled. But the negociation between France and England was formally opened, by Monſ. Buffy at London, and Mr. Stanley at Paris, and was continued during the whole ſummer, though with little apparent ſincerity on either ſide. A particular treaty could not be concluded between the two crowns, without ſome ſacrifices of intereſt and fidelity, which neither of them was willing to make. Both of them profeſſed a deſire of putting a ſtop to the effuſion of blood, and both had important reaſons for ſuch profeſſions. The Britiſh wiſhed to reconcile the minds of the people to the further proſecution of the German war, againſt which they began to revolt. Both parties inſiſted on certain ſtipulations, which they had reaſon to believe would not be admitted, and France artfully attempted to involve the intereſts of France with thoſe of Spain.

It had been intimated by the duke de Choiſeul, the French miniſter, "That the ſituation in which "they ſhall ſtand at certain periods, ſhall be the "poſition to ſerve as a baſis for the treaty that is "to be concluded between the two powers." And he thus proceeded to ſettle the periods; viz. the firſt of May in Europe, the firſt of July in Africa and the Weſt Indies, and the firſt of September in the Eaſt Indies; obſerving at the ſame time, That as thoſe periods might not be agreeable for the intereſts of Great Britain, the court of Verſailles was extremely willing to enter into an explanation on that ſubject. Mr. Pitt, however, reſolutely declared, That his Britannic majeſty would admit of no other epoch but that of "the ſigning of the peace." To this ſingular declaration the court of Verſailles coolly replied, "That if not *thoſe* already named, *ſome other fixed periods*, during the war, ought to be agreed upon; as the *uti poſſidetis*, as mutual retaining of poſſeſſions, could not reaſonably have reference *only* to the time of *ſigning* the *peace*." For ſhould the contrary principle be admitted, it would become difficult to know the value of the poſſeſſions that might be given away, as it could not poſſibly be aſcertained what might in the interval, be loſt or gained.

This diſpute occaſioned delay, and gave the French miniſtry a plauſible pretext for breaking off the negociation. In the mean time hoſtilities continued as if no ſuch negociation had ſubſiſted. But the campaign was diſtinguiſhed by few memorable events. The war which had been ſo long carried on in Weſtphalia, at an immenſe expence, was as indeciſive

decisive as ever. Though prince Ferdinand gained several advantages over the French, the duke de Broglio obliged him to abandon the places he had taken or invested before the first of April; to raise the blockade of Ziegenhayn and the siege of Cassel, after the trenches had been opened twenty-seven days; to evacuate the landgravate of Hesse, and retire beyond the Dymel, in the neighbourhood of the quarters they possessed before this attempt.

Broglio then passed the Dymel, formed a junction with the French army under Soubise, on the Lower Rhine, and attacked the allies at the village of Kirch Denkern, on the 16th of July, but was repulsed with the loss of five thousand men, slain or taken prisoners. In consequence of this advantage, prince Ferdinand, having extended his army toward Hammelin, was enabled to secure the course of the Weser, and to protect the electorate of Hanover, notwithstanding the superior force of the enemy: but not without the mortification of seeing them ravage Westphalia and East Friesland.

The king of Prussia, fatigued with ineffectual efforts, and indecisive victories, acted solely on the defensive: yet in this cautious campaign he was not exempt from misfortune. The Austrians took Swendnitz by surprise, and the Russians became masters of Colberg.

The British minister at length named, in explicit terms, the periods and places of negociation. The first of August for Europe, the first of September for Africa and America, the first of November for the East Indies. To these epochs France reluctantly agreed. And she also agreed, That the definitive treaty of peace between the two kingdoms, or preliminary articles to a similar effect, should be signed and ratified before the first of the ensuing August.

France protested her willingness to cede and guarantee Canada to the crown of England, on condition of her being admitted to a participation, as formerly, of the cod-fishery on the banks of Newfoundland, excluding the islands of Cape Breton and St. John, to demolish the harbour and works of Dunkirk; to restore Minorca in lieu of Guadaloupe and Marygalante, to evacuate Hesse, Hanau, and Gottingen, provided one settlement in Africa should be guaranteed to her for the convenience of the negro trade; to remit the settlement of affairs in the East Indies to the companies of the two nations, and to leave England in possession of Belleisle, till some equivalent shall be offered and accepted. But she peremptorily persisted in demanding the restitution of the trading vessels taken before the declaration of war, and as obstinately refused to give up Wesel and Gueldres which she had conquered from the king of Prussia.

England, with equal obstinacy, refused to restore the disputed captures, though insisting on the restitution of these two places. Nor would the British minister agree to a neutrality with respect to Germany. He rejected the proposal with disdain as an insult upon the national honour.

A rupture with Spain might naturally be expected as the immediate consequence of the failure of this treaty; the failure itself having been partly occasioned by the suspicions of a secret understanding between the French and Spanish ministers. The poisonous insinuations of the Court of Versailles had now fully operated on the mind of Charles III. The French minister, with his memorial of propositions, had presented to the court of London, a private memorial desiring his most Christian majesty, might be invited to guarantee the treaty between the two crowns; and he proposed, with the consent and communication of his catholic majesty That the three points in dispute between England and Spain, which might eventually produce a new war, should be finally settled in this negociation; viz. the restitution of some ships taken during the present war under Spanish colours; the liberty claimed by Spain to fish on the banks of Newfoundland; and the demolition of certain settlements established contrary to treaty, by the English logwood-cutters in the bay of Honduras.

The resentment and indignation of the court of London, at this invidious and unexpected interposition, seemed to exceed all bounds. Mr. Secretary Pitt declared, both verbally and in writing to M. de Bussy, That his Britannic majesty would not suffer the disputes with Spain to be blended, in any manner, in the negociation of peace between the two crowns; and that it would be considered as an insult, and a thing incompatible with the sincerity of the negociation on the part of France, to make any further mention of such a circumstance. He called upon the Spanish minister, to disavow the proposition which had been said to be made with the knowledge of his court; and expressed his astonishment that a proposal for accommodating disputes between friends, should pass through the medium of an enemy *.

The court of Versailles now became fully sensible of the ill consequences that might result from this imprudent step; and condescended to apologise for proposing a discussion of the points in dispute with

* The earl of Bristol, who had acted in this negociation with distinguished ability, informed Mr. Pitt in his reply, dated August thirty-first 1761, that on the receipt of the dispatches from England, he had waited on the Spanish minister Don Ricardo Wall, at St. Ildefonso, and explicitly executed the orders contained in them. In answer to which general Wall affirmed, that the king of Spain, in order to render the peace more permanent, without intending to give the least offence to his Britannic majesty, had assented to the proposal of the most christian king, for the joint accommodation of their differences with Great Britain.

Spain

Spain. The court of Verſailles condeſcended to make an apology; but the Spaniſh ambaſſador attempted to juſtify the French envoy, his conduct being entirely conformable to the ſentiments of his maſter. He ſaid the kings of France and Spain were not only united by the ties of blood, but thoſe of mutual intereſt. He applauded his moſt chriſtian majeſty for endeavouring to render the peace as permanent as the viciſſitudes of human affairs would permit; and he imperiouſly added, That, if governed by any other principles, his catholic majeſty, conſulting only his greatneſs, would have ſpoken "from himſelf and as became his dignity."

The meaning of this declaration could not be miſunderſtood. It evidently appeared, that Spain, as a kind of party, was perfectly acquainted with the particulars of the negociation between France and England; that her judgment was appealed to in the propoſition, and her authority required to encourage the acceptance of the terms propoſed by France. There was indeed a perfect union of affections, intereſts, and councils between the courts of Verſailles and Madrid.

A conviction of this, is ſuppoſed to have ſo far provoked Mr. Pitt, that he afterwards treated the propoſals of France with contempt, which terminated in the diſappointment of the views of the court of Verſailles. The family compact which had been meditated between the two crowns, was ſigned on the fifteenth of Auguſt. From that moment, the French miniſter altered his tone; and the negociation with England was broken off.

In the mean time, orders had been diſpatched to the earl of Briſtol, the Britiſh ambaſſador at Madrid, to remonſtrate on the daring interpoſition of Spain in the negociation between France and England, and to require a declaration of her final intentions.

Mr. Wall, the Spaniſh miniſter, applauded the magnanimity of the king of Great Britain, in not ſuffering France to be appealed to in his diſputes with Spain. But he refuſed to give up any of the three points in diſpute, and acknowledged the moſt perfect harmony ſubſiſted between the courts of France and Spain; he added, that in conſequence of that harmony, the moſt chriſtian king had offered to aſſiſt his catholic majeſty, if the diſpute between Great Britain and Spain ſhould not be amicably ſettled, and that this offer was conſidered as a friendly interference.

This declaration was ſufficient to convince a man of Mr. Pitt's diſcernment, that the intentions of Spain were by no means equivocal. He therefore declared in council, That the evations of that court ought to be conſidered as a refuſal of ſatisfaction, and that ſuch refuſal was a declaration of war; that prudence as well as ſpirit impelled us to ſecure to ourſelves the firſt blow; that, if any war could provide its own reſources, it muſt certainly be a war with Spain; that her ſupplies lay at a diſtance, and might be eaſily intercepted, as we were already maſters of the ſea, that her fleet, on which ſhe had great dependence, was not yet [illegible]d, and that the taking of it would not only ſtrengthen our hands but diſable hers. Such a ſtep, he added, would teach his catholic majeſty, as well as all Europe, how dangerous it was to preſume to dictate in the affairs of Great Britain.

The [illegible]dent dignity of this ſentiment, was [illegible]d violent and extravagant by the majority of the council. They admitted, that we ought not to be deterred from aſſerting our reaſonable demands, by the menaces of any power; but they aſſumed, that this idea of adding war to war, and enemy to enemy, when the reſources of government were already reduced, was ill ſuited to our natural ſtrength; that to avoid war upon a juſt occaſion was cowardice, but to provoke it madneſs; that if Spain ſhould enter more deeply into the views of France, it would then be [illegible]ſon enough to [illegible]are war, [illegible] all the [illegible]mperial neighbouring powers were convinced, that we acted with becoming temper and reſolution, and when every rational man was ſatisfied, that he did not plunge into the hazards and expences of war from an idea of romantic heroiſm, but from unavoidable neceſſity, and would cheerfully contribute to the ſupport of an adminiſtration which was equally afraid of waſting the national treaſure wantonly or improvidently.

Theſe arguments, however plauſible, had no effect on the miniſter, who was of a diſpoſition naturally bold and peremptory, and whom a long courſe of proſperity had rendered haughty and preſumptuous. He conſidered them as the timid counſels of unreaſonable caution, or the captious objections of weak politicians, envious of his greatneſs, and indifferent to their country's welfare. Giving full ſcope to his pride and patriotiſm, he warmly exclaimed, "This is the time for humbling the whole houſe of Bourbon! that if this opportunity was let ſlip, it might never be recovered; and if he could not prevail in this point, he was reſolved that this ſhould be the laſt time he ſhould ſit in that council. He thanked the miniſters of the late king for their ſupport; ſaid he was himſelf called to the miniſtry by the voice of the people, to whom he conſidered himſelf as accountable for his conduct; and that he would no longer remain in a ſituation, which made him reſponſible for meaſures he was no longer allowed to guide."

The ſagacious earl of Grenville, who preſided in the council, coolly replied, "I find the gentleman is determined to leave us, nor can I ſay I am ſorry for it, ſince he would otherwiſe have certainly compelled us to leave him; but as he [illegible]ired to

" to assume the right of advising his majesty, and " directing the operations of the war; to what pur- " pose are we called to this council? When he talks " of being responsible to the people, he talks the " language of the house of commons, and forgets " that at this board, he is only responsible to the " king. However, though he may possibly have " convinced himself of his infallibility, still it re- " mains that we should be equally convinced, before " we can resign our understandings to his direction, " or join with him in the measure he proposes."

On a division, Mr. Pitt, and his brother-in-law lord Temple, were the only voices in favour of an immediate declaration of war; the rest of the board were unanimously against it. The minister and his colleague, adhering to their first opinions, and having delivered their reasons in writing, proceeded immediately to resign their employments.

Pitt, conformable to his declared resolution, carried the seals of his office to the king, though not without hopes, as it was supposed, that he would be requested to retain them. But royal favour now began to flow into a new channel. The earl of Bute claimed a large share of that favour. He had been much about the person of George III. before his accession to the throne, and had assisted in forming the mind of the heir apparent to the British crown.

On this occasion, the great personage, to whom the seals were delivered, received them with ease and firmness, and without soliciting the minister to resume them. He expressed, indeed, his concern for the loss of so able a servant; and to shew the favourable opinion he entertained of his services, made him a most gracious and unlimited offer of any rewards in the power of the crown to confer. His majesty, at the same time, not only declared himself perfectly satisfied with the opinion of the majority of his council, but added, he should have found himself under the greatest difficulty how to have acted, had that council concurred as fully in supporting the measure proposed by Mr. Pitt, as they had done in rejecting it.

Mr. Pitt was sensibly struck with the grandeur and condescension of this proceeding. " I confess, sir," said he, " I had but too much reason to expect your " majesty's displeasure. I did not come prepared " for this exceeding goodness. Pardon me, sir,— " it overpowers, it oppresses me." He burst into tears. We are far from attempting to add any colouring to so exquisitely affecting a picture. We are indeed far from being able to do justice, to perhaps one of the most pathetic and elevated scenes that could possibly be displayed,—the parting of such a prince and such a minister. On the following day, the king gratified the late secretary with an annual pension of three thousand pounds, to be continued, even after his decease, during the survivancy of his consort and son; and this gratuity was accompanied with the title of baroness Chatham to his lady, and that of baron to her heirs male: a pension the best bestowed, and a nobility the most honourably acquired, of any that occurs in the English history.

Immediately the Gazette announced all these transactions. The resignation made the first article; the honours and rewards the next; and they were followed by a letter from our ambassador in Spain; containing an account of the favourable and pacific language of that court, and of the assurances they gave of their anxious wishes to accommodate all differences in an amicable manner.

If after all this, Mr. Pitt should chuse to enter into the opposition, he must appear loaded and oppressed with the imputation of the deepest ingratitude. If he should retire from business, or should concur in support of that administration which he had deserted, because he disapproved its measures, his acquiescence would be attributed, by the multitude, to a bargain for his forsaking the public, and the title and the pension would be denominated bribes.

These were the barriers that were opposed against that torrent of popular rage, which, it was apprehended, would proceed from this resignation.

The friends of Mr. Pitt exclaimed with great vehemence against the displacing of a minister, whose measures had raised the nation from the most abject state to the highest pinnacle of glory. They alledged, that the check, which this minister had received, would most unseasonably revive the drooping spirits of France, depressed by the vigour of our military operations, and the firmness of our councils under his administration; and would shew Spain with what impunity she might insult the honour of the British crown, and invade the property of its subjects. They affirmed, that all the disgraces, which the nation had suffered before Mr. Pitt's admission into the ministry, were entirely owing to the mismanagement of his predecessors, and that all the victories and conquests which we had since obtained, ought to be attributed to his wisdom and intrepidity.

A torrent of illiberal abuse was also poured out against the late minister. His whole life, public and private, was scrutinized with the utmost malignity, in order to furnish matter of calumny against him. The successes of his administration were depreciated; his errors were extremely exaggerated; and the rewards and honours, so justly conferred upon him by his sovereign, were by every trick of ridicule and buffoonery, converted into matter of degradation and disgrace.

The operations in the East Indies were favourable to the new sovereign of Great Britain. The rainy season having relaxed in its inclemency, colonel Coote began to erect batteries for a regular siege of Pondicherry. By a long blockade, he had reduced the garrison to extreme distress for want of sustenance;

nance; but general Lally, defying every difficulty, reſolved to maintain this important poſt with the utmoſt perſeverance. A misfortune which befel the Engliſh fleet, encouraged the governor in his reſolution. Two ſhips of the line were loſt in a ſtorm, which alſo effected the deſtruction of the major part of the crew of each: two other ſhips were wrecked, but the men and the ſtores were preſerved. A ſuſpenſion of the blockade by ſea was the conſequence of this accident; which induced Lally to ſend expreſs to ſome of the neutral ſettlements, exaggerating the injury which the Engliſh had ſuſtained from the tempeſt, and ſoliciting an immediate ſupply of proviſions: but rear-admiral Stephens threatened to capture thoſe veſſels, which, in violation of the laws of neutrality, ſhould ſail towards the blockaded port; and he reſumed his ſtation with ſo little delay, that the garriſon could procure no relief. The batteries of the beſiegers, and the horrors of famine, at length produced a ſurrender from the reluctant governor. The garriſon ſubmitted to captivity; and ample ſpoils accrued to the conquerors. This ſucceſs was ſpeedily followed by the conqueſt of Mahie, a town of ſome ſtrength on the coaſt of Malabar, which was reduced by the efforts of major Munro *.

On the third of November, the new parliament was opened at Weſtminſter; and, as no miniſterial influence had been uſed in electing the members of which it was compoſed, it certainly deſerved the appellation of a free parliament. The king being ſeated on the throne, commanded the attendance of the commons; to whom he ſignified his pleaſure, by the mouth of the lord high chancellor, that they ſhould return to their houſe, and chuſe a new ſpeaker. Their unanimous choice fell upon ſir John Cuſt, baronet, a gentleman of extenſive knowledge and diſtinguiſhed probity, qualified in all reſpects to ſupply the place of Mr. Onſlow.

In his ſpeech to parliament, his majeſty recommended an adequate and honourable proviſion for the ſupport of the queen, in caſe ſhe ſhould ſurvive him; and added, "that there never was a ſituation "in which unanimity, firmneſs, and diſpatch were "more neceſſary for the ſafety, honour, and true "intereſt of Great Britain."

The houſe of commons inſtantly reſolved, that if ſhe ſhould ſurvive the king, ſhe ſhould enjoy a penſion of one hundred thouſand pounds *per annum*, together with the palace of Somerſet Houſe, and the lodge and lands at Richmond Park. An act was unanimouſly framed and paſſed to this effect; and, when it received the royal aſſent, the queen was in the houſe of lords, and teſtified her ſatisfaction and gratitude, by a graceful obeiſance to the king. Supplies were voted for the ſervice of the year, amounting to about eighteen millions. Having diſpatched the buſineſs before them, both houſes adjourned for the Chriſtmas holidays.

The earl of Egremont, who had ſucceeded Mr. Pitt as ſecretary for the ſouthern department, ſenſible of the neceſſity of behaving with ſpirit in the diſpute with Spain, or of forfeiting the confidence of the people, had already inſtructed the Britiſh ambaſſador at Madrid to act with firmneſs, and now directed him to require an account of the purport of the treaty of which they had ſo much vaunted. But all the anſwer which the earl of Briſtol could obtain, was, "That his Catholic majeſty had judged "it expedient to renew his *family compact* with the "moſt Chriſtian king." In conſequence of which, that miniſter immediately quitted Madrid, and the conde Fuentes left London.

On the fourth of January, 1762, war was declared againſt Spain, and a counter declaration iſſued in that country; in conſequence of which letters of marque were iſſued, and preparations made with the greateſt diligence and diſpatch, to humble the pride and inſolence of the Spaniſh monarch. On the nineteenth of the ſame month, his majeſty repaired to the houſe of peers, and addreſſed the parliament in a ſpeech, expreſſing his reliance on the Divine bleſſing, on the juſtice of his cauſe, on the zealous and powerful aſſiſtance of his faithful ſubjects, and the concurrence of his allies; who muſt find themſelves involved in the pernicious and extenſive projects of his enemies. The two houſes then preſented addreſſes to his majeſty, affectionately aſſuring him, that they would rigorouſly ſupport the juſtice of his cauſe.

Prior to Mr. Pitt's reſignation, he had determined to employ a very conſiderable part of the Britiſh forces againſt the French colonies in the Weſt Indies. Nor was this reſolution merely ſpeculative; a ſtrong ſquadron was equipped, and ſailed from Spithead in the month of October in the preceding year. This armament had under their convoy a number of tranſ-

* The place was ſurrendered to colonel Coote, on the fifteenth of January, 1761. The garriſon were made priſoners of war; and a vaſt quantity of military ſtores, with a rich booty, fell into the hands of the victors.

In conſequence of the taking of Pondicherry, and the reduction of the ſmall ſettlement of Mahie, on the coaſt of Malabar (by which it was immediately followed) the French power in the eaſt was utterly ſubverted, and the Engliſh became, in a great degree, maſters of the whole commerce of the vaſt peninſula of India, from the point of the Carnatic to the mouths of the Indus and Ganges; beſides the almoſt excluſive trade of the rich and extenſive provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa, which in ſome meaſure acknowledged their dominion.

Purſuant to the requiſition of general Lally, colonel Coote agreed, that "the mother and ſiſters of Reza Saib "ſhall be eſcorted to Madras, where proper care ſhou'd "be taken for their ſafety: and that they ſhould not, on "any account, be delivered into the hands of nabob Ma-"homet Ally Cawn."

ports,

ports, with four battalions from Belleisle, to join at Barbadoes a strong body of forces from North America, together with some regiments and volunteers from Guadaloupe and the Leeward Islands, and proceed in concert with the fleet already on that station, to the reduction of Martinico, which, since the attempt of general Hopton, had been strengthened with new fortifications, and a strong body of troops. The armament from North America and England, under the command of general Monckton and admiral Rodney, amounting to eighteen battalions, and as many ships of the line, besides frigates, bombs, and fire-ships, having rendezvoused at Barbadoes, sailed from thence on the fifth of January, and on the twelfth, the fleet and transports anchored in St Ann's Bay, in the eastern part of Martinico, the men of war having first silenced some batteries which the enemy had erected on that part of the coast, in the vicinity of the town of Fort Royal. General Monckton, not thinking this a proper place for disembarking, detached two brigades under the command of brigadiers Haldimand and Grant, to the bay of Petite Anse, where a battery was cannonaded, and taken, by the seamen and marines.

These brigades were soon followed by the whole army, and the rest of the squadron, when some of the batteries being cleared, general Monckton, with the force landed, on the sixteenth, in the neighbourhood of the Cas des Navires; and having received a reinforcement of two battalions of marines from the admiral, he determined to besiege the town of Fort Royal, defended by a strong citadel, and various works erected on the Morne Tortueson, and the Morne Garnier, and about 2 heights that commanded the town, which the enemy seemed resolved to defend to the last extremity. He therefore raised a battery to protect the passage of a ravine which separated him from those heights, and made every other disposition for the attack, which began on the twenty-fourth of June. On the twenty-eighth the governor, perceiving the English had obtained several advantages, and were employed in erecting batteries on the different heights which commanded the citadel, ordered the chamade to be beat, and surrendered by capitulation. On the fourth of February, the gate was delivered up to the victors, and the next morning the garrison, amounting to eight hundred men marched out with all the honours of war.

Immediately after the reduction of Fort Royal, deputations were sent from different parts of the island, requesting a capitulation: but M de la Touche, the governor-general, retired with his forces to St. Pierre, which he proposed to defend to the last extremity. On the seventh, Pigeon Island, which was strongly fortified, surrendered at the first summons. The conquest was obtained at the loss of about four hundred men, including a few officers killed and wounded in the different attacks; but the loss of the enemy was much more considerable. General Monckton was just setting out for the reduction of St. Pierre, when two deputies arrived from M. de la Touche, with proposals of capitulation signed. On the sixteenth the English commander took possession of St Pierre, and all the posts in that neighbourhood; while the French governor general, with M. Rouille, the lieutenant-governor, the staff officers, and about three hundred and twenty grenadiers, were embarked on board some transports, and conveyed to France. In the mean time commodore Swanton was detached from the fleet, with a force sufficient for the reduction of the island of Grenada, and the Grenadines, which submitted without opposition, and proved in the hands of England a very valuable acquisition. At the same time, the English made themselves masters of the islands of Saint Lucie, Tobago, and Saint Vincent.

A resolution was now formed to carry on the war against Spain in the West Indies. The Havannah, the center of their Indian commerce, was then strongly defended, and deemed impregnable. Nineteen ships of the line, with many smaller vessels, were fitted out under the command of sir George Pocock, and about ten thousand land forces, commanded by the earl of Albemarle. At first the admiral intended to have landed on the south side of the island of Cuba, where it was supposed he might fall in with the Spanish galleons; but that opinion being over-ruled in a council of war, the fleet continued on a course of seven hundred miles in a very dangerous sea. The admiral had no pilot to direct him; but being in possession of an excellent chart of those seas taken by lord Anson, he relied on his own judgment, and dispatched a ship to make proper enquiries whether there was a probability of passing. On the return of the ship, the admiral ordered the fleet to weigh anchor, and hoist sail, continuing under weigh, in three divisions, consisting of the ships of the line, the frigates, and the transports. On the ninth of June, having quitted these dangerous seas, they came within sight of St Jago, on the eastern extremity of the island of Cuba *.

From St. Jago the fleet continued their voyage to the Havannah, a city of the utmost importance to the security and almost the existence of the Spanish empire in America, as being the port where the galleons and flota laden with the riches of Mexico and Peru constantly rendezvoused: but here they found more difficulties to encounter than they had imagined.

* St. Jago is the capital of Cuba; but although the courts of justice are held there, yet the Havannah is the seat of commerce, and consequently of the utmost importance.

gined *. The difficulties they had to encounter ſeemed inſurmountable; and the admiral, to divert the attention of the enemy, bore away with a large part of the fleet to the weſtward, where he ſeemed inclined to land; while commodore Keppel and captain Hervey landed the forces on the eaſt of the harbour, without the loſs of a ſingle man, though the Spaniards had a conſiderable fleet lying at anchor, which might have greatly annoyed them. The earl of Albemarle divided the army into eight brigades; one of which, under the command of general Elliot, was ordered to march up the country, to prevent any ſupplies being conveyed to the town, and to cover the ſiege in the rear. General Keppel and colonel Howe were ordered to make a diverſion on the weſt end of the town; while the earl of Albemarle, with the main body of the forces, attacked the Moro Caſtle, that being the grand object in view, as it defended the entrance to the harbour. No freſh water was to be had; and as the Britiſh troops were obliged to cut a paſſage through woods, and drag the cannon with them, many of them died through the exceſſive heat of the climate, and the fatigues they ſuffered in the ſervice of their country. But their courage and perſeverance overcame all difficulties; for batteries were erected in the night on the riſing grounds, to cover the approaches, and accelerate the reduction of the place. The Spaniards defended it with great bravery, and, for ſome time, the fire appeared equal on both ſides. On the twenty-ninth of June, in the evening, they made a ſally; but they were obliged to retreat with the loſs of about three hundred men. All the batteries being now opened, the admiral ordered the Cambridge, the Dragon, and the Marlborough, to ſail up to the fort, under the command of captain Hervey; immediately after which, a moſt dreadful firing began.

The Spaniſh artillery was well conducted, and it appeared that the beſt officers under that government were at this time at the Havannah. As the Moro Caſtle was ſituated on a high rock, the ſhips could not, after ſeven hours firing, make the leaſt impreſſion on it. In the attempt the Engliſh loſt one hundred and thirty-men; and were obliged to retire, or they would have been totally deſtroyed. As ſoon as their men of war were gone to rejoin the fleet, the Spaniards directed their attention to the eaſtern part of the fort, and reſolved to perſevere to the laſt extremity; the Engliſh officers were therefore convinced that the reduction of the place would be a work of time. An unforeſeen accident likewiſe tended in a great meaſure towards retarding their operations; the reduction of a battery, which took fire by the exploſion of a mortar. Sickneſs alſo rendered many of the men incapable of acting, and the few who remained in health, were fatigued beyond deſcription. They were, however, ſhortly after relieved by the arrival of two fleets, one from New York, and another from Jamaica, having on board a large quantity of proviſions.

As no time was to be loſt, it was agreed that the miners ſhould be employed; but they had a deep ditch to croſs, which they effected with the utmoſt difficulty, and entrenched themſelves under a rock, where they were not perceived by the enemy. The governor of the Havannah, fearing the Engliſh would make themſelves maſters of the Moro Caſtle, ordered twelve hundred men to be put on board the boats in the harbour, and to land and attack the Engliſh. They were accordingly landed, and attacked our forces in three different places, but with ſo little ſucceſs, that upwards of four hundred were left dead on the field; ſome were drowned, and the reſt, with much difficulty, ſaved themſelves by returning to their boats. On the thirtieth of July, the marines blew up a part of the wall, by which a breach was made; and though it was ſmall, the engineers were of opinion, that the army might attack it. The Engliſh troops now mounted the breach in ſuch excellent order, that the enemy became intimidated after about four hundred of them had been killed, among whom was the marquis de Gonſales, the ſecond in command, a brave officer, who died in the act of animating the ſoldiers to defend the place. The ſame fate attended Don Lewis de Velaſco, the commander in chief, who, animated with all the genuine Caſtilian heroiſm, and diſdaining to aſk quarter, fell by a promiſcuous ſhot, whilſt inciting his troops, both by his exhortation and example, to ſupport the glory of the Spaniſh arms. The Engliſh being now in poſſeſſion of the fort, after a ſiege of forty-four days, turned the cannon againſt the town. Several batteries were erected on the riſing grounds near the town; and the earl of Albemarle ſent a meſſage to the governor, deſiring him to ſurrender, as it would be in vain to perſiſt any longer; but the governor refuſed to comply, declaring he would defend the place to the laſt extremity. The firing now recommenced on both ſides; but in about ſix hours the artillery belonging to the enemy were ſilenced, and the north baſtion of the city was almoſt diſabled. This reduced the Spaniards to reaſon, white flags were inſtantly diſplayed, and in a ſhort time a flag of truce arrived at the head quarters with propoſals for a capitulation. The terms, however, which the

* A very narrow paſſage leads to this harbour, exceeding half a mile in length, at the end of which there is a large baſon, where a thouſand ſhips may ride in ſafety. On one ſide of this narrow paſſage is the Moro Caſtle, a ſtrong fort, built for the defence of the place, and to prevent any ſhips from entering it, but ſuch as have paſſports. To the weſtward of the harbour, ſtands the town ſtrongly fortified with a parapet, redoubts, and baſtions; the whole being ſurrounded by a ditch, and cannon placed in proper diviſions.

Spaniſh governor thought proper to tranſmit, were not granted: he demanded, that the ſhips in the harbour ſhould be ſent to Spain, and that the harbour ſhould be declared neutral. Theſe appearing more like the demands of a conqueror, than a fallen enemy, they were rejected, and hoſtilities were ordered to be renewed. This produced the deſired effect; the enemy thought proper to recede from their demands, and to treat upon different terms. This was a blow which, at the very commencement of the war, ſtruck deep into the vitals of the Spaniſh power *.

The arms of Great Britain alſo triumphed over thoſe of Spain on other occaſions. A ſcheme had been projected for making a deſcent on the iſland of Manilla in the Eaſt Indies. It is the center of the Spaniſh trade, and the port from whence two large ſhips are annually diſpatched acroſs the Pacific Ocean to Acapulco, one of the ports of Mexico, in North America, laden with ſpices, ſtuffs, jewels, and other rich merchandize of India. The attempt was to be made on this iſland, by part of the ſquadron of vice-admiral Cornish, and the troops deſtined for the expedition were to be commanded by brigadier-general ſir William Draper †. On the twenty-third of September, they anchored in the bay of Manilla, where they found the enemy but ill prepared for a defence, and greatly alarmed at their unexpected viſit. The governor was the archbiſhop, who aſſumes the title of captain-general of the Philippine iſland: but the garriſon, conſiſting of eight hundred men, was commanded by the marquis de Villa Medina, who now reinforced it with a body of ten thouſand undiſciplined Indians, from the province of Pampana. The admiral, having found a convenient place for landing the troops, immediately made the proper diſpoſitions for that purpoſe. The three frigates, Argo, Sea Horſe, and Seaford, were ſtationed near the ſhore, to cover the deſcent, three diviſions of the forces were put on board the boats of the fleet, and ſoon landed at the church and village of Malata. The enemy aſſembled in great numbers to oppoſe the deſcent; but the frigates kept ſuch a continual fire of cannon and ſmall arms, that they ſoon diſperſed, and fought their ſafety in a precipitate flight; the troops were therefore diſembarked without the loſs of a ſingle man. On the following day, the general took poſſeſſion of the Polveriſta, a ſmall fort deſerted by the enemy. The curate's dwelling houſe formed the head quarters, and was guarded by the ſeventy-ninth regiment. The church of the Hermitage was occupied by colonel Monſon, with an advanced party of two hundred men. The marines were left at the Malata, in the neighbourhood of the Polveriſta, to ſecure the communication with the fleet, and protect the ſtores and artillery.

In the mean time a body of men approached within a hundred yards of the town, and took poſſeſſion of the church of St. Jago, which they maintained, notwithſtanding the continual fire of the enemy. The admiral on the twentieth, landed a battalion of ſeamen. The Spaniards were not inactive on this occaſion: determined, if poſſible, to prevent the deſtruction of their city, four hundred of their troops marched under the chevalier Fayette, with two field pieces, on the right of the Engliſh advanced poſt, the flank of which they began to cannonade; but their attempt was ſoon rendered abortive: colonel Monſon, at the head of the piquets, and a ſmall reinforcement of marines, attacked him with ſo much fury, that they retreated with precipitation, leaving one of their field-pieces behind them. The Engliſh general, who, from the ſmallneſs of his army, was obliged to confine his operations to one part of the town, determined to make his attack in the front. A detachment under captain Fletcher happily paſſed a ditch, with the loſs of only three men, though expoſed in this dangerous attempt to the whole fire of the enemy. The bombardment was now begun, and continued day and night without intermiſſion, and on the twenty-ninth, the admiral ordered the Elizabeth and Falmouth to lie as near the city as the depth of water would permit, and enfilade the enemy's front in order to ſecond the operations of the beſiegers. The taſk was executed with great intrepidity, and the inhabitants were thrown into the utmoſt confuſion. In the beginning of October, the weather grew very

* By the capitulation, which was ſigned on the thirteenth of Auguſt, the inhabitants were ſecured in the enjoyment of their own laws, religion, and private property; and on the following day the Engliſh took poſſeſſion of this important conqueſt. The Spaniſh garriſon, which was reduced to about ſeven hundred men, including officers, were permitted to march out with the honours of war; and it was ſtipulated that they and the ſailors ſhould be conveyed to Old Spain. About five hundred of the Britiſh troops, including fifteen officers, were killed, or died of their wounds, during the progreſs of this ſiege; and ſeven hundred were carried off by diſeaſe. The conquerors found great quantities of artillery, ſmall arms, ammunition, and warlike ſtores. Twelve ſhips of the line, two upon the ſtocks, and ſeveral trading veſſels alſo fell into the hands of the Engliſh. They alſo acquired to the amount of three millions ſterling in ſilver, tobacco, and valuable merchandize, collected on his Catholic majeſty's account.

† The latter contained one regiment, with a company of royal artillery; to which were added, by the governor of Madras, ſome experienced officers, about thirty men of the company's artillery, ſix hundred ſepoys, a company of caffres, one of topaxes, one of pioneers, and two companies of French deſerters, with a few hundreds of laſcars, for the uſe of the engineers. The preparations being completed, captain Grant, in the Sea Horſe, was detached to the entrance of the Chineſe ſeas, with orders to intercept all veſſels bound for Manilla, that the enemy might not obtain information of their deſign.

ſtormy and tempeſtuous, but did not hinder the beſiegers from carrying on their works with unremitted ardour. A furious ſally was made from the town, on the fourth, before day-break, in which the regular troops of the fort were reinforced by a conſiderable body of the native Indians, armed only with bows and lances, who fought with aſtoniſhing perſeverance; advancing even to the muzzles of the Engliſh muſkets, and with ſavage ferocity, biting the bayonets, when they experienced the agonies of death. They were, however, repulſed with great loſs; and the works having ſuſtained great damage, a reſolution was adopted to ſtorm the town.

The governor, with the principal magiſtrates, withdrew into the citadel, and the town was expoſed for ſome hours to all the horrors of a pillage. At length, the citadel being in no condition of defence, the marquis de Villa Medina, the archbiſhop of Manilla, and the officers of the garriſon, ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war. The Spaniſh officers on giving their parole of honour, were enlarged, and all the Indians diſmiſſed with ſafety. This important conqueſt coſt the Engliſh only one hundred men, including officers. By the capitulation it was agreed, that the town and ports of Cavite, with the iſlands and forts depending upon Manilla, were to be delivered up to his Britannic majeſty, and four millions of dollars paid as a ranſom to the city of Manilla, and the effects of the inhabitants, who, in returns were to be protected in their religion and private property *. The fleet which alſo fell into the power of England, conſiſted of nine ſhips of the line, and four frigates. The garriſon was allowed the honours of war, and a ſafe conveyance to Spain.

During the ſiege, ſome intercepted letters to the Spaniſh governor, were procured by admiral Corniſh, which informed him, that the galleon, St. Philippina, was arrived from Acapulco at Cayyayan; he therefore reſolved to diſpatch ſome veſſels, in queſt of her. The Panther man of war, and Argo frigate, were accordingly detached on this ſervice; and on the thirtieth of October, being off the iſland of Capul, they diſcerned a ſail ſtanding to the northward. The Panther was unfortunately drove by the current among the Narangoes, and obliged to drop anchor, but the frigate continuing the chace, came up with and engaged her for near two hours, during which her rigging ſuffered conſiderably, and obliged the captain to give over the attack till it could be repaired. In the mean time the Panther got under ſail again, and in her turn engaged the enemy, who ſoon after ſurrendered; but inſtead of the St. Philippina, the prize proved the Santa Trinidada, pierced for ſixty guns, which had departed from Manilla for Acapulco, on the firſt of Auguſt; but meeting with a ſtrong gale of wind, in which ſhe was diſmaſted, had been obliged to put back and refit. The merchandize on board this ſhip was eſtimated at one million and a half of dollars, and the whole cargo ſuppoſed to be worth double that ſum †.

Portugal being in a defenſive alliance with Great Britain, was now expoſed to invaſion both from France and Spain, thoſe powers having preſented a joint memorial by their ambaſſadors at the court of Liſbon to the Portugueſe miniſtry ‡. Notwithſtanding the extraordinary memorial, the firmneſs of his Portugueſe majeſty compelled him to anſwer this inſulting propoſition with a moderate but intrepid reſolution. He obſerved, "That the ties which equally united him to Great Britain, and the crowns of France and Spain, rendered him a proper mediator to each party, and conſequently it was improper for him to declare himſelf an enemy to either: that his alliance with England was ancient, and conſequently incapable of giving offence at this juncture: that it was merely defenſive, and therefore innocent: that the late calamities of Portugal had rendered

* The port and citadel of Cavite, with the iſlands and fortreſſes, depending on the government of Manilla, being included in the capitulation, the whole force of the Engliſh was hardly ſufficient to garriſon their conqueſts.

† The Santa Trinidada was not the only valuable prize taken from the enemy in the courſe of the preſent year: the Hermione a Spaniſh regiſter ſhip, bound from Lima to Cadiz, laden with treaſure and valuable effects, was captured in May by two Engliſh frigates, which were on a cruiſe off cape St. Vincent. She was carried into Gibraltar, and afterwards brought to England. Her cargo was eſtimated at one million ſterling.

‡ The memorials required, "That the two ſovereigns of France and Spain, having found it neceſſary to take every method in their power to check the pride of the Britiſh nation, had thought proper to eſtabliſh ſeveral mutual and reciprocal obligations between them, in order to prevent that nation from becoming deſpotic over all the maritime commerce of Europe; that the firſt meaſure planned by the king's of France and Spain was to engage his Portugueſe majeſty in their offenſive and defenſive alliance, and to join his forces with theirs; that they expected his moſt faithful majeſty would not heſitate a moment to acquieſce in ſo reaſonable a requeſt, when he conſidered what he owed to himſelf, to his kingdom, and to his ſubjects, who more ſeverely felt the yoke which Great-Britain had impoſed upon them, than thoſe of any other nation, and which ſhe was deſirous of extending over all thoſe who had any poſſeſſions in the new world; that it would be unjuſt for France alone to ſupport a war, and ſacrifice their ſubjects for an object in which Portugal was equally intereſted with themſelves; that in order to this the ambaſſador of Spain, and the miniſter plenipotentiary of France, deſired his moſt faithful majeſty to renounce the neutrality, and declare himſelf united in the preſent war againſt the Engliſh, with the kings of France and Spain." To this extraordinary memorial the two miniſters added, "That they were commanded by their reſpective courts, to demand in four days a categorical anſwer, and that any delay, beyond that period, would be conſidered as a negative."

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her incapable of taking part in any offenſive war, into which neither the love his moſt faithful majeſty bore his ſubjects as a father, nor the duty by which he was bound to them as a king, could ſuffer him to plunge them." But this moderate anſwer was not ſatisfactory to the princes of the Bourbon confederacy. They denied that the alliance with England was either purely defenſive, or purely innocent; adding among other things, that if the king of Portugal did not comply with their requiſitions, the Spaniſh troops, ſhould enter his country, ſeize his forts, and ſhut them up; and declared that no choice was therefore left to his majeſty, but that of receiving them as friends, or treating them as enemies.

But this inſulting treatment could neither divert his Portugueſe majeſty from the firmneſs of his reſolution, nor provoke him to depart from the moderation of his language. He declared he would keep his treaties with England inviolate, and aſſerted they were ſuch as the law of God, of nature, and of nations had always deemed innocent; and proteſted, that if the troops of France and Spain ſhould enter his dominions, he would in defence of his neutrality, repulſe them with all his forces, joined by thoſe of his allies. On receiving his Portugueſe majeſty's final reſolution, the ambaſſadors of the two crowns reciprocally demanded paſſports, which being granted them, they ſet out for their reſpective courts; and France and Spain, in the month of June, publiſhed a joint declaration of war againſt Portugal.

In the mean time about eight thouſand troops, with large ſupplies of ſtores and ammunition, arrived in Portugal from England. The command of the Portugueſe army had been conferred upon count de Lippe Buckebourg, an officer of great abilities, and who, during the whole courſe of the war, had directed the Britiſh artillery in Germany. The Engliſh forces were conducted by lord Tyrawley and the earl of Loudon, aſſiſted by ſeveral officers of great experience. Theſe forces had not been long in Portugal before lord Tyrawley, diſguſted at the behaviour of the court of Liſbon, requeſted to be recalled: his requeſt was granted, and the earl of Loudon ſucceeded to the chief command.

Among the atchievements of the year, the recovery of the fort of Saint John in the iſland of Newfoundland, by lord Colville and colonel Amherſt, may be tranſiently noticed.

Let us now reſume the civil and domeſtic tranſactions of Great Britain. On the reſignation of Mr. Pitt, the direction of affairs was veſted wholly in the earl of Bute, who enjoyed the entire confidence and eſteem of his ſovereign. The duke of Newcaſtle, who ſtill held the pre-eminent office of firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury, received an intimation in May 1762, that his reſignation was expected; when he was alſo informed, that the king intended to grant him an adequate [illegible] in conſideration of his paſt ſervices: but the duke generouſly and nobly replied, that, "If he could no longer be permitted to ſerve his country, he was at leaſt determined not to be a burthen to it."

The diſmiſſion of this nobleman, who had ever been diſtinguiſhed for his zeal and attachment to the houſe of Hanover, and had injured his fortune in defending it, excited great diſguſt in the Whig party; who thought it ungrateful to diſcharge an old and faithful ſervant, though his talents were not above mediocrity. The duke of Devonſhire reſigned indignantly his office of Lord Chamberlain, and was ſtruck out of the liſt of the privy-council. The earl of Hardwicke retired; the duke of Grafton, and the lords Ravenſworth, and Aſhburham now appeared on the ſide of oppoſition. Mr. George Grenville was appointed ſecretary of ſtate, as ſucceſſor to the earl of Bute. Many other ſingular promotions took place.

On the twelfth of Auguſt,—a day auſpicious to the houſe of Brunſwick, the nation was gladdened by the birth of a prince of Wales. The firſt grand object of the new miniſter, now honoured by a flattering aſſociation with the duke of York, with the order of the garter, after his open aſſumption of the office and authority of premier, was the reſtoration of a peace;—a deſign which was attended with ſome difficulty. The majority of the nation were eager for the continuance of war, in the ſanguine expectation of new victories.

The earl of Bute had now given great diſguſt by the general tenor of his conduct, his precipitate meaſures of expelling the members of the old adminiſtration, and intruding himſelf and his partiſans into all the efficient offices of government.

We muſt now direct our attention to the affairs in Germany. Before the allied armies had commenced their operations, a detachment of four thouſand men was ſent from the French garriſon of Gottingen, to ſurpriſe the eaſt chain of the allied cantonments. But the enterpriſe was rendered abortive by the judicious retreat of the troops; in conſequence of which the French could only make a ſmall impreſſion upon their rear. Prince Ferdinand, to prevent a ſimilar attempt, ſent three thouſand to take poſt at Embeck, which effectually anſwered the intended purpoſe. On the other hand general Luckner, who had made ſeveral ſucceſsful invaſions into the country poſſeſſed by the enemy, obtained a conſiderable advantage over the marquis de Lortange, who had marched out of Gottingen, at the head of eighteen hundred horſe, and two thouſand infantry, to intercept Luckner. But the latter falling unexpectedly on the marquis, obliged him to retire with conſiderable loſs, to Gottingen. About the ſame time, a party of French irregulars were made priſoners at Eichfield, by major Wingerode, commander of the Heſſian

Heſſian huſſars. The caſtle of Roer, which had been occupied for ſome time by the French, was beſieged in April by the hereditary prince of Brunſwick. His batteries had hardly began to play when the fort was ſet on fire. Every method was purſued by M. de Muret, who commanded in the caſtle, to ſtop the progreſs of the flames, but all his endeavours proving ineffectual, he was obliged, with his whole garriſon of two hundred and thirty men, to leap over the walls and ſurrender at diſcretion.

Prince Ferdinand, on the 24th of June, made proper diſpoſitions for attacking the French camp, ſituated between Græbenſtein and Meinbrexen. To execute this plan with ſucceſs, general Luckner quitted his camp on the morning of the 23d, croſſed the Weſer in the evening, and early the next morning arrived between Mariendorff and Udenhauſen. General Sporcken paſſed the Dymel at Siemel about four in the morning, at the head of twelve Hanoverian battalions, and part of the cavalry of the left wing, in order to engage the enemy's flank, while Luckner attacked them in the rear. Prince Ferdinand paſſed the river about the ſame time, at the head of twelve Britiſh battalions, eleven battalions of the Brunſwick troops, eight regiments of Heſſians, the Engliſh cavalry, and part of the German horſe of the left wing. On gaining the bank on the oppoſite ſide, he drew up his forces in order of battle behind the ponds of Kalſe. All the preparations were conducted with ſuch judgment, activity, and method, that the French were attacked with the utmoſt impetuoſity in front, flank, and rear, before they were aware of the approach of the allied army. Terrified at this unexpected aſſault, a precipitate retreat ſoon followed, and would probably have ended in a total defeat of the whole army, had not M. de Stainville, at the head of a choſen body of troops, thrown himſelf into the woods of Willemſtahl, where he made a noble ſtand, and effectually covered the retreat of the French marſhals, who retired in the utmoſt confuſion, under the cannon of Caſſel. Stainville was attacked by lord Granby with his uſual impetuoſity, and the whole body, except two battalions were either killed or taken *.

Elated by this ſucceſs, prince Ferdinand attempted to cut off the communication of the French with Frankfort, while they continued in their ſtrong camp under the cannon of Caſſel. This communication was preſerved by M. Rochambeau, who at the head of a body of horſe and ſome brigades of infantry, poſſeſſed a ſtrong poſt near Hamburgh. The marquis of Granby and lord Frederick Cavendiſh advanced, with a conſiderable detachment, to diſlodge them. At their approach the enemy began to retreat, upon which the marquis ordered his horſe to attack them in the rear. In performing this ſervice they were in imminent danger of being overpowered by the French cavalry, who, facing about ſuddenly, attacked them ſword in hand; but the infantry coming to their aſſiſtance, the enemy were obliged to fly in their turn, and it was with the utmoſt difficulty they effected a retreat with the loſs of four hundred men.

The prince then reſolved to attack the French marſhals, who had withdrawn to their camp at Milſengen, in order to maintain their communication with Frankfort, and facilitate their junction with the prince of Condé, who had orders to advance from the Lower Rhine. On the twenty-fifth of July, Ferdinand croſſed the Eder, and joined the marquis of Granby on the heights of Falkenberg, after which he reconnoitered the enemy's ſituation, when he perceived there was no probability of engaging them with ſucceſs: and having cannonaded their camp, he re-croſſed the Eder, leaving the marquis of Granby on the heights of Falkenberg. The French now croſſed the Fulda, and retired to Caſſel, having left a body of troops under M. de Guerchy, oppoſite the camp they abandoned: at the ſame time the marquis of Granby took poſſeſſion of Mulſengen, and once more cut off the enemy's communication with Frankfort. A body of their dragoons advancing towards Ruthenburn, fell into an ambuſcade at Morſchen, and were entirely routed. This was followed by the loſs of Gottingen, which place they relinquiſhed, after having deſtroyed the fortifications. The French now ſecured themſelves in a ſtrong camp on the banks of the Fulda, whence they diſpatched orders to the prince of Condé to haſten to their relief. That general began his march from Coeffeldt on the ſixteenth of July, and paſſed the Lippe at Halderen.

He was followed by the hereditary prince, at the head of a ſtrong detachment from the allied army: who being informed, that a large body of the enemy were on their march to meet the prince of Condé, he reſolved to attack them before their arrival. In the beginning of this action, the French were drove from the heights into the plain; but while the troops were eagerly purſuing their advantage, the main army of the enemy arrived. Such a powerful reinforcement could not fail of turning the balance in their favour. The allies were totally defeated, having loſt upwards of three thouſand men. To add to the misfortune, the hereditary prince received a wound from a muſquet ball in his hip-bone, by which his life was long in danger. The French, however, acquired no advantage from their victory.

* Two thouſand five hundred and fifty of the enemy, including one hundred and ſixty-two officers were made priſoners; ſome ſtandards and colours were alſo taken, while loſs of the allied army did not exceed three hundr

That part of the French army which was under the generals de Caſtries and Saarsfeldt being poſted on the ſide of the Ohme, and oppoſite to them a ſtrong detachment commanded by the marquis of Granby, and general Zaſtrow on the other, a furious cannonade ſucceeded. The caſtle of Anneneburg, in the neighbourhood of the allies, was furniſhed with a garriſon of ſeven hundred men under captain Cruſe. This fortreſs the enemy reſolved to make themſelves maſters of; but in order to conceal their real intention, they attacked a poſt of the allies called Bruckermulk, which defended the paſſage of a bridge over the Ohme. After a very obſtinate engagement, darkneſs terminated the diſpute, the French having ſuſtained a loſs of upwards of a thouſand men, and the allies near ſix hundred. A few days after this action, prince Ferdinand inveſted Caſſel; and notwithſtanding all the activity and reſolution of a numerous garriſon, commanded by the baron Dieſbach, the operations were carried on with ſuch remarkable vigour, that on the tenth of October, the city capitulated. This was the laſt action between the French and the allies in Germany. Prince Ferdinand, indeed, was preparing for the ſiege of Ziegenheim, the only place the French were now poſſeſſed of in Heſſe; but before he could carry his deſign into execution, the preliminaries of peace were ſigned between France and Great Britain; in conſequence of which a ceſſation of arms took place between the two armies.

The preliminaries of peace being ſigned, and the definitive treaty in an advanced ſtage, the parliament was convened and aſſembled on the twenty-fifth of November, when his majeſty opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne; in which he obſerved, that nothing was more deſirable to him than a permanent peace, procured to him on ſuch honourable terms as would ſecure the happineſs of his people. For that purpoſe, he had once more condeſcended to renew the negociation that had been broken off before: and he mentioned the conduct of his army and navy in the higheſt terms of applauſe. He obſerved, that he had been obliged to ſend an armed force to ſupport his good ally the king of Portugal, who was threatened by the whole Spaniſh army, in conſequence of the intrigues of the French. He concluded by aſſuring them, that nothing gave him ſo much unhappineſs, as the conſideration that his ſubjects were burthened with heavy taxes; but there was a neceſſity for it, as it would otherwiſe have been impoſſible to have defeated the enemy's ſchemes, and render their undertakings abortive. He deſired the commons to conſider of ſuch methods, in the ſettlement of the new acquiſitions, as ſhould moſt effectually tend to the ſecurity of thoſe countries, and to the improvement of the Britiſh trade and navigation. He recommended to their care and attention his gallant ſubjects, by whom theſe acquiſitions were obtained. He obſerved, that union at home was peculiarly neceſſary to lay the foundation of that œconomy which they owed to themſelves and their poſterity, and which alone could relieve the nation from the heavy burthens entailed upon it by the neceſſities of a long and expenſive war. In anſwer to this ſpeech, addreſſes were preſented by both houſes, containing general compliments upon the approach of peace, as well as upon the birth of the prince of Wales*. The next day a ceſſation of arms was proclaimed; and orders were iſſued for opening again all the channels of communication with France and Spain.

The preliminaries of the peace were ſeverely ſcrutinized by the parliament; but were at length approved by a great majority in both houſes, and each preſented an addreſs to the king on the occaſion; in which they declared, "That they owed the utmoſt gratitude to his majeſty for the re-eſtabliſhment of the public tranquillity upon terms of honour to the crown, and of advantage to the people."

On the fifth of January, 1762, died Elizabeth empreſs of Ruſſia, who was ſucceeded by Peter III. who, from motives of jealouſy, had been kept at a diſtance from court. His underſtanding was below mediocrity, and his diſpoſition indolent; but, having formed a friendly attachment to the king of Pruſſia, he negotiated and concluded a treaty of peace and friendly alliance with that ſovereign; in conſequence of which, the army under Czernichef, conſiſting of twenty thouſand men, was transferred to the ſervice of Frederick. The feeble character of the emperor rendered him highly unpopular; and ambition ſtimulated Catharine, his conſort, to a vigorous exertion. A conſpiracy was formed againſt him; he was depoſed, ſigned an abject inſtrument of abdication; was impriſoned, inſulted, and neglected; and, at length, an uncontradicted report declared him to have been privately aſſaſſinated.

The clamour againſt the cyder bill became extremely violent and general. The city of London preſented a petition againſt it at the bar of the houſe of Commons. The bill, however, paſſed both houſes by conſiderable majorities. In the cyder counties the meaſure was held in ſuch abhorrence, that it was found extremely difficult to enforce the obnoxious impoſt†.

But no ſooner was this favourite meaſure carried into

* He was born Auguſt the twelfth, between ſeven and eight in the morning, and on the ſeventeeth was created prince of Wales, &c. On the twelfth of September following, he was baptized by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and at the font received the name of George Auguſtus Frederick.

† In debating on the cyder bill, Mr. Grenville, in anſwer to Mr. Pitt, contended, that ſuch a meaſure was unavoidable

into execution, than the kingdom received the aſtoniſhing intelligence of the reſignation of the miniſter, who after having vaunted of reſtoring peace to the world, was now determined, by retiring "to the bleſſings of the life he loved," to manifeſt that miniſterial greatneſs had not any charms for him. *

The cabinet, already extremely weak, was now further enfeebled by the death of lord Egremont, whoſe abilities and intereſt gave weight to his meaſures.

The definitive treaty of peace was ſigned at Paris on the tenth of February †; and being tranſmitted to England was ſpeedily laid before the parliament. The articles of the treaty, like thoſe of the preliminaries, occaſioned violent debates in both houſes, where, after a variety of arguments on each ſide, the queſtion being put, it was carried in the affirmative by a very conſiderable majority ‡.

On the twenty-ſecond of March peace was proclaimed in London, with the accuſtomed ceremonies.

On the eſtabliſhment of peace, the miniſtry came to a reſolution of avoiding taxation as much as the public ſervice could poſſibly admit. The ſupplies were to be raiſed, firſt, by taking two millions out of the ſinking fund; ſecondly, by ſtriking one million eight hundred thouſand pounds in exchequer bills; thirdly, by borrowing two millions eight hundred thouſand pounds on annuities; and, laſtly, by two lotteries, for three hundred and fifty thouſand pounds each. To pay the intereſt on theſe loans, an additional duty was impoſed upon all wines of the growth of France, and in an inferior degree on all other wines. Thus far the ſcheme ſeemed unexceptionable; but another duty was added, which excited a ferment in the nation; viz. four ſhillings per hogſhead upon cyder, to be paid by the maker, collected by the officers, and ſubjected to all the laws of exciſe. The chiefs of the oppoſition differed in opinion from the treaſury upon every particular in this impoſt. But, after a violent debate, the queſtion was ſtated, and carried in the affimative by a very conſiderable majority. In the upper houſe the bill was alſo ſtrongly oppoſed; but the miniſtry carried their point, and the bill received the royal aſſent §.

The rage of party was at this time more inflamed than ever; and the preſs teemed with political pamphlets on both ſides, couched in terms of the utmoſt virulence and abuſe. Of theſe the miniſtry ſeemed totally regardleſs, till the appearance of the forty-fifth number of the North Briton. A rule for an information was now granted by the court of King's Bench againſt the authors, printers, and publiſhers of that paper, which contained a ſevere commentary on the king's ſpeech at the cloſe of the ſeſſion of parliament on the nineteenth of April. John Wilkes, Eſq. member of Ayleſbury in Buckinghamſhire, was

unavoidable, as government knew not where to lay another tax of equal efficiency. "The right honourable gentleman," continued he, "complains of the ſeverity of this tax; why does he not mention another tax inſtead of it?—repeating with ſtrong emphaſis ſeveral times, *Tell me where.*" *where* can you lay another tax?" Mr. Pitt, with great pleaſantry replied in a muſical tone, and in the words of a well-known canzonet, "Gentle Shepherd, *tell me where?*"—Immoderate burſts of laughter enſued, and Mr. Grenville ever after retained the appellation of "*The Gentle Shepherd.*"

* The principal cauſe of his reſignation, was the want of ſupport in the cabinet. In a private letter to a friend, he thus relates the real motives of his conduct. "Single, "in a cabinet of my own forming; no aid in the houſe "of Lords to ſupport me, except two peers (lords Den-"bigh and Pomfret;) both the ſecretaries of ſtate ſilent, "and the lord chief juſtice, whom I myſelf brought into "office, voting for me, yet ſpeaking againſt me; the "ground I tread upon ſo hollow, that I am afraid, not "only of falling myſelf, but of involving my royal maſ-"ter in my ruin. It is time for me to retire!"—*Adolphus's Hiſtory.*

† Lord Bute did not ſpeak often in parliament: his delivery was ſlow and ſolemn: in alluſion to which, Charles Townſend, during a ſpeech which lord Bute made on the ſubject of the cyder tax, humorouſly exclaimed "*minute guns.*" See *Smollet's Hiſtory*, xvi. 161.

‡ A. D. 1763.

By the treaty, which was now the ſubject of debate, Canada, Nova-Scotia, and the iſland of Cape Breton were ceded to Great Britain; the river Miſſiſippi conſtituted the boundary between the Britiſh and French colonies in North America; and in the Weſt Indies, the king of Great Britain yielded to the French the conquered iſlands of Martinico and Guadaloupe, with their dependencies. The iſland of Belleiſle was given in exchange for Minorca; and the Grenades, with the other iſlands depending on them, were ceded to Britain. All the Britiſh conqueſts on the river Senegal were confirmed to Britain: with reſpect to the Eaſt Indies, the French ſettlements were reſtored, and part retained. The French were obliged to reſtore ſuch places as they had taken poſſeſſion of in Germany; and in conſequence of the king of Spain's abandoning all pretenſions to Florida, and ceding it to the Engliſh, the Havannah, with the whole iſland of Cuba, were to be reſtored. The king of Pruſſia, and the empreſs queen were to remain in the ſame condition they were in before the commencement of the war.

§ When an addreſs in reply, came under the conſideration of the Houſe of Commons, Mr. Pitt declared his entire diſapprobation of the tenor of the treaty, as derogatory to the honour and intereſts of the kingdom. "He was determined, "he ſaid," afflicted as he was with illneſs, at the hazard of his life to attend the houſe that day to raiſe up his voice, his hand, and his arm againſt the preliminary articles of the treaty, which obſcured all the glories of the war, ſurrendered the deareſt intereſts of the nation, and ſacrificed the public faith by abandoning our allies. But in the houſe of lords the miniſter himſelf vindicated the treaty with great energy and ſpirit, concluded his harangue in the following impreſſive terms,—"That he wiſhed no other epitaph to be inſcribed on his "tomb, that that he was the adviſer of the peace, on the "merits of which they were called upon to decide."

the ſuppoſed author of this performance. A warrant was therefore iſſued by the ſecretary of ſtate for taking Mr. Wilkes, together with the printer and publiſher, into cuſtody. Accordingly, on the evening of the twenty-ninth of April, the meſſengers repaired to Mr. Wilkes's houſe for that purpoſe. On their entrance he excepted to the *generality* * of the warrant †, as his name was not mentioned in it, and threatened the firſt who ſhould offer violence to his perſon in his own houſe, at that unſeaſonable hour of the night, upon any pretended verbal order which they might, or might not, have received for that purpoſe. The meſſengers therefore, thought proper to retire, and defer the execution of their warrant till next morning, when they took him into cuſtody, and conducted him to the ſecretaries of ſtate for examination.

On the intimation of this event, application was made in the court of Common Pleas, then ſitting in Weſtminſter Hall, for a habeas corpus, which was granted; though by reaſon of the Prothonotary's office not being open, it could not be ſerved till four o'clock in the afternoon. In the mean time ſeveral gentlemen applied for admittance to him; which was refuſed, on pretence of an order from the ſecretaries of ſtate, which order was never produced; and though it was well known that the Court of Common Pleas had granted a habeas corpus, and Philip Carteret Webb, Eſq. was aſſured of the fact, Mr. Wilkes was committed to the Tower, where many of his friends were alſo refuſed admittance to him. On the third of May he was brought to the bar of the court of Common Pleas, where he addreſſed himſelf to the judges on the illegality and hardſhips of his commitment in a very animated ſpeech. The caſe was then argued by eminent lawyers on both ſides; but the court, after making a polite excuſe to Mr. Wilkes for the delay, (requiring further time to conſider of the affair,) he was remanded to the Tower till the ſixth of May, with orders that his friends and lawyers ſhould have free acceſs to him. In the interim orders were given, that Mr. Wilkes ſhould no longer continue colonel of the militia for the county of Buckingham. On the day appointed, Mr. Wilkes was again brought to Weſtminſter hall, when after another ſpirited addreſs to the court, lord chief juſtice Pratt, a firm and invariable friend to conſtitutional liberty, proceeded to give his opinion on the three following points, viz. The legality of Mr. Wilkes's committment; the neceſſity for a ſpecification of thoſe particular paſſages in No. 45 of the North Briton which had been deemed a libel; and his privilege as a member of parliament ‡. Theſe points were diſcuſſed by his lordſhip in a manner which greatly redounds to his honour: and his opinion having met with the approbation of the court, Mr. Wilkes was diſcharged. But before he had quitted the court, a gentlemen of eminence in the law, ſtood up, and informed the lord chief juſtice, that he had juſt received a note from the attorney and ſolicitor-general, to deſire his lordſhip would detain Mr. Wilkes till their arrival, as they had ſomething to offer againſt his plea of privilege. This requeſt, however, was not complied with; and Mr. Wilkes took his leave of the court.

A ſhort time after Mr. Wilkes had been releaſed from the Tower, he cauſed a printing preſs to be fixed, under his own direction, at his houſe in Great George ſtreet, Weſtminſter, where he advertiſed the proceedings of the adminiſtration, with all the origi-

* On the 15th of April two ambaſſadors extraordinary from the republic of Venice made their public entry into London, in a very ſplendid and pompous manner; and on the ſubſequent day, the king went to the houſe of peers, and having given the royal aſſent to ſeveral bills, he prorogued the parliament with a ſpeech from the throne, in which he expreſſed his thanks for the zeal and diſpatch they had manifeſted in their proceedings.

† Copy of the warrant to take Mr. Wilkes into cuſtody.

Charles Earl of Egremont, and George Dunk, Earl of Halifax, Lords of his Majeſty's moſt honourable privy council, and principal ſecretaries of ſtate.

"Theſe are, in his majeſty's name, to authorize and require you to receive into your cuſtody the body of John Wilkes, Eſq; herewith ſent you, for being the author and publiſher of a moſt infamous and ſeditious libel, entitled the North Briton, No. XLV. tending to inflame the minds and alienate the affections of the people from his majeſty, and to excite them to traiterous inſurrections againſt the government. And to keep him ſafe and cloſe until he ſhall be delivered by due courſe of law, and in ſo doing this ſhall be your warrant. Given at St. James's, the thirtieth of April 1763, in the third year of his majeſty's reign.

ſigned EGREMONT. L. S.
DUNK HALIFAX. L. S.

‡ Lord chief juſtice Pratt declared afterwards, in his judicial capacity, this warrant unconſtitutional, illegal, and abſolutely void. "If it be good," continued he, "a "ſecretary of ſtate can delegate and depute any of his "meſſengers, or any even from the loweſt of the people, "to take examinations, to commit or releaſe, and, in fine, "to do every act which the higheſt judicial officers the law "knows, can do, or order. There is no authority in our "law books that mentions theſe kinds of warrants, but in "expreſs terms condemns them. Upon the matureſt con-"ſideration, I am bold to ſay this warrant is illegal; but "I am far from wiſhing a matter of this conſequence "ſhould reſt ſolely on my opinion. It may be referred "to the twelve judges, and there is a ſtill higher court, "before which it may be canvaſſed, and whoſe determi-"nation is final. If theſe ſuperior juriſdictions ſhould de-"clare my opinion erroneous, I ſubmit as will become "me, and kiſs the rod; but I muſt ſay, I ſhall always "conſider it as a rod of iron for the chaſtiſement of the "people of Great Britain."

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nal papers; and the North Briton was re-published. In the mean time an information was filed againſt him in the court of King's Bench, at his majeſty's ſuit, as being author of the North Briton, No. 45; and on the meeting of parliament, a meſſage was ſent to the houſe of commons with the information his majeſty had received, that John Wilkes, eſquire, a member of that houſe, was the author of a moſt ſeditious and dangerous libel. The examinations and proofs of the ſaid libel, together with the meaſures that had been taken thereon, were alſo laid before the houſe: in conſequence of which, the North Briton, No. 45, was adjudged a falſe, ſcandalous, and ſeditious libel, and ordered to be burned by the hands of the common hangman. The operation of burning the North Briton, according to the ſentence, was committed to the ſuperintendence of Mr. alderman Harley, ſheriff of London, and one of the city members. The officers who aſſembled at the Royal Exchange to perform this duty, were aſſailed by a furious mob, pelted, and groſsly inſulted; and the glaſs of Harley's chariot was broken by a billet of wood. The pieces of libel which remained, were carried off in triumph to Temple Bar, where a large bonfire was prepared to receive and conſume a large Jack-Boot, typically ſigmfying John earl of Bute. On the day appointed for enforcing this ſentence, December the third, a great number of perſons aſſembled at the Royal Exchange, who indecently inſulted the ſheriffs, one of whom received a ſlight wound in the ſcuffle, which obliged him to retire. The North Briton, however, was partly conſumed by means of a lighted link, but ſome ſcraps of it were carried off in triumph by the populace, who, in the evening, diſplayed them at Temple Bar, where a bonfire was made, and the greateſt rejoicings exhibited on the occaſion.

Mr. Wilkes alſo made a formal complaint to the houſe of commons concerning a breach of their privilege, by the impriſonment of his perſon, the plundering of his houſe, the ſeizing of his papers, and the ſerving him with a ſubpœna upon an information in the court of King's Bench, &c. Not being ſatisfied with this, he commenced an action againſt Robert Wood, eſquire, under ſecretary of ſtate, for ſeizing his papers. The cauſe was tried on the ſixth of December, before lord chief juſtice Pratt, and a ſpecial jury; when, after a hearing of near fifteen hours, the jury gave a verdict for the plaintiff with one thouſand pounds damages, and full coſts of ſuit*. Previous to this, a complaint had been exhibited againſt Mr. Wilkes in the houſe of lords, for affixing the name of a member of that houſe to a book entitled, "An Eſſay on Woman;" which book was publicly produced, to the utter confuſion and eternal diſgrace of every perſon concerned in it; but Mr. Wilkes could not prefer his anſwer, being then indiſpoſed, in conſequence of a wound he had received in a duel with Samuel Martin, eſquire, late ſecretary of the treaſury; who, thinking himſelf groſsly inſulted in the North Briton, and, preſuming Mr. Wilkes was the author of that abuſe, he ſent him a challenge, which being readily accepted by Mr. Wilkes, he received a dangerous wound in the belly; of which he ſent immediate notice to the houſe of commons, who thereupon allowed time for his appearance, and afterwards, on the report of his phyſician and ſurgeon, enlarged it: but at length, ſuſpecting ſome colluſion between him and them, on the ſixteenth of December, they ordered Dr. Heberden and Mr. Hawkins to attend him, in order to obſerve the progreſs of his cure, and make a report of it to the houſe. This being made known to Mr. Wilkes by his phyſician, he ſent cards to the two gentlemen appointed to attend him, expreſſing his juſt ſenſe of the care of the houſe for his ſpeedy recovery, but at the ſame time intimated his perfect reliance on the gentlemen to whom he had committed his caſe, and aſſured them, that though he did not wiſh to ſee them at preſent, he was impatient for an opportunity of ſhewing the juſt regard he would ever pay to diſtinguiſhed merit. Eight days after, Mr. Wilkes ſet out for France on a viſit to his daughter, who was very ill at Paris.

On the ſixteenth of January, 1764, princeſs Auguſta, eldeſt ſiſter to his majeſty, was married to

* On the evening of the day that the verdict was obtained, a perſon knocked at Mr. Wilkes's door, requeſting to ſpeak with him on particular buſineſs: but it appearing by his dialect that he was a North Briton, and being beſides an entire ſtranger, he was refuſed admittance; on which he went to a coffee-houſe in Parliament-ſtreet, where a perſon made affidavit, that he heard him declare, himſelf and ten more were determined to cut off Mr. Wilkes, let the event be what it would. This perſon, the next morning, gave information to Mr. Wilkes, deſiring him to be ever on his guard. According to the information, the perſon ſworn againſt, as was ſuppoſed, bringing a letter to Mr. Wilkes's houſe, ſigned Alexander Dun, (the purport of which was to beg an interview with him on buſineſs of importance,) he was deſired to call again at one o'clock, which he did accordingly; and ſeven o'clock in the evening being then appointed, he again attended; but as he was ſtepping out at the parlour door, two gentlemen, who had placed themſelves behind it for that purpoſe, ſeized him by the arms, and threw him on his back. On ſearching his pockets a new penknife was found, which he pretended to have purchaſed nine months before; but after many equivocations, he acknowledged to have bought it at Chatham within a fortnight. From theſe circumſtances he was taken into cuſtody, and the next morning carried before one of the judges; after which a complaint was exhibited againſt him in the houſe of commons, and he was ordered to be brought to the bar of the houſe, when, after an examination, he was diſcharged, being generally ſuppoſed to be inſane.

Charles William, hereditary prince of Brunſwick-Lunenburgh. The ceremony was performed in the great council chamber at Saint James's, in the preſence of a great number of peers, peereſſes, and foreign miniſters. Their ſerene highneſſes left London on the twenty-ſixth, and embarked at Harwich. Princeſs Auguſta's dowry, granted by parliament, was eighty thouſand pounds.

The commons afterwards expelled Mr. Wilkes, for a contempt of their authority, and publiſhing the North Briton; it being adjudged an infamous libel. His trial came on in February, in the court of king's bench, before lord chief juſtice Mansfield, for reprinting and publiſhing the North Briton, No. 45, at his own houſe: of which publication he was found guilty; as he was afterwards of printing and publiſhing a moſt obſcene and blaſphemous pamphlet, entitled, "An ESSAY ON WOMAN, with Remarks, to "which the name of Warburton, a right reverend "prelate, had been ſcurriloufly affixed." Mr. Kidgell, chaplain to lord March, clandeſtinely procured a ſheet of this work, from one of Wilkes's journeymen printers, and cauſed it to be laid before the ſecretaries of ſtate*.

Let us now return to our Aſiatic and other foreign affairs. In the beginning of the year, the Eaſt India company received advice, that the diſputes between their ſervants and the reigning nabob, Goſſim Ali Khan, had been productive of ſuch animoſities and jealouſies, on the part of the latter, that it was thought highly neceſſary to uſe every means to allay them: and for this purpoſe Meſſrs. Amyatt and Hay, two gentlemen of the council, were deputed to wait upon the nabob to endeavour to adjuſt the difference in an amicable manner. Being arrived at Mongheer, where he reſided, they held many conferences with him, in which he always manifeſted a great averſion to an accommodation upon the terms propoſed to him; and about this time, a ſupply of five hundred arms, on the road to Patna, was ſtopped by his officers. Other acts of hoſtility were likewiſe committed, by which affairs were brought to ſuch an extremity, that a war with Ali was inevitable. Meſſrs. Amyatt and Hay were recalled, and the former of thoſe gentlemen, having received the uſual paſſports, ſet out for Calcutta, accompanied by Meſſrs. Amphlett, Woollaſton, and Hutchinſon; the lieutenants Jones, Gordon, and Cooper, and Dr. Crooke; Meſſrs. Hay and Guſſton being left with the nabob as hoſtages. As the boats were paſſing the city of Moorſhedabad, they were attacked by a number of troops, aſſembled on both ſides of the river for that purpoſe, and ſome of the gentlemen in the boats being ſlain, Mr. Amyatt immediately landed with a few ſepoys, whom he had ordered to fire. He then endeavoured to make the enemy underſtand that he was furniſhed with the nabob's paſſport, and had no intention of committing hoſtilities; but the Mooriſh horſe advancing, ſome of the ſepoys inadvertantly fired, and, in the confuſion which enſued, Mr. Amyatt, with moſt of his ſmall party, were killed. In conſequence of this diſaſter, Mr. Ellis, and the other gentlemen in council at Patna, agreed, with the approbation of captain Corſtairs, to attack the city of Moorſhedabad. This reſolution was ſucceſsfully executed on the twenty-fifth of June, and captain Corſtairs, with his party, were in poſſeſſion of the city for four hours, the Mooriſh governor, and his people having fled. But he ſpeedily returned, reſolving to make an effort to regain the place, in which he ſucceeded. Moſt of the ſepoys and Europeans being fully occupied in plundering the place, were not prepared to receive him, and conſequently eaſily diſpoſſeſſed of it. From hence they repaired to the factory, but the men were ſo diſpirited, and the ſepoys deſerted in ſuch numbers, that it was found impoſſible to make any ſtand there; upon which a reſolution was taken to proceed to Sujah Dowlah's country.

They croſſed the river on the twenty-ſixth in the evening, and met with no obſtruction till they paſſed the Churpa; when on the thirtieth, they were attacked by the Phouſdar, with about two thouſand men, whom they eaſily routed; but he being joined that evening by about five hundred ſepoys from Bugepore, who brought ſix field-pieces with them, he attacked the Europeans, who, quitting their ranks at the firſt onſet, were entirely defeated. Fifty of them were killed, among whom was captain Corſtairs. Mr. Ellis and the reſt were made priſoners. From theſe and other acts of hoſtility committed by Coſſim Ali, in ſeveral of the company's ſettlements, a reſolution was formed to declare war againſt him, and to reſtore Meer Jaffier, the former nabob, who had been depoſed, to the ſubah-ſhip; after obliging him to enter into a treaty with the company.

A treaty between Meer Jaffier and the company, was executed at Fort William, on the tenth of July, 1763, and a few days after Meer Jaffier ſet out to join the army under major Adams, then on his march towards Moorſhedabad. On the nineteenth of July, an action happened oppoſite Cutwa on the Coſſimbuzar ſide of the river, in which the Engliſh were ſuc-

* In the proceedings againſt Wilkes, lord Temple was his avowed ſupporter and patron, and ſhared the popularity reſulting from the conteſt. The king having deprived Wilkes of his commiſſion as colonel of the Buckinghamſhire militia; it was the office of lord Temple as lord lieutenant, to announce that reſolution, which he did in the moſt gentle terms, accompanied with aſſurances of regret and complimentary teſtimonies. This behaviour, on the part of lord Temple, was ſo offenſive, that he was ſtruck off the liſt of privy-counſellors, and diſmiſſed from the lord-lieutenancy of Buckinghamſhire, which was given to ſir Francis Daſhwood, who had recently attained the title of lord Le Deſpenſer. *Adolphus's Hiſt.* i. 136.

ceſsful.

ceſsful. They alſo obtained poſſeſſion of the fort of Cutwa, on the other ſide of the river, together with all the enemies artillery. After this ſucceſsful enterprize, major Adams purſued his march to Moorſhedabad, which he entered on the twenty-fourth at night, with very little oppoſition; and here the army halted for ſome days, during which Meer Jaffier was formally proclaimed. On the twenty-eighth of July, the army was again put in motion, and on the ſecond of Auguſt, they arrived in the neighbourhood of Sooty, at the head of the Coſſimbuzar river. At this place, a numerous army of the enemy's beſt troops, with artillery, occupied a very advantageous poſt.

Major Adams immediately attacked them, and for four hours they made an obſtinate defence; but, being at length thrown into confuſion, they were eaſily defeated. In this engagement the loſs of the Engliſh conſiſted of ſix officers, and forty Europeans; together with two hundred and ninety-two ſepoys and black cavalry, killed and wounded. Twenty-three pieces of cannon, and one hundred and fifty boats, laden with military and other ſtores, were taken. Immediately after this engagement, major Adams advanced with the army to the neighbourhood of Rajamant, about three or four miles from which the enemy had thrown up a ſtrong entrenchment from the hills to the river. This the major determined to attack, and every thing being ready for the aſſault by the fifth of September, it was carried on with ſuch vigour, that in a ſhort time the enemy were obliged to abandon the entrenchment to the conquerors. By this victory, the province of Bengal was entirely ſecured to the Engliſh.

Advices were received in July, from North America, importing, that the military operations in that quarter had been carried on with great vigour; but that ſir William Johnſon had at length ſucceeded in bringing the Seneca nation to conceſſions highly advantageous to the ſubjects of Great Britain, and that they had entered into a treaty of peace, friendſhip, and alliance with the Engliſh, which was reciprocally ſigned in a congreſs held for that purpoſe at Niagara. The forces commanded by the colonels Bradſtreet and Bouquet were as ſucceſsful as thoſe under ſir William Johnſon. The Delawares and Shawaneſe had refuſed to meet ſir William at the congreſs of Niagara, but now, intimidated by the march of ſuch a number of troops towards their country, they met colonel Bradſtreet at Preſque Iſle, and ſubmiſſively ſued for peace, which was readily granted them.

But the peace with the Delawares and Shawaneſe was but of ſhort duration: they ſoon after revolted, and renewed their outrages with aggravated inſolence. In conſequence of this perfidious behaviour, major general Gage, commander in chief of his majeſty's forces in thoſe quarters, reſolved to penetrate into the heart of their country. The regular and provincial troops, commanded by colonel Bouquet, having been joined by a large body of volunteers from Virginia, Maryland, and Pennſylvania, in the beginning of October, marched from Fort Pitt, and about the ſixteenth, arrived at Tuſcarowas. The ſight of the troops in their country threw the ſavages into the utmoſt conſternation; they having hitherto depended on their woods for protection, and had frequently boaſted that their ſituation ſecured them from the attacks of our army. Not willing to come to an engagement, they had again recourſe to negociation, and were informed, that they might obtain peace, but every priſoner in their poſſeſſion muſt firſt be delivered up. They brought up about twenty, and promiſed to deliver the reſt; but as their promiſes were not regarded, they engaged to ſend the whole on the firſt of November, to a fort about two hundred and fifty miles from Fort Pitt, the center of the Delaware towns, and near the moſt conſiderable ſettlement of the Shawaneſe. Colonel Bouquet, determined not to loſe ſight of them, moved his camp to that place, and ſoon obliged the Delawares, together with ſome broken tribes, to bring in all their priſoners. They were then informed, that they muſt appoint deputies to go to ſir William Johnſon, in order to receive ſuch terms as he might think proper to impoſe upon them, which the nations muſt agree to ratify; and they were obliged to leave a conſiderable number of their chiefs in the hands of the Engliſh, as a ſecurity for the performance of this agreement. All the nations readily agreed to theſe terms, except the Shawaneſe, who diſapproved of the conditions, and were particularly averſe to delivering of hoſtages: but finding their obſtinacy would only tend to their deſtruction, they at laſt conſented, gave up forty principal chiefs as hoſtages, and appointed their deputies to repair to ſir William Johnſon, in the ſame manner as the others had done. The number of priſoners delivered up by theſe ſavages, exceeded three hundred, and it was expected that the Engliſh parties would bring in near one hundred more from their different towns.

Variety of accounts were received from the Bay of Honduras, in June, complaining that our logwood cutters there had not only been interrupted in their buſineſs, but ſuddenly ordered to remove from their uſual places of ſettlement, on pretence of their having no proofs that they were ſubjects of his Britannic majeſty; and ſuppoſing they were, that they had roved too freely about the country, gathering the fruits of it as if it belonged to them. In conſequence of theſe proceedings, a remonſtrance was preſented to the court of Madrid by the Engliſh ambaſſador there; and on the twenty-ſeventh of September, a meſſenger arrived in London, with a duplicate of the orders, which were immediately diſpatched

patched to Don Felix Raming de Eſtenoz, governor of Jucatan *.

The parliament meeting on the tenth of January, 1765, his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne; in which is the following paſſage: "I have now the "ſatisfaction to inform you, that I have agreed with "my good brother the king of Denmark, to cement "the union which has long ſubſiſted between the "two crowns, by the marriage of the prince royal "with my ſiſter the princeſs Caroline Matilda, to be "ſolemnized as ſoon as their reſpective ages will "permit." To this ſpeech both houſes preſented the moſt loyal and affectionate addreſſes; and the commons, in order to raiſe the ſupplies more effectually for the enſuing year, reſolved to place the Americans on the ſame footing as the inhabitants of Great Britain, by requiring them to pay ſtamp duties. Notwithſtanding great oppoſitions were made to this bill, it at length paſſed both houſes. Soon after this circumſtance, his majeſty ordered, that America ſhould be divided into two diſtricts, viz. northern and ſouthern, by the river Potomack, and a due weſt line drawn from the head of the main branch of that river, as far as his majeſty's dominions extended, and that a ſurveyor-general ſhould be appointed in each, to make general ſurveys of the ſea coaſt and the inland country, to facilitate the navigation, and promote the ſpeedy ſettlement of the new acquiſitions.

Commiſſioners were alſo appointed to ſettle the new ceded iſlands in the Weſt Indies, who received orders to divide each iſland into parithes and diſtricts; then in every parith to trace out a town, its ſtreets, market-place, and other public-places; after which they were to proceed to parcel out the ground into proper allotments to build on, annexing a ſmall field or incloſure to each. It was alſo ordered, that where the land was cleared, the purchaſers, excluſive of the purchaſe money, ſhould pay a quit-rent of one penny per foot, in the front of each town lot, and ſixpence for every acre of the field which accompanied it. On the other hand, if the land was uncleared, it ſhould be granted by the governor, on ſecurity given to build on, incloſe, and fence it in a reaſonable time, and to pay the ſame quit-rent.

At this period came on, in Weſtminſter Hall, the trial of lord Byron for murder, before the peers; the particulars of which are thus related: in the month of January, at a meeting of the Nottinghamſhire club, a diſpute aroſe between lord Byron and Mr. Chaworth, a gentleman of that county, reſpecting the quantity of game on their reſpective eſtates. In conſequence of this diſpute, a duel enſued between the parties, at the Star and Garter Tavern, Pall Mall, in which the latter was unfortunately killed; four after which, lord Byron ſurrendered himſelf to be tried by his peers.

On the twenty-ſixth of April, in the morning, his lordſhip was conducted from the Tower to Weſtminſter Hall, where a court had been erected. The number of witneſſes on behalf of the crown was ſo great that they could not be all examined on that day. On the next, the trial was reſumed, and the examinations againſt the priſoner being finiſhed, the ſolicitor-general gave a ſummary ſtatement of the evidence; after which lord Byron, who declined examining any witneſſes on his own behalf, informed their lordſhips, "That what he had to offer in his "own vindication, he had committed to writing, "and begged it might be read by the clerk, fear"ing his own voice, in his preſent ſituation, would "not be heard." This requeſt being granted, the clerk, in a very audible manner, read his defence, which contained an exact detail of the particulars relating to the melancholy affair between him and Mr. Chaworth. He ſaid, he declined entering into the circumſtances of Mr. Chaworth's behaviour, farther than was neceſſary for his defence, ſtrongly expreſſed his ſorrow for the event, and repoſed himſelf with the utmoſt confidence on their lordſhip's juſtice and humanity; obſerving that he would with cheerfulneſs acquieſce in the ſentence of the nobleſt and moſt equitable court of judicature in the world, whether it were for life or for death. The clerk having concluded, the peers adjourned to their own houſe; and, after a reaſonable time, returned, when they found his lordſhip guilty of manſlaughter: and, as, by an old ſtatute, peers are, in all caſes where benefit of clergy is allowed, to be diſmiſſed without burning in the hand, loſs of inheritance, or corruption of blood, his lordſhip was immediately diſcharged on paying his fees.

His majeſty, who had been for ſome time indiſpoſed, went to the houſe of peers on the twenty-fourth of April, and after ſigning ſuch bills as were ready, delivered a ſpeech from the throne †. To which each houſe preſented a loyal addreſs; and in conformity

* From theſe orders it appeared, that his Catholic majeſty diſapproved of the proceedings of the governor, with reſpect to the ſubjects of the king of Great Britain in the bay of Honduras: that he expreſſed his deſire of giving his majeſty the moſt ample proofs of his friendſhip, and of preſerving peace with the Britiſh nation: that he had commanded the governor to re-eſtabliſh the ſaid Britiſh logwood cutters in the ſeveral places from which they had been obliged to retire, and to acquaint them, that they might return to their occupation of cutting logwood, without interruption, under any pretence whatſoever.

† His majeſty's ſpeech on the ſubject of his indiſpoſition, and the appointing a regent in caſe of his demiſe, during the minority of the prince of Wales, is thus expreſſed: "The tender concern which I feel for my faith"ful

conformity to his majeſty's requeſt, a bill was ordered to be brought into the houſe of lords, where it was paſſed, and ſent to the houſe of commons. Here, however, it met with ſome oppoſition; but an amendment being made, which was approved of by the lords, it received the royal aſſent on the fifteenth of May.

The affair of the regency being ſettled, on the twenty-fifth of May, his majeſty prorogued the parliament by commiſſion, being ſo indiſpoſed as to be unable to attend in perſon.

When the king repaired to the houſe to give his aſſent to the regency bill, a vaſt concourſe of journeymen ſilk-weavers appeared at Saint James's, ſome of them diſplaying black flags, declaring they were reduced to a ſtate of famine by the encouragement of French ſilks. They ſurrounded the two houſes of parliament, inſulted them, and proceeded to commit other outrages. They alſo attended the two following days, but were at length repreſſed by the *poſſe comitatus* and the military.

For the prevention of frauds committed by ſmugglers, the Iſle of Man was in this year annexed to the realm. It was before a part of the crown, but not of the realm of England: it was under the allegiance of the king, but governed by its own laws. This extraordinary inheritance had for almoſt four centuries been veſted, by parliamentary charter, in the family of the duke of Athol.

Soon after the riſing of the parliament, intelligence was received of the ſucceſs of his majeſty's arms, in conjunction with the company's troops, in the Eaſt Indies. On the twenty-ſecond of October, 1764, major Monro, who, on the death of major Adams, had ſucceeded to the command of the king's forces in that part of the world, came up with the Indian army at Buxard, on the river Cammaſſary, about one hundred miles above Patna. They were advantageouſly encamped, having a moraſs in their front, judiciouſly lined with cannon. The major, however, not being in the leaſt intimidated by the advantageous ſituation of the enemy, ordered the line of battle to be formed the next morning; about nine the Indians began to cannonade the Engliſh; and half an hour after, the action became general. The moraſs in the front of our troops at firſt prevented their advancing, during which they were greatly galled by the enemy's cannon. The Britiſh forces charged the enemy with ſuch ſucceſs, that before noon their whole army was put to flight, leaving ſix thouſand men on the field, with one hundred and thirty pieces of cannon, and a proportionable quantity of military ſtores. The loſs of the victors was comparatively ſmall, having only thirty Europeans, and two hundred and thirty-nine Indians killed; and fifty-ſeven Europeans, and four hundred and ſeventy-three Indians wounded. Such was the ſituation of affairs in the Eaſt Indies, when major Monro was recalled; and ſir Robert Fletcher, an officer who had been reared in the company's ſervice, was appointed to ſucceed him. He took the field as ſoon as he arrived; and marched about one hundred and fifty miles up the Ganges, when he attacked ſeveral of the enemy's forts, and made the garriſons priſoners of war.

Great commotions aroſe in America on account of the Stamp Act*. The firſt intelligence that arrived there of ſuch a bill being in agitation, threw an univerſal melancholy on the countenances of the people; but when it was afterwards made known that the bill had actually paſſed both houſes, and received the royal aſſent, they were fired with indignation, and nothing but confuſion took place throughout moſt of the provinces †. When the news arrived at Boſton,

" ful ſubjects, makes me anxious to provide for every
" poſſible event which might affect their future happineſs
" or ſecurity. My late indiſpoſition, though not attend-
" ed with danger, has led me to conſider the ſituation in
" which my kingdoms and my family might be left, if it
" ſhould pleaſe God to put a period to my life, whilſt my
" ſucceſſor is of tender years. The high importance of
" this ſubject to the public ſafety, good order, and tran-
" quillity; the paternal affection which I bear to my
" children, and to all my people; and my earneſt deſire
" that every precaution ſhould be taken which may tend
" to preſerve the conſtitution of Great Britain undiſ-
" turbed, and the dignity and luſtre of its crown unim-
" paired; have determined me to lay this weighty
" buſineſs before my parliament. And as my health, by
" the bleſſing of God, is now reſtored, I take the earlieſt
" opportunity of meeting you here, and of recommend-
" ing to your moſt ſerious deliberation the making of ſuch
" proviſion, as would be neceſſary, in caſe any of my
" children ſhould ſucceed to the throne before they ſhall
" reſpectively attain the age of eighteen years. To this
" end, I propoſe to your conſideration, whether, under
" the preſent circumſtances, it will not be expedient to
" veſt in me the power of appointing, from time to time,
" by inſtruments in writing, under my ſign manual, either
" the queen, or any other perſon of my royal family,
" uſually reſiding in Great Britain, to be guardian of the
" perſon of ſuch ſucceſſor, and the regent of theſe king-
" doms."

* It was agreed at the meeting of the higher ranks of Americans, that thanks ſhould be given to general Conway and colonel Barré, two gentlemen whom they conſidered as the moſt ſtrenuous oppoſers of it in the Britiſh houſe of commons; that their ſpeeches againſt it, and their pictures, ſhould be requeſted. The pictures to be hung up in their places of meeting; and their ſpeeches to be inſerted in the books deſtined to record all their principal tranſactions.

† This act paſſed the houſe of commons almoſt without a debate, except a vehement harangue, from colonel Barré, and another from general Conway. In the houſe of lords it paſſed without debate, diviſion, or proteſt; and having thus received the ſanction of both houſes, was ratified by the royal aſſent on the twenty-ſecond of March 1765.

the ſhips in the harbour hung out their colours half maſt high, as emblematical of the deepeſt mourning; the bells were rung muffled: copies of the act were printed, with a death's head on the part where it is uſual to fix the ſtamps, and cried publicly in the ſtreets by the name of "The Folly of England, and "ruin of America." Eſſays ſoon followed, not only againſt the expediency, but even the equity of it, in ſeveral newſpapers; one of which bore the ſignificant title of "The Conſtitutional Courant, con-"taining Matters intereſting to Liberty, and not re-"pugnant to Loyalty; printed by Andrew Marvel, "at the ſign of the Bribe Refuſed, on Conſtitution "Hill, North America." The head piece to this paper was cut in ſmall pieces, with the initial letters of the names of the ſeveral colonies, from New England to South Carolina, affixed to each piece, and above them the words "Join or Die."

To theſe were added caricatures, paſquinades, puns, bon-mots, and ſuch ſatirical invectives, ſuited to the occaſion. The two principal arguments urged in theſe eſſays were, firſt, that the perſon acting under this ſtatute had it in his power to bring an action, the cauſe of which had ariſen at one extremity of the North American colonies, and extended itſelf to the other, at almoſt two thouſand miles diſtance, without the traders being entitled to recover damages, in caſe the judge certified that there was any probable cauſe for the proſecution. The ſecond was, the judge having an intereſt in making a decree in favour of the parties ſueing for the penalties of the act, on being allowed, by way of commiſſion, a large ſhare in theſe penalties. By the time the act itſelf, as printed at the king's printing-houſe, arrived at the colonies, the populace were every where exaſperated againſt it to ſuch a degree, as to manifeſt the moſt public marks of their contempt. In ſeveral places it was burned, together with the effigies of thoſe who were ſuppoſed to have voted for or promoted it.

In a ſeries of important parliamentary reſolutions, Mr. Grenville had mentioned the propriety of impoſing *certain ſtamp duties* in the colonies and plantations of America, in order to raiſe an American revenue payable into the Britiſh exchequer. The proſpect of being relieved by ſuch an American tax, from a portion of *their* national burdens, was ſo ſatisfactory to the pride and intereſt of this aſſembly, that a reſolution to that purpoſe paſſed the houſe, without any unuſual oppoſition.

The miniſtry condeſcended to make an offer to the Americans, that any other mode of contributing the ſum intended to be raiſed, would be accepted, and the ſtamp duty laid aſide; but the colonial agents rejected this propoſal, ſaying, they were directed to oppoſe the bill, if brought into the houſe, by petitions, and would not acknowledge the right claimed by parliament to tax the colonies. They even expreſſed a deſire of entering into a diſcuſſion of the principal diſpute. The miniſter would not recede from the claim of the Britiſh legiſlature to impoſe the quantum of taxation; but he ſubmitted the mode of contribution to their deciſion. When intelligence of the American diſcontents arrived in England, ſeveral maſters of ſhips refuſed to take any ſtamps on board for the colonies: and it ſoon appeared that their precaution was judicious; for ſuch as ventured to take them had ſufficient cauſe to repent it on their arrival at the deſtined ports, where, to ſave their veſſels from fire, and their perſons from the gallows, many of them were obliged to ſurrender their cargoes into the hands of the enraged multitude, which they treated with the ſame ignominy that they had done the act: the other veſſels were obliged to ſhelter themſelves under ſuch of the king's ſhips as happened to be ready to protect them.

Thoſe gentlemen who were diſpatched from England with commiſſions to act as diſtributors of the ſtamps, met with more rigorous treatment. Many of them were compelled to renounce, upon oath, all manner of concern in them: others thought it prudent to return home, whilſt ſome, who were ſuſpected of obſtinately perſiſting in endeavouring to run their country, as it was termed, or of having ſpoke too freely concerning the behaviour of the people on this occaſion, had their houſes burned, and their moſt valuable effects plundered or deſtroyed. Even thoſe who, without their ſolicitation, had been named, or were obliged by virtue of the offices they already filled, to ſuperintend the diſtribution of the ſtamped paper, received a ſimilar kind of treatment; and the populace having ſuſpected one of writing to England in diſreſpectful terms reſpecting their proceedings, ſurrounded his houſe, and, notwithſtanding the moſt earneſt entreaties, obliged him to deliver up the copies of his letters, and thereby become evidence againſt himſelf. Even ſhips bringing ſtamped mercantile or cuſtom-houſe papers, merely in their own defence, from ſuch of the colonies as had thought proper to ſubmit to the ſtamp act, were compelled to part with them to be ſtuck up in deriſion in coffee-houſes and taverns, and were afterwards publicly burnt.

Several of the ſuperior ranks now began to join theſe popular tumults. One in particular ſet the act openly at defiance, by advertiſing, that thoſe whoſe buſineſs it was to enforce it, might ſave themſelves the trouble of calling upon him for that purpoſe; for that he was determined to pay no tax but what was laid by his repreſentatives. The provincial aſſemblies themſelves declined giving any opinion to the governors concerning their behaviour on this critical occaſion; and, though they diſavowed theſe riotous proceedings, and offered rewards for apprehending the rioters, they would not proceed further than prudence warranted; and abſolutely refuſed, when

when exhorted to it by the governors, to make any compenſation to the injured parties; much leſs would they ſtrengthen the hands of the executive power, ſo as to prevent any future commotions; which they did not think proper to conſider as objects of military reſtraint.

This behaviour of the general aſſemblies was openly approved, if not encouraged, by aſſemblies of the freeholders and principal inhabitants of ſome places, who directed their repreſentatives not to agree to any meaſures for the protection of ſtamped papers, or ſtamp officers, though they acknowledged there had been already ſome tumults and diſorders relating to them; and likewiſe cautioned them againſt all unconſtitutional draughts on the public treaſury. The general aſſemblies proceeded to greater lengths. Inſtead of conniving at the people's thus tumultuouſly aſſerting their independence; they manifeſted their approbation of their conduct; eſtabliſhed committees to correſpond with each other concerning the general affairs of the whole; they even appointed deputies from theſe committees to meet in a congreſs at New York. But ſuch harmony already prevailed in the ſentiments of the general aſſemblies of the reſpective provinces, that the deputies, when aſſembled, had little other employment than that of congratulating each other on their unanimity. They ſigned their hands to one general declaration of their rights, and the grievances they endured; and to one general petition expreſſive thereof, to the king lords, and commons, of England. At length, thoſe inveſted with the ſubordinate executive powers began to join the legiſlative; and they reſolved rather to decline buſineſs, than conduct it with ſtamped papers.

On the firſt of November, when the act was directed to take place, not a ſheet of ſtamped paper was to be obtained throughout the ſeveral colonies of New England, New York, New Jerſey, Pennſylvania, Virginia, Maryland, or the two Carolinas, except a ſmall parcel which the governor of New York, intimidated by the threats of the enraged multitude, had ſurrendered into the hands of the corporation of that place, on condition of their not being deſtroyed: all buſineſs, which could not be legally tranſacted without ſtamps, was at once at a ſtand, except that of circulating intelligence, which the printers ſtill continued, pleading in excuſe, that, if they did not, the populace would ſerve them as [illegible] had done the ſtamp maſters themſelves. The courts of juſtice were cloſed, and the ports no longer kept open. Even in thoſe colonies where ſtamps were to be had, the people of the beſt fortune ſubmitted to be aſked in church, rather than take out ſtamped licences for private marriages*. The merchants of all thoſe colonies which ventured openly to oppoſe the act, now entered into the moſt ſolemn engagements with each other, not to order any more merchandize from Great Britain, and recal the orders they had already given, and even not to diſpoſe of any Britiſh goods ſent them on commiſſion, that were not ſhipped before the firſt of January, 1766; or, if they conſented to any relaxation from theſe engagements, it was not to take place till the ſtamp act, and even the ſugar and paper money acts were repealed. The people of Philadelphia alſo reſolved, though not unanimouſly, that, till ſuch repeal, no lawyer ſhould commence a ſuit to recover debts, owing by a reſident in America, to one in England; nor any perſon in America, however indebted in England, make any remittances to that country. Theſe reſolutions were adopted by the retailers, who unanimouſly agreed not to purchaſe or ſell any Britiſh goods ſhipped contrary to their expreſs meaning.

Ireland received material benefit from theſe proceedings, as what goods the colonies were under a neceſſity of procuring, they took from that country in exchange for their hemp-ſeed and flax-ſeed, of which they annually ſent very large quantities. In the mean time they endeavoured to exonerate themſelves even from this dependence. A ſociety of arts, manufactures, and commerce, on the plan of the London ſociety, was inſtituted at New York, and markets opened for the ſale of goods of their own manufacture, by which it ſoon appeared, that neither the natives nor the manufacturers, had been idle. Linens, woolens, the coarſer but moſt uſeful kinds of iron ware, malt-ſpirits, paper-hangings, &c. were produced to the ſociety, and greatly approved; and when offered for ſale in the market, every one was anxious to become a purchaſer. At the ſame time, ſuppoſing the new woolen manufacturers might not procure a ſufficient quantity of materials, moſt of the inhabitants came to a reſolution not to feed on lamb; and to extend the influence of their reſolution to thoſe who did not join them in it, not to deal with any butcher who ſhould kill or expoſe any lamb to ſale†.

The diſtracted ſtate of America, induced his majeſty

* The conſequences of the ſtagnation of buſineſs which took place on account of the ſtamp act ſoon began to be ſo ſeverely felt, that the inhabitants found it neceſſary to try ſome expedient by which they might elude the act. One of them in particular, ſent a thin piece of bark to the printers at Boſton, on which he had written, "That it being neither paper, parchment, or vellum, he "would be glad to know, whether inſtruments written "on ſuch a material, might not be valid, though not "ſtamped; in which caſe he was ready to ſupply, with "plenty of that commodity, all thoſe whoſe conſciences "were under the influence of the late act."

† During theſe tranſactions in America, the nation ſuffered an irreparable loſs in the death of his royal highneſs

jeſty to aſſemble the parliament on the ſeventeenth of December, which was ſooner than he intended. After adjourning for the holidays, the houſe met again on the 14th of January, when his majeſty addreſſed the parliament in a ſhort ſpeech, in which he acquainted the lords and commons, that he had ordered "All the papers that tended to elucidate the origin, the progreſs, or the tendency of the diſturbances which have lately prevailed in ſome of the northern colonies, to be immediately laid before them *."

Petitions to parliament now flowed in from the merchants of London, Briſtol, Lancaſter, Liverpool, Hull, Glaſgow, and moſt of the trading and manufacturing towns and boroughs in the kingdom, ſetting forth the great decay of their trade in conſequence of the new laws and regulations reſpecting America: the vaſt quantity of our manufactures, (beſides thoſe articles imported from abroad, which were purchaſed either with our own manufactures, or with the produce of our colonies,) which the American trade formerly took off our hands; by all which many thouſand manufactures, ſeamen, and labourers had been employed, to the great emolument of the nation. That in return for theſe exports, the petitioners had received from the colonies, rice, indigo, tobacco, naval ſtores, oil, whale-fins, fins, and pot-aſh, with other ſtaple commodities; beſides a large balance in remittances by bills of exchange and bullion, obtained by the coloniſts for articles of their produce, not required for the Britiſh market, and therefore exported to other places; that from the nature of this trade, conſiſting of Britiſh manufactures exported, and of the import of raw materials from America, many of them neceſſary in our manufactures, and all of them tending to leſſen our dependence on neighbouring ſtates; it muſt be deemed of the higheſt importance in the commercial ſyſtem of this nation, that this commerce ſo beneficial to the ſtate, and ſo neceſſary for the ſupport of multitudes, then lay under ſuch difficulties and diſcouragements, that nothing leſs than its utter ruin was apprehended, without the intermediate interpoſition of parliament: that the colonies were then indebted to the merchants of Great Britain to the amount of ſeveral millions ſterling; and that, when urged for payment, they appeal to paſt experience in proof of their readineſs upon all proper occaſions; but declare it is not in their power at preſent to fulfil their engagements, alledging that the taxes and reſtrictions laid upon them, and the extenſion of the juriſdiction of the vice-admiralty courts, eſtabliſhed by ſome recent acts of parliament, particularly by an act paſſed in the fourth year of his preſent majeſty, for granting certain duties in the Britiſh colonies and plantations in America, and by an act paſſed in the fifth of his majeſty for granting and applying certain ſtamp duties, &c. in the ſaid coloniſs, &c. with ſeveral regulations and reſtraints, which they repreſent to have been extending in ſuch a manner as to obſtruct and embarraſs legal commerce and harraſs the fair trader; inſomuch that the ſtate of the ſeveral provinces was thrown into confuſion, and ſo great a number of actual bankruptcies were occaſioned, that the former opportunities and means of remittances were no longer remaining. That the petitioners were by theſe unhappy events, reduced to the neceſſity of applying to the houſe, to ſecure themſelves and their families from impending ruin; to prevent a multitude of manufacturers from becoming a burthen to the community, or of ſeeking their bread in other countries, to the irretrieveable loſs of the kingdom; and to preſerve the ſtrength of this nation entire, its commerce flouriſhing, the revenues encreaſing, our navigation, the bulwark of the kingdom, in a ſtate of growth and extenſion, and the colonies from inclination, duty, and intereſt, firmly attached to the mother country. Petitions of a ſimilar kind were alſo preſented from almoſt every part of the kingdom, and from the agents of Virginia and Georgia, ſetting forth their inability to pay the ſtamp duty.

But the projectors, who were reſolutely determined to ſupport their favourite ſtamp act, could not be prevailed on to remit the leaſt tittle of their ardour. Such petitions they repreſented as the effect of miniſterial artifice, and obſerved, that ſuppoſing the diſtreſs of trade was as real and great as it was repreſented, a temporary inconvenience ought to be ſubmitted to, rather than by a repeal of the act, to hazard the total annihilation of the juſt ſuperiority of Great Britain over her colonies.

Thoſe who contended for the repeal were divided in their opinion, reſpecting the right of taxation; the more numerous body, among whom were the miniſtry, inſiſted that the legiſlature of Great Britain had an inconteſtible right to tax the colonies, but acknowledged the inexpediency of the preſent tax;

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higneſs William duke of Cumberland, uncle to his majeſty, who died on the thirty-firſt of October, 1765, in the forty-fifth year of his age. His royal highneſs was at court in the morning, dined with lord Albemarle, and drank tea with the princeſs of Brunſwick at St. James's, whence he came to his own houſe in the evening, to be preſent at a council to be held on affairs of ſtate. As ſoon as he entered the houſe, he complained of a pain in his ſhoulder, and deſired to be laid on a couch, where, in about twenty minutes, he expired. On examining the body, a coagulation of extravaſated blood was found in the right ventricle of the brain, which was the cauſe of his death: but all the other parts were in a perfect ſtate, except the membrane between the lobes of the brain, which was oſſified.

* On the twenty-ninth, between three and four in the afternoon, died prince Frederic William, his majeſty's youngeſt brother, aged ſixteen.

as ill adapted to the condition of the colonies, and framed upon principles deſtructive to the trade of Great Britain. Thoſe who denied the right of taxation were not ſo numerous: but they conſiſted of ſome of the moſt diſtinguiſhed and popular characters in the kingdom. Though this affair was attended to by the houſe with the moſt unwearied application, yet the nature of their enquiries, the number of petitions they received, and the multitude of papers and witneſſes they had to examine, occaſioned great delay, which could not eaſily be avoided. In the mean time there were continual debates, and the oppoſition made the moſt ſtrenuous efforts for enforcing the ſtamp act, and by every means to prevent the repeal. Two queſtions aroſe in the courſe of the conteſt upon which the whole argument turned. The firſt was, whether the legiſlature of Great Britain had a right of taxation over the colonies or not? The ſecond was confined to the expediency or inexpediency of the late laws.

The arguments againſt the right of taxation were ſupported by the learned authorities of Locke, Selden, Harrington, and Puffendorf. And it was aſſerted, that the charters of the colonies, which are derived from prerogatives, and are in fact only ſo many grants from the crown, are not the only right the colonies have to being repreſented before they are taxed. They, as Britiſh ſubjects, derive their rights and liberties from a higher origin than their charters. They flow to them from the ſame origin and fountain which confer them on all Engliſhmen, from Magna Charta, and the natural right of the ſubject. By that rule of right, the charters of the colonies, like all other crown-grants, are to be reſtricted and interpreted, for the benefit, not the prejudice of the ſubjects. Many other arguments were adopted, and ſeveral inſtances brought from ancient hiſtory, of the conduct of ſome of the moſt celebrated republics, with reſpect to their colonies; and likewiſe of colonies which outgrew their mother countries, ſuch as Carthage, the northern emigrants, &c. Precedents were alſo quoted from events in the United Netherlands and other places, which ſhould ſerve as a beacon to warn us from purſuing ſuch meaſures as accelerated thoſe revolutions *.

On the other ſide it was contended, that it was neceſſary to clear away from the queſtion all that maſs of diſſertation and learning, diſplayed in arguments which have been brought from ſpeculative men, who have written upon the ſubject of government: that the refinements upon that ſubject, and arguments of natural lawyers, as Locke, Selden, Puffendorf, &c. are little to the purpoſe in a queſtion of conſtitutional law: that it is abſurd to apply very ancient records to our preſent conſtitution; becauſe the conſtitution is not the ſame; and it is impoſſible to declare what it was at ſome of the times that are quoted: that there are things even in magna charta which are not conſtitutional now, and that thoſe records are no proofs of our conſtitution as it now is: that the conſtitution of this country has always been in a fluctuating ſtate, either gaining or loſing ſomething: that the repreſentation of the commons of Great Britain was not formed into any certain ſyſtem till Henry VII. that with regard to the modes of taxation, when we get beyond the reigns of Edward I. or King John, we are loſt in obſcurity, the hiſtory of thoſe times being entirely uncertain.

It was alſo urged, that protection is the ground that gives a right of taxation: that the obligations between the colonies and the mother country is natural and reciprocal, conſiſting of defence on the one ſide, and obedience on the other; and that common ſenſe dictates, that they muſt be dependent in all points on the mother country, or not belong to it in any degree; that the queſtion is not, what was law? or what was the conſtitution? but the queſtion is, what is law now? and what is the conſtitution now? That if a matter of right has been generally exerciſed, and as generally held to be law, as has been proved in numberleſs inſtances, without having ever been queſtioned before, it is now the conſtitution. It was alſo obſerved, that the colonies had proceeded to extremities; and it was even inſiſted, that, by

* In debating upon this ſubject, Mr. Pitt declared his opinion, that Great Britain had no right to lay a tax upon the colonies, though he aſſerted the authority of Great Britain over them to be ſovereign and ſupreme in every caſe of legiſlation. In ſupport of this opinion he ſaid, "The coloniſts are ſubjects of this kingdom, equally entitled with yourſelves to all the natural rights of mankind, and the peculiar privileges of Engliſhmen. The Americans are the ſons not the baſtards of England. Taxation is no part of the governing or legiſlative power. Taxes are the voluntary gift and the grant of the commons alone. In legiſlation, the three eſtates of the realm are alike concerned, but the concurrence of the peers and the crown to a tax, is only neceſſary to clothe it with the form of a law. The gift and grant is of the commons alone.—When in this houſe we give and grant, we give and grant what is our own; but in an 'American tax, what do we do? We your majeſty's 'commons for Great Britain, give and grant to your ma'jeſty, what? Our own property? No, we give and 'grant to your majeſty, the property of your majeſty's 'ſubjects in America. It is an abſurdity in terms!"

In the upper houſe, lord Camden averred, that taxation and repreſentation were inſeparable: this, he ſaid, was no novelty; it did not originate in Edward's or in Henry's reign, but was coeval with the conſtitution. There is not, he declared, a blade of graſs growing in the moſt obſcure corner of this kingdom, which is not, which was not ever repreſented ſince the beginning of the conſtitution: there is not a blade of graſs which, when taxed, was not taxed with the conſent of the proprietor: he therefore refuſed his aſſent to any bill for taxing the American colonies, while they remained unrepreſented.

appointing deputies from their reſpective aſſemblies, to conſer together, they had abſolutely forfeited their charters.

The debates being ended, and the queſtion ſtated, the power of all the legiſlature of Great Britain over her colonies, in all caſes whatſoever, and without any diſtinction in regard to taxation, was confirmed and aſcertained without a diviſion.

Not being diſpirited, however, at the ſeeming triumph of the adverſe party, the oppoſition gained new vigour, and ſtill reſiſted the repeal in all the ſtages of its progreſs.

So many inſtances of the inexpediency of the ſtamp duty had already occurred, that the queſtion was conſidered as no longer controvertible; therefore, inſtead of entering into the merits of that part of the controverſy, they reſted their chief defence upon the reſolutions, on which the late bill for ſecuring the dependency of the colonies had been founded. They argued thence, that the total repeal of the ſtamp act, while ſuch an obſtinate reſiſtance continued, would for the future weaken the authority of Great Britain, and make it appear contemptible: that ſuch a ſubmiſſion of the ſupreme legiſlature would be in effect a ſurrender of their ancient unalienable rights, to ſubordinate provincial aſſemblies, eſtabliſhed only by prerogative; which in itſelf had no ſuch power to beſtow; that a conceſſion of this nature carried with it ſuch an appearance of weakneſs and timidity in government, as might tend to encourage freſh inſults, and leſſen the reſpect of his majeſty's ſubjects to the dignity of his crown, and the authority of the laws. Many other arguments were urged in order to manifeſt the heavy burthens with which the mother country was loaded; the ability of the Americans; their exemption from all manner of taxation; and their peremptory and refractory refuſal to contribute in any degree towards defraying the public expences. Theſe arguments were ſtrongly oppoſed, and on the queſtion being put, the bill paſſed by a majority of one hundred and eight, and was carried up to the lords by above two hundred members of the houſe of commons. Notwithſtanding the manner in which it was introduced, it met with a ſtrong oppoſition in the upper houſe; a proteſt was entered againſt it at the ſecond reading by thirty-three lords, and at the third by twenty-eight; but it was carried by a majority of thirty-four: and on the eighteenth of March received the royal aſſent*.

The national buſineſs being now finiſhed, his majeſty went to the houſe of peers on the ſixteenth of June, and terminated the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne; in which he declared, that "It was with the utmoſt ſatisfaction he had obſerved the wiſdom and moderation by which the parliament had been uniformly guided, through the important deliberations in which they had been engaged." His majeſty alſo obſerved, that "The many regulations which had been made for extending and promoting the trade and manufactures of Great Britain, and for adjuſting the mutual intercourſe of his kingdoms and plantations, in ſuch a manner as to provide for the improvement of the colonies, on a plan of due ſubordination to the commercial intereſts of the mother country, were the ſtrongeſt proofs of their equitable and comprehenſive regard to the welfare of all his dominions." He added, "That it ſhould be his endeavour, that ſuch care be taken, as might tend to ſecure and improve the advantages which might be expected from ſuch wiſe and ſalutary regulations."

Soon after the riſing of the parliament his majeſty thought proper to make the following change in the miniſtry: his grace the duke of Grafton was appointed firſt lord of the treaſury in the room of the marquis of Rockingham; the earl of Shelburne ſucceeded the duke, of Richmond as ſecretary of ſtate; lord Camden was created lord high chancellor, as ſucceſſor of the earl of Northington, as was the honable Charles Townſhend chancellor of the exchequer, in the room of the right honourable William Dowdeſwell; and the right honourable William Pitt, who ſome days before had been created viſcount Pynſent and earl of Chatham, was appointed lord privy ſeal.

The immoderate price of proviſions at this time occaſioned a commotion among the poor in ſeveral parts of the kingdom; when they deſtroyed the flour-mills, ſeized the corn, and other neceſſaries of life, which they ſold at a moderate price, and delivered the money to the owners. In ſome places they were much more violent: they ripped open the ſacks, and wantonly ſcattered the corn about, ſeized butter, cheeſe, and bacon in the ſhops of the inhabitants, which they threw into the ſtreets; and behaved in the moſt outrageous manner to the proprietors of the food they were thus demoliſhing. To prevent the dreadful conſequences which might enſue, a proclamation was iſſued on the eleventh of September; for putting in execution the laws againſt foreſtalling, regrating, and engroſſing of corn. And on the twenty-third of the ſame month two other proclamations; by the firſt of which an embargo was laid on all veſſels laden, or to be laden, with wheat or flour for exportation, till the fourteenth of November; and

*The American merchants attended in great numbers upon this occaſion, to expreſs their joy and gratitude; the ſhips in the river diſplayed their colours; ſeveral houſes in the city were illuminated; and every method was taken to demonſtrate the juſt ſenſe that was entertained of his majeſty's goodneſs, and the wiſdom of parliament, in conciliating the minds of the people at this critical juncture.

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the other prohibited the diſtillation of ſpirits from wheat *.

The parliament meeting on the eighteenth of November, his majeſty opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne. As the miniſtry had been recently changed, ſtrong oppoſition was made to every thing propoſed by adminiſtration. Some of the diſcarded miniſters had the effrontery to attempt to palliate, and even excuſe the rioters, who had given riſe to ſuch diſturbances in different parts of the kingdom. It was, however, at length agreed upon, by a conſiderable majority in both houſes, that addreſſes of thanks ſhould be preſented to his majeſty for his ſpeech, which being done, they adjourned till after the holidays.

An object of magnitude attracted the notice of parliament this ſeſſion, reſpecting the Eaſt India Company, which was become extremely rich, and even exerciſed a ſovereign authority over their ſettlements. To all judicious miniſters ſuch a circumſtance muſt have been very alarming; and therefore a committee was appointed to examine into the particulars of the affair. The charter of the company was ordered to be produced, and that a perfect knowledge might be obtained of whatever related to their tranſactions, they were obliged to lay before the houſe the originals of ſuch treaties as they had entered into with the princes of the Eaſt; and alſo an account of all the expences incurred by the government for the ſupport of the company †. By the charter granted to the Eaſt India company, they were prohibited from making any conqueſts; and yet it was certain that they had ſubdued ſeveral of the princes in India, and annexed their dominions to their own ſettlements. The diſputes between the partizans for and againſt the company, were carried on with intemperate zeal, the reſult of which was, that the company ſhould, for the ſpace of two enſuing years, pay a certain ſum to government; and that no dividend of their ſtock ſhould be made without the conſent of a general court of proprietors. On the twenty-fourth of June his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and, after ſigning ſuch bills as were ready, prorogued the parliament ‡.

The attention of Europe was this year directed to Corſica §, an iſland of the Mediterranean, at a very ſmall diſtance from the iſland of Sardinia. It is fertile and populous, and ſome centuries ago had been given by the pope to the republic of Piſa; but the Genoeſe afterwards obtained poſſeſſion of it, and for many years treated the inhabitants with great cruelty. The ſpirit of liberty, however, was not extinct, it wanted only the breath of a hero to kindle it, and ſuch an hero was found in the perſon of the famous Paoli, a native of the iſland; but who had travelled into other countries, where he had acquired the art of war.

His majeſty repaired to the houſe of peers, on the twenty-fourth of November, and opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne, in which he informed the members that he had aſſembled them at ſo early a period, to give them time to deliberate with ſteadineſs and diſcretion; and, in particular, he recommended to them the ſtate of the nation with reſpect to the high price of proviſions. The buſineſs of this ſeſſion being brought to a concluſion, on the tenth of March, his majeſty appeared at the houſe of peers and thanked the parliament, for the many ſignal proofs they had given him of their affectionate attachment to his perſon, family, and government; concluding with the following words: "In the approaching election of repreſentatives, I doubt not but my people will give freſh proofs of their attachment to the true intereſt of their country; which I ſhall ever receive as the moſt acceptable mark of their affection to me. The welfare of all my ſubjects is my firſt object. Nothing therefore has ever given me more real concern, than to ſee any of them, in any part of my dominions, attempting to looſen thoſe bonds of conſtitutional ſubordination ſo eſſential to the welfare of the whole; but it is with much ſatisfaction that I now ſee them returning to a more proper ſenſe of what is their own intereſt, no leſs than

* On the firſt of October her royal highneſs Caroline Matilda, his majeſty's youngeſt ſiſter was married to the king of Denmark, at the chapel royal at St. James's, the duke of York being proxy for the Danith king. On the following morning, her majeſty ſet out from Charlton-houſe for Harwich, accompanied by his royal highneſs the duke of Glouceſter, lady Mary Boothby, and count de Bothmar, her majeſty's vice-chamberlain. The next day her majeſty embarked with her whole retinue, and on the eighteenth landed at Altena, amidſt the acclamations of her ſubjects. Her marriage portion was one hundred thouſand pounds.

† This was a diſagreeable circumſtance to the proprietors of the Eaſt India ſtock; and what was ſtill worſe, all theſe papers were printed and publiſhed. The queſtion ſtated by adminiſtration was, "What right had the Eaſt India company to territorial juriſdiction?"

‡ On the twenty-ſeventh of September, captain Wrottesley arrived from Monaco, a town of Genoa in Italy, with intelligence of the death of the duke of York, on the ſeventeenth of the ſame month, about eleven in the morning. The body was afterwards interred in the royal vault in Henry the VII's chapel.

§ Which has now acquired celebrity by giving birth to Bonaparte, the grand adventurer, and *Primier Conſul* of France.

The new year 1768 began with a very ſevere froſt, which aggravated the calamity of the lower claſſes of the people, who were already much diſtreſſed from the exorbitant price of food. On the ninth of January, the river below London bridge, preſented the appearance of a general wreck; ſhips, boats, &c. lying in a confuſed and ſcattered manner; ſome on ſhore, and others injured or overſet by the ice. A fiſh-boat was diſcovered near Deptford creek, jammed in by the ice, and all the people in it were frozen to death: one of whom, a youth of ſeventeen, was found ſitting erect, and had all the appearance of being perfectly alive.

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their duty, indiſpenſibly requires of them; and the eby giving me the proſpect of continuing to reign over a happy, becauſe an united people." The parliament was then prorogued to the laſt day of the month; but on the twelfth of April it was diſſolved by proclamation.

We have already obſerved that Mr. Wilkes had retired to France. He had been reſident in that kingdom for a conſiderable time; and, as he had thus neglected to appear to the indictments preferred againſt him, he was declared an outlaw. Previous, however, to the general election he returned to England, and, to the great aſtoniſhment of the public, declared himſelf a candidate to repreſent the city of London in parliament. Not ſucceeding in this attempt, he became a candidate for the county of Middleſex, and on the twenty-eighth of March was elected by a very conſiderable majority *.

The general election was carried on with great impetuoſity, and violent conteſts enſued in many provinces. Nor did the diſorders, which aroſe on this occaſion, ſubſide with it. A general diſſatisfaction prevailed among the lower orders of the people, partly from other cauſes. The riotous aſſemblies of the weavers, coal-heavers, and ſailors, kept the capital and its environs in continual alarm. From ſome unknown cauſe, juſt at this period, the civil power ſeemed to loſe its force and energy, and too frequently to give occaſion for the dangerous interpoſition of a military force in its ſupport: the unhappy effects of which are ſtill recent in the minds of many of the preſent age †.

On the tenth of May the members of the new parliament formally took their ſeats in the houſe: and the following day the commons having re-choſen Sir John Cuſt for their ſpeaker, preſented him to the lords commiſſioners for their approbation, who were pleaſed in his Majeſty's name to approve their choice. After which the lord chancellor opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, by virtue of his majeſty's commiſſion. A joint addreſs was preſented by the lords and commons to his majeſty on this occaſion, beſeeching him

* On the twentieth of the ſame month he ſurrendered himſelf to the court of King's Bench, and on the twenty-ſeventh was committed to the King's Bench priſon. Soon after his trial came on in that court, and being found guilty, he received the following ſentence: That for the republication of the North Briton, No. XLV, he ſhould pay a fine of five hundred pounds, and be impriſoned ten calender months; and for publiſhing the "Eſſay on Woman," that he ſhould likewiſe pay a fine of five hundred pounds, and be impriſoned twelve calendar months, to be computed from the expiration of the former impriſonment, and that he afterwards ſhould find ſecurity for his good behaviour for ſeven years, himſelf in the ſum of one thouſand pounds, and two ſureties in five hundred each."

† The moſt fatal of the diſturbances at this time was that which happened in St. George's fields on the tenth of May, and evinced the raſh violence exerciſed againſt the people on account of their attachment to Mr. Wilkes, then a priſoner in the King's Bench. The particulars of this remarkable affair were as follows: The parliament being to aſſemble on that day, great numbers of people aſſembled about the priſon, expecting that Mr. Wilkes would, on that account, obtain his liberty, and intending to conduct him to the houſe of commons. Finding themſelves diſappointed, they grew tumultuous, and a party of the third regiment of guards was ſent for. The riot was much increaſed by a paper, that had been ſtuck againſt the wall of the priſon, which was forcibly taken down by one of the juſtices for the Borough. The populace inſiſted on the reſtoration of this paper, which the juſtice not regarding, the tumult became extremely violent; the drums beat to arms, and the riot act was read, during which great quantities of ſtones and filth were thrown by the populace. William Allen, a youth, ſon of Mr. Allen, keeper of the horſe-ſhoe inn, in Blackman-ſtreet, Southwark, being purſued with others, was unfortunately ſingled out, rancorouſly purſued by three ſoldiers, and ſhot dead. Theſe meaſures not having any tendency to diſperſe the mob, an additional number of the guards was ſent for, as alſo a party of horſe grenadiers; but the people becoming ſtill more numerous, they were fired on by the ſoldiers, when five were killed upon the ſpot, and about fifteen wounded. Among the latter were two women, one of whom afterwards died in St. Thomas's hoſpital. The following day an inquiſition was taken by the coroner for Surry, on the above William Allen, when the jury gave their verdict, that Donald Maclaine was guilty of wilful murder, and Donald Maclaury, and Alexander Murray (the laſt of whom was commanding officer) were aiding and abetting therein. This inqueſt was held at the houſe of Mr. Allen; and it appeared on examination, that the deceaſed was only a ſpectator, and on ſeeing ſome perſons run, he ran alſo, but was unhappily miſtaken, and followed by the ſoldiers into a cow-houſe, where he was fired at. Maclaury and Murray were admitted to bail, but Maclaine was committed to priſon for the murder. He was afterwards tried at the Surry aſſizes at Guildford, and acquitted. Two other inquiſitions were taken in the Borough on perſons killed by the ſoldiers in this riot; one on the body of Mary Jeffs, who having a baſket with oranges, was ſhot in removing them; the other on William Bridgman, who was ſhot on the top of a hay-cart, as he was obſerving ſome of theſe outrages at a diſtance; on both theſe inquiſitions, the jury brought in their verdict "Chance-Medley."

The populace were alſo much irritated by the grant of the royal pardon to two rioters, who had been convicted of murder, at the election for Middleſex, to ſucceed Mr. Cooke their late member now deceaſed. The court recommended this clemency, as it did not clearly appear to the beſt chirurgical judges, that the blow, which ſome conſidered as fatal, did occaſion the death of the ſuppoſed murdered perſon.

The ſpirit of revenge againſt the ſupporters of government in the late proceedings, was carried to a conſiderable exceſs. Gillam, the magiſtrate, who authoriſed the guards to fire, was indicted for murder; but the jury acquitted him on the evidence for the proſecution.

to exert his authority for ſuppreſſing the diſorders and tumults which prevailed to ſo alarming a degree; at the ſame time aſſuring his majeſty, that nothing ſhould be wanting on their parts which might enable him to maintain the public authority, and carry the laws into due execution; and ſoon after an end was put to this ſhort ſeſſion*.

The king of Denmark arrived at St. James's, on a viſit to his majeſty, on the eleventh of Auguſt. He was attended by moſt of his great officers of ſtate, and the utmoſt reſpect was ſhewed him by all ranks of people. But nothing leſs than the moſt unbounded diſſipation ſeemed to have taken place. His Daniſh majeſty gave orders for a maſquerade, which was one of the moſt magnificent that had ever been ſeen in England; and while the neceſſary preparations for it were making, he viſited Cambridge, where he was elegantly entertained in the hall of Trinity College. From thence he proceeded to York, Leeds, and Mancheſter; and on his return to London, paſſing through Oxford, he was met by the whole univerſity in proceſſion. When he arrived at the ſenate-houſe, the public orator complimented him in a moſt elegant latin ſpeech, to which his majeſty replied in the ſame language. He was then preſented with a diploma as doctor of the civil and canon laws, and walked in honorary robes with the doctors and regents. Early in the month of October, his Daniſh majeſty left England; and nearly at the ſame time, ſeveral changes occurred in the Engliſh miniſtry.

In the courſe of this year, the French concluded a treaty with the republic of Genoa of a very extraordinary nature, and ſuch as ought to have been oppoſed by all the maritime ſtates of Europe. The Corſicans ſtill continued to defend thoſe rights which the Genoeſe fought to deprive them of; and the latter, deſpairing of ever reducing them to ſubjection, agreed to give up that valuable iſland to the French king, upon condition of his ſending an army thither to ſubdue the people.

Great diſturbances happened in America on account of ſome duties which had been impoſed on glaſs, ſalt, and other commodities imported from England. It was thought that the repeal of the ſtamp act would have given ſome ſatisfaction to theſe people, but they ſtill inſiſted that it was their inherent privilege to tax themſelves. At Boſton the people aſſembled in a large body, and entered into ſeveral reſolutions not to import any goods of a ſuperfluous nature, but to be regulated by the ſtricteſt œconomy, both in apparel and furniture. A ſubſcription was opened for the encouragement of their own manufactures, and the eſtabliſhment of new ones. The freeholders, and all the inhabitants of Maſſachuſett's Bay, had repoſed the greateſt confidence in their repreſentatives, and a continual conteſt exiſted between them and their governor†. Governor Barnard had diſſolved the aſſembly of repreſentatives, and new ones having been choſen, he inſiſted on their making a public act to declare their diſapprobation of the conduct of the late aſſembly. They, however, requeſted to ſee a copy of the governor's inſtructions, which was granted them; and, to their aſtoniſhment, they found, that if they refuſed to comply with his requeſt, they were to be diſſolved, and an account of their conduct tranſmitted to England, to be laid before the next ſeſſion of parliament. This ſet the whole colony in a flame; and when the bill was brought in to paſs a cenſure on the conduct of the laſt aſſembly, ninety-two voted againſt it and no more than ſeventeen for it. The reſt of the colonies took the alarm, and followed their example; while combinations were formed almoſt every where not to take any goods from England, except ſuch as were abſolutely neceſſary.

The complaints among the people of Boſton now broke out into open violence: a ſhip having landed

* On the nineteenth of May, the princeſs Louiſa Anne, ſecond ſiſter to his preſent majeſty, paid the great debt of nature.

† The earl of Shelburne had ſent a letter to the governor, complaining of theſe abuſes, and it was read in the open aſſembly of the repreſentatives. This occaſioned moſt violent debates; and ſome of the members declared, that the governor had miſrepreſented their conduct to the miniſtry. They denied the charges in the letter, and wrote to the earl of Shelburne on the ſubject, vindicating themſelves, and fixing the whole blame on the governor. At the ſame time, the merchants at Boſton ordered their agent to repreſent to the lords of the treaſury, that unleſs theſe duties, which had occaſioned ſo much miſchief, were taken off, the trade of the province would be deſtroyed, as they ſeemed contrary to the ſpirit of the conſtitution, and inconſiſtent with their charter. Their repreſentations occaſioned the eſtabliſhment of a new officer, who was to act as ſecretary of ſtate for the colonies in America; and the firſt perſon appointed was the earl of Hillſborough, at that time firſt lord of trade. His lordſhip's firſt act, in this new character, was to ſend circular letters to the governors of the provinces, informing them, that his majeſty was highly diſpleaſed at the conduct of the people, as it tended to create confuſion, and to throw every thing into the utmoſt diſorder. He ſaid, their conduct in oppoſing the legiſlative power of Great Britain was little better than an act of open rebellion; for, by giving encouragement to ſuch practices, the government would be overturned, and the laws totally diſregarded. He concluded by recommending to them to preſerve the public peace, by puniſhing all diſorders of an evil tendency; but as to mere oppoſition in words, or in ſcandalous libels, they were to treat them with the contempt they deſerved.

a cargo of wine, and taken on board another of oil, without paying any attention to the new laws by which the new cuſtoms were to be regulated, the officers diſplayed a ſignal to the Romney man of war, who inſtantly ſent her boats; and having cut down the maſts of the trading veſſel, hawled her alongſide of the king's ſhip. This was ſo highly reſented by the populace, that they roſe in great numbers, demoliſhed the habitations of the cuſtom-houſe officers, ſeized the commiſſioner's boat, dragged it on ſhore, and daringly ſet it on fire. While theſe diſorders continued in the town, the governor diſſolved the aſſembly; but that meaſure had not the deſired effect, for the diſturbances increaſed daily; two regiments were therefore ſent over from Ireland to ſupport the civil power. Their place of rendezvous was to be at Halifax in Nova Scotia; and no ſooner had the people of Boſton received intelligence that they were landed there, than they aſſembled and choſe a preſident from among themſelves, who was deputed to wait on the governor, to know for what reaſon, or with what view, his majeſty's forces were to be ſent among them. They deſired, at the ſame time, that a general aſſembly might be ſummoned to meet; but he refuſed to give them any ſatisfactory anſwer, barely informing them, that it was their duty to break up their tumultuous meetings, and ſubmit quietly to the laws. He added, however, that as they ſeemed ignorant of the offence they had committed, he muſt take the liberty to aſſure them, that, unleſs they ſubmitted to the government, he ſhould be obliged to treat them as rebels.

From this moment he refuſed to receive any meſſages from them; in conſequence of which they ſent a long detail of their grievances to London, to be laid before the miniſtry. In the mean time, the tranſports, with the two regiments, and a train of artillery, arrived from Halifax, and were quartered in the houſes of the townſmen; but as the military laws did not extend to America, any farther than providing barracks for them, it was ordered by the governor, that they ſhould have barrack proviſions, that they might be as little burthenſome to the people as poſſible. This part of the governor's conduct gave general ſatisfaction to ſuch of the people as were moderate in their ſentiments, but a great majority were ſtill diſcontented. They could not behold, without jealouſy, an armed force quartered among them in time of peace; but with reſpect to their late combinations, they conſidered them as efforts to maintain their freedom.

During this time, England was not wholly free from commotion. The diſſatisfied coal-heavers, and the ſailors, occaſioned ſome diſturbances in the environs of the metropolis; and in Lincolnſhire, and ſome of the other provinces, frequent riots were experienced. Parliamentary elections diſturbed the peace of the inhabitants, by their acrimony and violence. The renewed appearance of Wilkes inflamed the animoſity of the oppoſite factions. Though an outlaw, he offered himſelf a candidate to repreſent the city of London; but, being unſucceſsful in that attempt, he ſoon after declared himſelf a candidate for the county of Middleſex, of which he was choſen repreſentative. The citizens, at the command of the rabble, illuminated their houſes on this occaſion; and uproar and outrage continued for two nights. Wilkes afterwards ſurrendered himſelf to the proper officers, and was committed to the King's Bench priſon; and, his outlawry being reverſed for informality, he was ſentenced on the two verdicts, to imprisonment for a year and ten months, and to pay a fine of five thouſand pounds. He was further enjoined to produce recogniſances for his inoffenſive behaviour, in five hundred pounds each.

Affairs now began to aſſume a new form in the Eaſt Indies; and it was even feared that a revolution would take place to the diſadvantage of the Engliſh Eaſt India company, whoſe ſtock was now advanced to an aſtoniſhing height. Hyder Ally, a man who had ſerved ſome time as a common ſoldier, having received an affront from his officer, quitted the army and raiſed a choſen band of followers, with a view of driving the Engliſh out of all their ſettlements in that part of the world. Having brought over the Nizam of the Decan to his intereſt; and having raiſed a large body of forces, he prepared to take the field. Colonel Smith, in the company's ſervice, was diſpatched to oppoſe this formidable alliance; and a moſt deſperate engagement enſued, in which Hyder Ally diſplayed all the courage and conduct of the moſt conſummate general. He made his diſpoſitions with ſo much prudence, that it was no eaſy matter to attack him. The Aſiatic general rode from one place to another, to encourage his men; but at laſt they gave way, and the Engliſh continued purſuing them with great ſlaughter. All their cannon and ammunition fell into the hands of the Engliſh, beſides a vaſt quantity of treaſure; and the Nizam perceiving the danger he was in from his connections with Hyder Ally, concluded a peace with the company. This, however, did not terminate the war; for Hyder, Ally finding himſelf deſerted by the Nizam, transferred the ſeat of war into a mountainous part of the country, where it was extremely difficult to attack him, as he was thoroughly acquainted with all the paſſages and defiles, and could defend himſelf even againſt a great ſuperiority of numbers.

The war was now vigorouſly proſecuted in Corſica; for though the French had landed there with a numerous army, the brave iſlanders diſputed the ground with them with ſteadineſs and reſolution. Paoli had entertained hopes of aſſiſtance from England, and, for that purpoſe, ſent intelligence of his diſtreſs

diſtreſs to our miniſtry by Mr. Boſwell, a young gentleman with whom he had become acquainted on his travels; but receiving no aſſiſtance, he had nothing to rely on but the juſtice of his cauſe, and the bravery of his countrymen. At firſt the French obtained ſome very conſiderable advantages; but the Corſicans deſtroyed ſuch vaſt numbers of them in ſtraggling parties, that had they not been continually reinforced by freſh ſuccours, the whole army that firſt landed, would have been totally cut off. The Corſicans concealed themſelves, in caves and buſhes, near the roads where the enemy were accuſtomed to paſs, and galled them ſo much that many of them deſerted, while ſuch as fell into the hands of the Corſicans as priſoners, were inſtantly put to death. Paoli, who ſtill cheriſhed the idea of aſſiſtance from England, as well as from ſome of the other European powers, convened an aſſembly of the Corſican chiefs, to deliberate on the moſt proper methods to be adopted in the proſecution of the war. He laid before them all the papers which the French had cauſed to be diſtributed throughout the iſland; but no ſooner did the chiefs perceive that they were conſidered as vaſſals to the crown of France, than they tore them into a thouſand pieces. Though this campaign was but ſhort, yet ſo great was the loſs the French ſuſtained, that, notwithſtanding the reinforcements which were daily tranſmitted to them, they were on the point of being totally diſperſed.

The Engliſh miniſtry were thrown into ſome confuſion by the death of Mr. Townſhend, chancellor of the exchequer. As a change in the miniſtry was the natural conſequence: lord North was appointed chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Thomas Townſhend, paymaſter of the forces, earl Gower preſident of the council, lord Weymouth one of the ſecretaries of ſtate, and Mr. Rigby was nominated one of the vice-treaſurers of Ireland. This parliament aſſembled on the twenty-fourth of November, when his majeſty went to the houſe and opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne, in which he expreſſed his wiſhes that the parliament would proſecute the conſideration of thoſe great commercial intereſts which had been entered upon before, but which the ſhortneſs of the laſt ſeſſion had prevented from being brought to a termination. He animadverted on the conduct of the Americans, and obſerved, that the capital of one of the colonies was in an actual ſtate of diſobedience, having proceeded to meaſures ſubverſive of the conſtitution, and attended with circumſtances which manifeſted a diſpoſition to diſavow their dependence on Great Britain; but that he did not doubt, with their aſſiſtance and concurrence, of being able to defeat the miſchievous deſigns of thoſe turbulent incendiaries, who, under falſe pretences, had too ſucceſsfully deluded numbers of his ſubjects in America; and whoſe practices, if ſuffered to prevail, could not fail to produce the moſt fatal conſequences to his colonies immediately, and in the end to all the dominions of his crown.

A very ſalutary bill was now introduced, which paſſed both houſes, and received the royal aſſent. It prevented, for a limited time, the exportation of corn, and gave infinite ſatisfaction to the public. Subſequent to this, the parliament took into conſideration the ſtate of public affairs in America. A petition was preſented, ſigned by Mr. Danforth, preſident of the council of Boſton, praying a repeal of the revenue acts. The petition was fraught with modeſty and humility, and contained a promiſe, that if the acts were repealed, the people would make an ample compenſation, by voluntary taxations on themſelves. Great debates aroſe in both houſes reſpecting the petition, thoſe of the miniſterial party adopting ſimilar arguments to thoſe which had been urged in the debate concerning the ſtamp act. The lords agreed to addreſs his majeſty on the American affairs; and their reſolution, being adhered to by the commons, became the joint act of both *. It was farther reſolved, that the town of Boſton was in a ſtate of great diſorder and confuſion, diſturbed by riots and tumults of a dangerous nature, in which the officers of the revenue had been obſtructed in the diſcharge of their duty, and their lives endangered; that neither the council of the province, nor the magiſtrates in general, had exerciſed their authority for ſuppreſſing theſe tumultuous proceedings; that the execution of the laws would be rendered abortive, without the aſſiſtance of a military force to ſupport the civil power, and protect the officers of the cuſtoms; and that the reſolutions of the town meetings in Boſton were unconſtitutional, and calculated to excite ſedition and inſurrection againſt the government. It was alſo agreed, that all thoſe who had diſpatched circular letters to the other colonies, were inſulting the dignity of the crown, and had committed a daring inſult on the legiſlative power of Great Britain. His majeſty was therefore deſired to iſſue a ſpecial commiſſion, to enquire into the cauſes of theſe diſorders as authoriſed by the ſtatute of the thirtieth of Henry VIII. Theſe arguments were oppoſed by the antiminiſterialiſts. It was obſerved, among other things, that it was the duty of thoſe in power to promote the intereſt of the people both at home and abroad; but if ſuch a meaſure was carried into execution, it would increaſe the ſeditions complained of in the colonies, and conſequently injure the trade of the mother country.

* Theſe reſolutions clearly implied that all the acts made in the different colonies, which tended towards throwing off the ſovereignty of the Britiſh parliament, were illegal, unconſtitutional, and derogatory to the crown and dignity of his majeſty.

country. They concluded by calling upon the miniſtry to produce the perſon, who had adviſed his majeſty to enforce the ſtatute above-mentioned.

While the parliament were occupied on the affairs of America, Mr. Wilkes publiſhed a letter written by lord Barrington, ſecretary at war, to the juſtices of the county of Surry, to which he prefixed an *introduction** which greatly offended the houſe of lords, who voted it "an infolent, ſcandalous, and ſeditious libel, tending to inflame the minds of his majeſty's ſubjects to ſedition, and to a total ſubverſion of all good order and legal government." The lords then complained to the commons, who confirmed the vote of the peers, expelled Mr. Wilkes their houſe, and ordered a new writ to be iſſued for the county of Middleſex: Mr. Wilkes was, however, unanimouſly re-choſen, and again expelled by the commons, who at the ſame time pronounced him incapable of being a member of that houſe. On the thirteenth of April a new election for the county of Middleſex came on at Brentford. The candidates on this occaſion were Mr. Wilkes, Mr. Luttrell, who had vacated his ſeat for the mere purpoſe of ſuperſeding Mr. Wilkes), Mr. Serjeant Whitaker, and Mr. Roach, when Mr. Wilkes had a majority of eight hundred and fifty-ſeven votes: notwithſtanding which he was rejected by the houſe of commons, and Mr. Luttrell declared duly elected †. A petition againſt him was however duly preferred, and the houſe confirmed the reſolution in his favour.

On the ninth of May, his majeſty repaired to the houſe of peers, and terminated the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne, in which he told them, that every part of their conduct gave him the greateſt ſatisfaction. He applauded them in the warmeſt manner for having attended with ſo much care to the intereſts of the people, and the ſuppreſſion of riots and tumults, which had been ſo frequent, not only in London, but in many parts of the country.

In a few days after, the freeholders of Middleſex, who thought themſelves particularly injured by the deciſion of the houſe of commons againſt Mr. Wilkes, in favour of Mr. Luttrell, preſented a petition to the king: which contained a very long exaggerated catalogue of grievances relative to infringements on the conſtitution, from the firſt proſecution of Mr. Wilkes, to his expulſion from the houſe of commons as member for Middleſex: after which the petition continues as follows:

"*Moſt gracious Sovereign,*

"Such are the grievances and apprehenſions which have long diſcontented and diſturbed the greateſt and beſt part of your majeſty's loyal ſubjects. Unwilling however, to interrupt your royal repoſe, though ready to lay down our lives and fortunes for your majeſty's ſervice, and for the conſtitution, as by law eſtabliſhed, we have waited patiently, expecting a conſtitutional remedy by the means of our own repreſentatives: but our legal and free choice having been repeatedly rejected, and the right of election now finally taken from us by the unprecedented ſeating of a candidate who was never choſen by the county, and who, even to become a candidate, was obliged fraudulently to vacate his ſeat in parliament; under the pretence of an inſignificant place, invited thereto by the prior declaration of a miniſter, that whoever oppoſed our choice, though with but four votes, ſhould be declared member for the county. We ſee ourſelves, by this laſt act, deprived even of the franchiſes of Engliſhmen, reduced to the moſt abject ſtate of ſlavery, and left without hopes or means of redreſs, but from your majeſty or God.

"Deign then, moſt gracious ſovereign, to liſten to the prayer of the moſt faithful of your majeſty's ſubjects; and to banniſh from your royal favour, truſt, and confidence, for ever, thoſe evil and pernicious counſellors, who have endeavoured to alienate the affection of your majeſty's moſt ſincere and dutiful ſubjects, and whoſe ſuggeſtions tend to deprive your people of their deareſt and moſt eſſential rights, and who have traiterouſly dared to depart from the ſpirit and letter of thoſe laws which have ſecured the crown of theſe realms to the houſe of Brunſwick; in which we make our earneſt prayers to God, that they may continue untarniſhed to the lateſt poſterity."

The city of London, and many of the counties in England, followed the example of Middleſex, and preſented petitions and remonſtrances to the throne; but the only anſwer they received was, that his majeſty would not do any thing without the conſent of his parliament ‡.

When the parliament met again, the ſeſſion was opened by his majeſty with a ſpeech from the throne; in which no mention was made of the petitions and remonſtrances from the different counties relative to the Middleſex election. The articles chiefly noticed

* Both houſes proclaimed this introduction a ſeditious libel; and for the ſecond, and others of which he had been accuſed contempts, and which had diſqualified him from attending to parliamentary duty, the commons voted his expulſion [illegible] 1764.

† At the [illegible] election, Mr. Wilkes was again returned by the freeholders; the votes in his favour being 1143, to 296: but, on a petition from colonel Luttrell, he was, after a violent debate continued to a very late hour (March third, 1769) declared duly elected. *Belſham's Memoirs*, 281.

‡ Since the acceſſion of the preſent royal family, no public meaſure had excited ſo general an alarm, or occaſioned ſo univerſal a diſcontent as the preſent, nor was ever oppoſed with more firmneſs, nor debated with greater ability. At the ſame time a great number of maſterly writings were publiſhed, ſo that the affair was thoroughly diſcuſſed both within doors and without.

were

were, the diſtracted ſtate of America, and the diſtemper which had broke out among the horned cattle. The former was, in the ſtrongeſt terms, recommended to their ſerious attention, as a matter of the utmoſt importance to the dignity of government. The other was mentioned as a moſt direful calamity, and every one was deſired to exert themſelves in endeavouring to impede the progreſs of the contagion *.

Before any important buſineſs was undertaken, ſome very remarkable changes occurred in the miniſtry. The ſeals were received from lord Camden, and the honourable Charles Yorke † was created chancellor in his room, but died in the courſe of three days, and with his life he loſt a peerage; a patent to confer that dignity on him, having been actually prepared: the chancery was then put into commiſſion, the ſeals being delivered to baron Smythe, and the juſtices Bathurſt and Aſton. The marquis of Granby ſurrendered all his places, except the royal regiment of blues, and was ſucceeded as maſter of the ordnance by general Conway. The duke of Beaufort reſigned the appointment of maſter of the horſe to the queen; the earl of Huntingdon his ſituation of groom of the ſtole; and the duke of Manchеſter, with the earl of Coventry, their places of lords of the bed-chamber. Sir John Cuſt, ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, alſo reſigned on account of his declining health; and ſir Fletcher Norton was choſen his ſucceſſor. The duke of Grafton reſigned his place of firſt lord of the treaſury, and was ſucceeded by lord North, who had been ſome time chancellor of the exchequer.

An enquiry into the validity of the Middleſex election now came before the commons; but, after intemperate debates, it was held, by a conſiderable majority, that no court of law was to interfere reſpecting any of their rules and orders. This meaſure aſtoniſhed the whole nation, and many perſons began to conſider the houſe of commons as a ſtanding council for the crown. Nor was this important ſubject agitated with leſs heat in the houſe of lords. The earl of Chatham, lord Camden, and many other peers, oppoſed it with great ſtrength of argument, and produced proofs from many of our law libraries, and parliamentary journals, that no ſuch ſtep had ever been taken, not even in the moſt deſpotic reigns. But, regardleſs of theſe arguments, miniſterial intereſt prevailed, and the proceedings of the houſe of commons, in the affair of the Middleſex election, were *all juſt* and *equitable*.

A bill was now in agitation, to diſqualify certain officers of the revenues from voting for members of parliament; but it was rejected by a great majority. The popular party having loſt this motion, requeſted that all the papers, containing a liſt of the expences of government ſhould be laid before them. After conſiderable debates on the ſubject, the motion was rejected by a very great majority.

The ſtate of the colonies in America was next conſidered. A petition had been preſented by the merchants trading to North America, pointing out the difficulties they laboured under in conſequence of an act, by which a duty had been impoſed on ſome trifling articles exported from Great Britain; and this had ſo much exaſperated the people, that they refuſed to purchaſe the goods, after they had been conveyed thither at a conſiderable expence. This affair being of a very ſerious nature, the houſe took it into conſideration and repealed every part of it, except what related to tea, which was ſtill continued.

While the people in general were agitated by reflecting on the conſequences that would probably reſult from theſe meaſures; while individuals were ſeeking to promote their private intereſts, and the government to eſtabliſh its authority, a bill was brought into the houſe of commons by one of the leading men in the oppoſition, for regulating the proceedings on controverted elections; a bill equally juſt and popular, in which all the ſubjects of Great Britain were materially concerned‡. While the houſe of

* This ſpeech received the ſevereſt comments from the public in general, who ſuppoſed nothing ſhould have been ſo much dwelt on as the petitions and remonſtrances. Ridicule was circulated with great freedom, eſpecially as the exiſtence of the diſtemper among the *horned* cattle was not believed to be ſo univerſal as had been repreſented.

† Mr. Yorke, ſon of the late lord chancellor Hardwicke, and a man of great profeſſional ability, had given a poſitive aſſurance to the earl his brother, that he would *not upon any terms*, liſten to the offers of the court: but being ſent for by his majeſty, and earneſtly ſolicited, he raſhly conſented, and a patent was prepared for his elevation to the peerage, by the title of lord Morden. Hearing of this circumſtance, his brother afterwards refuſed to admit him into his houſe. Agitated in his mind, and unable to endure the torture of his own reflexions, he, in a few hours, terminated his exiſtence. *Belſham's Memoirs*, i. 304.

‡ The plan of this bill was conſiſtent with the firſt principles of the conſtitution; and the outlines of it were as follow: when a petition was to be preſented, a day was to be fixed for hearing both parties, who were to attend with their witneſſes and counſel; and if one hundred members were not preſent, they were to wait till ſo many were preſent; when the names of the whole, though they ſhould exceed that number, were to be put into ſix boxes or glaſſes, to be drawn alternately and read by the ſpeaker, till forty-nine are choſen; the ſitting member and petitioner being permitted to chooſe one each. Liſts were then to be given to the ſitting members, the petitioner, counſel, witneſſes, &c. who, with the

of commons was engaged on this important ſubject, the city of London met in their common-hall, and framed another petition, addreſs, and remonſtrance, to be preſented to his majeſty, for redreſs of grievances in the affair of the Middleſex election. In this addreſs it was expreſsly declared, that the houſe of commons had acted in the moſt unconſtitutional manner, and therefore they prayed that they might be diſſolved; and that they might be permitted to make a free choice. In anſwer to this, his majeſty informed them, that he had never done any thing but by the advice and conſent of his parliament, and therefore he could not comply with their requeſt. Violent diſputes aroſe in parliament on this affair, and many opprobrious expreſſions were adopted on both ſides. It was alledged that the citizens of London were the ſupport of government on every occaſion; and that it had been the cuſtom, time immemorial to conſult them on the moſt important matters; to which the miniſtry coolly anſwered, that no affront had been offered to the citizens of London, nor any thing denied them, that was not in its own nature improper to be granted.

The city of Weſtminſter petitioned expreſsly for an immediate diſſolution of parliament. The county of York, and many other counties, cities, and opulent towns followed the example. A few counter-addreſſes were procured by the court, and one from ſome reſpectable merchants of the city of London, who, in their proceſſion to Saint James's, were groſsly inſulted by the populace. The Riot Act was read at the palace gate; and lord Talbot, in attempting to interpoſe, had the mortification of having his ſtaff of office broken in his hand.

During the continuance of this ſeſſion, ſeveral propoſals were made in the houſe of lords, relative to the ſtate of affairs in America, which were chiefly ſupported by the duke of Richmond. Theſe were introduced by ſome ſatirical ſtrictures on the conduct of adminiſtration. The ſtate of America, he ſaid, had been recommended from the throne in a ſpeech at the opening of the ſeſſion, and yet the ſeſſion was almoſt ſpent, and nothing had been effected, though the buſineſs was of the utmoſt importance. The miniſtry were now ſenſible that they had been too raſh in recommending the caſe of America before any ſettled plan had been digeſted; and therefore, perplexed to the utmoſt, they ſaw no other method left than that of adjourning the debate till a future day, well knowing that the parliament would be prorogued.

On the nineteenth of May, the king went to the houſe of peers, and cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne, in which he applauded both houſes for zealouſly ſupporting the intereſt and honour of the nation. He aſſured them, that he ſhould on all occaſions ſeek the happineſs of his people, and that it ſhould be the ſole object of his care, to watch over their intereſts. He concluded, by recommending the preſervation of public peace, and the diſcouraging and ſuppreſſing all tumultuous meetings of the people.

Advices were received from America, of a violent tumult at Boſton, originating from a quarrel between the ſoldiers, and the journeymen and apprentices belonging to the rope-makers, in which the former unfortunately fired among the latter; when ſome were killed and others wounded. Different accounts of this tranſaction were tranſmitted to England; but one from captain Preſton, who happened to be captain of the guard on that day, appears to be the moſt authentic. He obſerved, that it was too notorious to be doubted, that the arrival of his majeſty's troops in Boſton was extremely diſagreeable to its inhabitants. That the people themſelves were endeavouring to weaken the regiments by promoting deſertions, and by propagating falſehoods reſpecting them. That on the arrival of the ſixty-fourth and ſixty-fifth regiments, their ardour ſeemingly began to abate; but that the ſame ſpirit revived immediately, when it was known that thoſe regiments were ordered for Halifax. That after their embarkation, one of their juſtices, from the ſeat of juſtice, declared, "That the ſoldiers muſt now take care of "themſelves, nor truſt too much to their arms, for "they were but a handful." That this alarming declaration was ſucceeded by ſeveral diſputes between the inhabitants of the town, and the ſoldiers of the two regiments. At length captain Preſton received information of a determined attack on the troops, and as he was repairing to the main guard, he ſaw a number of people haſtening towards the cuſtom-houſe. To prevent plundering, he ſent a non-commiſſioned officer with twelve men, and followed himſelf. The mob dared the ſoldiers to fire? He replied in the negative, but at that inſtant a ſoldier exaſperated by a blow, did actually fire. Repeated provocations induced others to follow the example; the mob then diſperſed, after three had been killed on the ſpot, and ſeven or eight wounded. The captain was ſome time after tried at Boſton, and honourably acquitted.

In July a dreadful fire was diſcovered in the great dock-yard at Portſmouth. It burnt with the utmoſt rapidity, and communicating itſelf with the hemp-houſe and other offices, conſumed every thing before it. Whether this was an accident, or the work of ſome vile incendiary, has not yet been diſcovered. Some impoſtors, indeed, pretended to have been concerned in it, particularly one Dudley, who was afterwards tranſported for perjury; and another,

the clerk, were to withdraw, and ſtrike off one alternately, till the number ſhould be reduced to thirteen; who, together with the two named by the parties, were to make a committee to determine the matter in diſpute. whoſe

whoſe name was Britain, has ſince been convicted and executed for forgery *.

The miſerable inhabitants of Corſica now experienced all the ſeverity of a French deſpotic government. Many of them ſtill refuſed to ſubmit, and ſuch of thoſe unhappy people as were taken, were inſtantly ſlain. Some of them were tranſported to France; but even here their ſufferings were not terminated; for ſuch as were brought to that country, after a journey of ſix hundred miles on foot from Marſeilles to Breſt, were put on board ſeveral veſſels, and ſent as ſlaves to the Weſt Indies.

A war was on the point of breaking out this year between Great Britain and Spain, the ſource of which was thus ſtated: in 1592, captain Davies, who commanded an Engliſh man of war, ſailed to the South Seas, where he diſcovered ſome iſlands, ſince called Falklands; but they were little noticed for upwards of a century, till commodore Anſon, in his voyage round the world, diſcovered their importance to us, if they ſhould be properly cultivated. In conſequence of which, ſoon after the late peace, when lord Anſon preſided at the admiralty, he mentioned the affair in council, and it was propoſed to diſpatch ſome frigates to viſit them. This ſcheme, however, not being conducted with becoming ſecrecy, the Spaniards got notice of it before it could be carried into execution; and ſuch remonſtrances were urged by their ambaſſador at our court, that it was laid aſide. It was, however, again revived; and, in 1764 commodore Byron was diſpatched with a ſmall ſquadron for the purpoſe of making diſcoveries, and, if poſſible, eſtabliſh a ſettlement on the coaſt of Patagonia. During that voyage, he took poſſeſſion of Falklands Iſlands, in the name of his Britannic majeſty, with all the forms uſual on ſimilar occaſions.

About this period, the French alſo engaged in an expedition to make diſcoveries in the South Seas; and the care of it was committed to M. de Bougainville, colonel of a regiment of foot. This gentleman having equipped a frigate of twenty guns, with a ſloop to carry proviſions, took on board one hundred ſeamen, and about one hundred and fifty other perſons, who choſe to try their fortune in that quarter of the world. The French ſhips ſet ſail from St. Malo, and arrived at the Canaries, where they were kindly received and aſſiſted by the Spaniards. From thence they proceeded to the river Plata, and took in freſh proviſions, the Spaniards ſtill continuing to treat them with every mark of reſpect. At length they came to Falklands Iſlands, where they formed an eſtabliſhment, and erected a ſmall fort. The French adventurers had formed the moſt ſanguine hopes from the diſcovery of theſe iſlands, but they did not find them adequate to their expectations, and therefore formally yielded them to the Spaniards.

The ſettlement, which had been given up by the French to the Spaniards, was one of the iſlands to the weſt, and was called Port Solidad; and Port Egmont, belonging to the Engliſh, was one of the iſlands to the eaſtward. In 1769, we had a frigate and a ſloop upon that ſtation, and captain Hunt, in the Tamar frigate, being on a cruiſe, fell in with a Spaniſh ſchooner belonging to Port Solidad, and, purſuant to his orders, commanded the Spaniſh captain to depart, as theſe iſlands were the property of Great Britain. Two days afterwards, the captain came on board the Tamar frigate with a letter to captain Hunt, written by the governor of Port Solidad, informing him, that if he had been driven in there by ſtreſs of weather, he was ready to afford him every aſſiſtance; but if he came there in violation of the faith of the moſt ſolemn treaties, he would adviſe him inſtantly to depart. Captain Hunt, not in the leaſt intimidated with theſe menaces, aſſerted his Britannic majeſty's right to theſe iſlands, and warned him to quit them, allowing him ſix months for that purpoſe. He claimed an excluſive right as being the firſt occupants of a country which had been diſcovered by their anceſtors, in the reign of queen Elizabeth. The Spaniſh officer entered a formal proteſt againſt captain Hunt, and declared, that if he offered any inſult to the ſettlement at Port Solidad, he ſhould conſider it as a breach of the peace, and tranſmit the particulars of it to Spain. Soon after this affair, two Spaniſh frigates of conſiderable force arrived at Port Egmont, under pretence of procuring freſh water, and the commander in chief tranſmitted notice to captain Hunt, that he was aſtoniſhed to ſee the Engliſh flag hoiſted in an iſland that belonged to his maſter the king of Spain. He accuſed captain Hunt of having violated the peace; declaring at the ſame time, that he would ſend the ſtatement to the court of Madrid, that his maſter might aſſert his right to thoſe iſlands which had been aſſigned to him by treaty.

Captain Hunt ſtill continued to ſupport his poſſeſſion on the claim of right, juſtified his conduct by the orders of his ſovereign, and again warned the Spaniards to depart from theſe iſlands. The frigates continued eight days at Port Egmont, and were ſupplied by the Engliſh with water: the captain and officers behaved with civility, but declined appear-

* A remarkable circumſtance attended this fatal cataſtrophe: the fire was diſcovered in five different places at once, in conſequence of which, ſtrong ſuſpicions aroſe that more than one perſon muſt have been concerned in it. Had this accident, or misfortune, happened during the raging of the war, it might have proved fatal to the nation in general; for the whole loſs, amounting to upwards of one hundred and forty-nine thouſand pounds, could not have been replaced without great difficulty, till the parliament met.

ing on ſhore, though they were frequently invited. As theſe tranſactions ſeemed to indicate an approaching rupture, captain Hunt ſet ſail for England, and, arriving at Plymouth, on the third of June, ſent an expreſs to the lords of the admiralty. The Swift and Favourite ſloops of war, of ſixteen guns, were left to take care of the ſettlement; but the Swift having failed as far as the ſtreights of Magellan, was overſet, and ſuch of the crew as could get into the boat, undertook a voyage of three weeks, which brought them to Port Egmont, after experiencing an innumerable variety of hardſhips. Soon after captain Hunt's departure, five Spaniſh frigates arrived at Port Egmont, and captain Farmer, the commandant, not doubting but they came with hoſtile intentions, reſolved to be upon his guard. He accordingly hoiſted his flag, which the Spaniſh commodore ſeeing, fired two ſhots, and being aſked what were his reaſons for ſo doing, he ſaid they were only by way of ſignals. In the mean time captain Farmer wrote to the Spaniſh commodore, that as he had received the refreſhments he wanted, he was obliged in the name, and by the authority of his maſter, to command him to depart, and totally evacuate all thoſe iſlands known by the name of Falklands. In anſwer to this letter, the commodore reminded captain Farmer of his power, and mentioned how eaſily he could deſtroy their defenceleſs ſettlement. He requeſted that he and the other Engliſh officers would not force him to extremities, but depart quietly from the place, as the iſland belonged to his maſter the king of Spain.

The five ſhips of war, with their attendant veſſels, were furniſhed with all the apparatus neceſſary for a ſiege, when they appeared before Port Egmont; when captain Farmer, knowing the place to be utterly untenable, ſubmitted to a capitulation, by which he and his whole garriſon were permitted to evacuate the place, taking with them ſuch of their ſtores as they were able. The Spaniſh commander, however, unwilling that very early intelligence of this outrage ſhould be conveyed to England, enjoined captain Farmer not to ſail without his permiſſion; and, to enforce compliance, ordered the rudder of captain Farmer's ſhip the Favourite, to be taken off, and kept on ſhore, and which was not reſtored till after the expiration of twenty days. A moſt unparalleled inſult to the Britiſh flag!—The Favourite, being at length permitted to depart, arrived ſafe at Portſmouth, after a voyage of ſeventy days. When the particulars of theſe extraordinary proceedings were known in England, the whole nation appeared inflamed with reſentment, and eager to avenge the national honour, thus daringly and groſsly violated.

The miniſtry ſeemed indeed to have taken the alarm at this intelligence, and, as if conſcious of their negligence in keeping the navy on a reſpectable footing, as the only bulwark of the nation, affected at leaſt a degree of diligence in that important purſuit. Preſs-warrants had been iſſued for raiſing ſeamen, but the legality of them was called in queſtion, in many places. In the city of London, Mr. Croſby, the lord mayor, refuſed to indorſe the preſs warrants; Mr. alderman Wilkes diſcharged a man who had been impreſſed; and, though the opinion of counſel was taken on this important ſubject, yet among the more ſenſible and judicious, the practice itſelf was conſidered as inconſiſtent with the nature of the Britiſh conſtitution, and a direct violation of the charter of the city of London.

The parliament aſſembled in November, and the ſeſſion was opened by his majeſty with a ſpeech from the throne, in which he informed them that an inſult had been lately offered to the honour of this nation, by an act of the governor of Buenos Ayres, in ſeizing one of his majeſty's poſſeſſions; and that, ſhould ſatisfaction be refuſed by the court of Spain for this injury, preparation had been, and were ſtill making to do ourſelves juſtice.

Addreſſes were preſented from both houſes on this occaſion, in a ſtrain calculated to convince the court of Spain that the Engliſh are ever reſolute and united in a common cauſe, in oppoſition to a common and foreign enemy. Warm debates enſued on the ſubject of the ſpeech and the addreſſes; and the duke of Richmond, in the houſe of lords, and Mr. Dowdeſwell, in that of the commons, moved that all the papers which had been ſent to the miniſtry ſhould be produced; but this the miniſtry thought proper to evade. In defence of their conduct, they urged that we were now engaged in a negociation of the utmoſt importance with the kingdom of Spain, by which it was expected that matters would be brought to an accommodation; that the honour and happineſs of two great nations were at ſtake, and that if the papers were produced, all Europe would be made acquainted with thoſe ſecrets which ought to be concealed till the event they related to had taken place. It was alſo aſſerted, that the ſame day the intelligence arrived, a meſſenger was diſpatched to our ambaſſador at Madrid to demand ſatisfaction; that diſputes had now ariſen between the two kingdoms, on account of the ignorance or inſolence of officers, while there was no intention of a quarrel between their reſpective governments; for in ſome inſtances our officers had not been ſufficiently circumſpect in their conduct. That therefore in the preſent inſtance, as well with regard to the honor as the intereſt of the nation, it was neceſſary to demand ſatisfaction, firſt, in a peaceable manner, for nothing was more reaſonable than to enquire, whether we had a warrantable right to reſent before we commenced hoſtilities; otherwiſe it would be alledged

ledged that we courted war. If the Spaniards were not to be urged into juſtice by reaſon, then they muſt be compelled; and adminiſtration, though willing to avoid the calamities of war, had prepared for the worſt of the two events. The queſtion was put, and the motion was rejected by a great majority.

During the receſs of parliament, ſir Edward Hawke reſigned his place of the firſt lord commiſſioner of the admiralty, and was ſucceeded in that important office by the earl of Sandwich. About the ſame time, ſome of thoſe gentlemen who had been particularly attached to the late Mr. Grenville, and had been among the moſt violent of thoſe in oppoſition, now croſſed over to the ſide of adminiſtration. The earl of Suffolk was appointed keeper of the privy ſeal, as ſucceſſor to the earl of Halliſax, who ſucceeded the earl of Sandwich as ſecretary of ſtate for the northern department. Several other changes took place; Mr. juſtice Bathurſt received the great ſeal as high-chancellor of Great Britain, and was created a peer of England, by the title of lord Apſley: Mr. de Grey, at that time attorney-general, was made chief juſtice of the common pleas, in the room of ſir John Wilmot, who reſigned: Mr. Thurlow was elevated to the dignity of attorney-general, and Mr. Wedderburne ſucceeded him as ſolicitor, being at the ſame time appointed coſſerer to the queen.

On the twenty-ſecond of January *, the parliament again aſſembled, and on the very ſame day prince Maſeranes, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, ſigned the declaration with the earl of Rochford, ſecretary of ſtate for the ſouthern department. By this declaration, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, in the name of the king his maſter, diſavowed the violences offered at Port Egmont; and ſtipulated that every thing ſhould be reſtored there, in as complete a manner as before the reduction had taken place. But, at the ſame time, he declared, that this reſtoration was not in any degree to affect the queſtion, of the prior right of his Catholic majeſty to the ſovereignty of theſe iſlands; and by the acceptance, the performance of theſe ſtipulations was to be conſidered as a ſatisfaction for the injury done to the court of Great Britain.

This tranſaction was immediately communicated to both houſes of parliament, and copies of the documents, were laid before them. It was then moved, that all the papers relative to the convention ſhould be produced to the houſe, which was complied with, except in a ſingle inſtance, that of withholding ſuch papers as contained the Spaniſh claims to Falkland's Iſlands. This occaſioned a warm debate; but the miniſtry ſheltered themſelves under a pretence that all the offices had been ſearched, but no papers could be found.

A remarkable ſcene of corruption was, about this time, diſcovered, by the committee appointed to determine conteſted elections; and, in particular, that of New Shoreham, in Suſſex. The returning officer for that borough had returned a candidate with only thirty-ſeven votes, in preference to one who had eighty-ſeven, of which he doubted ſeventy-ſix, and therefore made his return without examining, as he ought to have done, whether they were legal votes or not. In the courſe of the examination of witneſſes, it appeared, that a great number of freemen had formed themſelves into a ſociety, under the title of the Chriſtian Club; the apparent views of which inſtitution were to promote acts of charity and benevolence, and to anſwer all ſuch purpoſes as were conſiſtent with the doctrines of our holy religion. But regardleſs of all theſe pretenſions, they profaned the ſacred name they had aſſumed, by purſuing the vileſt of purpoſes, making a traffic of their oaths and conſciences, and offering their borough to ſale to the higheſt bidder; while the reſt of the freemen were deprived of the privilege of giving their legal votes. The returning officer had belonged to this ſociety, but having taken ſome diſguſt at the conduct of his companions in iniquity, he had quitted their party. Being called before the committee, he aſſigned as a reaſon for having made ſuch an unequal return, that he knew, from his own experience, that the majority of the voters had taken bribes; and, that they had abſolutely propoſed to ſell their borough to any one who would offer the largeſt ſum for it. As this combination at Shoreham was of too flagrant a nature to be overlooked, and the ſelect committee not having powers to proceed any farther, they reported the whole matter to the houſe, and moved, that they would make a further enquiry into the particulars of this abominable tranſaction: in conſequence of which, an act paſſed, rendering eighty-one freemen of the borough of Shoreham incapable of voting at any election, and the attorney-general was ordered to proſecute all the members of the club. The right of electing members for that borough, in conſequence of this tranſaction, was alſo extended to all the freeholders in the rape of Bramber, in the county of Suſſex, who had tenements of the value of forty ſhillings.

At this time a circumſtance happened, which it was greatly feared would have been attended with the moſt alarming conſequences. The printers of certain newſpapers were in the habit of detailing the debates of both houſes. Theſe communications were ſo highly gratifying to the public, that the ſucceſs of a newſpaper was principally dependent on the reports of parliamentary proceedings. Thoſe members who did not conceive that juſtice had been done to their harangues, were offended at the freedom of the writers, and colonel Onſlow made a complaint to the houſe of two publiſhers of newſpapers, Thompſon and Wheble, who being cited before the houſe, refuſed

* A. D. 1771.

refuſed to appear; upon which a proclamation was publiſhed with a reward for apprehending them. This produced the deſired effect. J. Wheble *, one of theſe booklellers, was apprehended and taken before John Wilkes †, eſquire, the ſitting alderman at Guildhall: but he diſcovering that the perſon who apprehended Mr. Wheble had no accuſation againſt him, and only apprehended him on the authority of the proclamation; and at the ſame time Mr. Wheble declaring that the apprehender had forcibly detained him, and brought him there, the alderman immediately diſcharged him, and bound him over to proſecute his accuſer. Mr. Miller, alſo printer of a public paper, was likewiſe taken into cuſtody by a meſſenger from the houſe of commons, who, on his refuſing to go with him, took him by the arm, in conſequence of which a conſtable was ſent for, and Mr. Miller gave him charge of the meſſenger for aſſaulting him in his own houſe; he was therefore taken to the Manſion Houſe, and a hearing came on before the lord mayor, and the aldermen Wilkes and Oliver. In the mean time, the ſerjeant at arms being informed of this tranſaction, came to demand the bodies of the meſſenger and of Mr. Miller. The lord mayor aſked the meſſenger, if he had applied to a magiſtrate to indorſe the warrant, or to any peace officer of the city to aſſiſt him; and on his replying in the negative, his lordſhip declared, that no power could ſeize a citizen of London, without an order from him, or ſome other magiſtrate; and that he was of opinion, the ſeizing of Miller and the warrant were both illegal; he therefore declared Mr. Miller to be at liberty, and proceeded to examine witneſſes to prove the aſſault by the meſſenger; which being accompliſhed, his lordſhip aſked the latter, if he choſe to give bail. This he at firſt refuſed to do; but his commitment being actually made out, he thought proper to comply, when he himſelf was bound in forty pounds, and two ſureties in twenty pounds, for his appearance at the next ſeſſions at Guildhall.

After many and tedious debates, the houſe of commons having reſolved, "That the proceeding of "the lord mayor and Mr. Oliver, was a breach of "the privilege of that houſe," committed them both to the Tower, where they continued till the prorogation of parliament, which happened on the eighth of May, when his majeſty terminated the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne.

During the continuance of the lord mayor and Mr. alderman Oliver in the Tower, they were addreſſed and applauded for their ſpirited conduct in maintaining the authority of the laws of their country, by every ward in London, and by ſeveral of the principal towns and boroughs in England. Great preparations were made for conducting the two patriots from the Tower; but the parliament being prorogued one day ſooner than was expected, a few only of the aldermen could attend. The proceſſion was, however, magnificent, and they were conducted to the Manſion Houſe amidſt hoſts of applauding ſpectators. From this time, without dreading the effects of parliamentary diſpleaſure, the printers have regularly publiſhed the debates of the two houſes, in the prints of the following day: nor is it to be ſuppoſed, that the ſources of that intelligence will be withheld from the people, by the legiſlative body.

During the receſs of parliament, an event occurred, which ſurpriſed the whole nation. The event alluded to was no other than the marriage of his royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland with Mrs. Horton, a widow lady, and daughter of lord Irnham, of the kingdom of Ireland. This circumſtance occaſioned great uneaſineſs at court, eſpecially as it had been openly acknowledged by the parties, and not attempted to be concealed like the marriage of the duke of Glouceſter with the counteſs dowager of Waldegrave.

The parliament meeting on the twenty-firſt of January ‡, the ſeſſion was opened by his majeſty with a ſpeech from the throne; in which he expreſſed much ſatisfaction, that neither the foreign nor domeſtic ſtate of affairs required their more early attendance; that now they were aſſembled, they would, doubtleſs, attend to the intereſts of the nation, and regulate its internal policy, as well as its foreign commerce. They were likewiſe informed that the king of Spain had given up Fort Egmont, and that we were on amicable terms with that court. He concluded, with recommending to them to keep the navy on the moſt reſpectable footing, to be ready in caſe of any neceſſity for the future.

Addreſſes, as uſual, were preſented to the king on

* Wheble was taken by Twine Carpenter, a printer, and carried before Wilkes, who not only diſcharged him, but took recognizances for proſecuting the perſon by whom he was apprehended. Mr. Dowdeſwell, who attempted to inform the houſe of commons in Carpenter's behalf, received the following whimſical anſwer from Wedderburne. "As to the affair of Mr. Twine Carpenter, I can ſee no reaſon for ſupporting him: as I underſtand it, the man is Mr. Wheble's devil. Wheble was "arreſted by his own devil: he was diſcharged out of the "illegal arreſt of this devil: the devil was bound over "to anſwer: whether printer beats devil, or devil beats printer, is of no conſequence; there may be the devil to do; there will be the devil to pay: if the devil has had the reward that was advertiſed, the devil has fairly outwitted the noble lord near me: whether he has or not I do not know; but I hope this houſe will have nothing to do with him."

† This gentleman obtained the office of alderman of London, by his oppoſition to the court; having before triumphed over the miniſtry, in the condemnation of the earl of Halifax to the payment of four thouſand pounds damages.

‡ A. D. 1772.

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the ſubject of his ſpeech; after which the public buſineſs began, by making proper enquiries into the ſtate of the navy; and the miniſtry propoſed, that twenty-five thouſand men ſhould be voted for the ſervice of the current year. After urging ſeveral arguments in ſupport of the motion, and hearing the replies of the opponents, the queſtion was at length put, and carried by a conſiderable majority *.

In this ſeſſion the king ſent meſſages, recommending to both houſes to take it into their ſerious conſideration, whether it may not be wiſe to ſupply the defects of the laws now in being, and, by ſome new proviſion, more effectually guard the deſcendants of his late majeſty, except ſuch as were already married to foreign princes, from marrying without the approbation of his majeſty, his heirs, and ſucceſſors. In conſequence of this meſſage, a bill was brought into the houſe of lords, which fully anſwered all the purpoſes intended. This bill was oppoſed with great ſtrength of argument, by ſome of the moſt reſpectable peers in the nation. All the judges were ſent for, and required to give their opinion, which was, that the marriages of the intermediate branches of the royal family muſt be approved of by the king, but how far that power extended over collateral branches they could not aſcertain. At laſt the motion was carried, though fourteen lords entered a proteſt againſt it, as being inconſiſtent with the law of nature. In the houſe of commons, the bill met with a much ſtronger repulſe; but the bill at length paſſed triumphantly, and ſoon after received the royal aſſent.

The attention of the parliament was claimed by the affairs of the Eaſt India company, which were at this time in a very perplexed ſituation. On the thirtieth of March, the deputy chairman of the company moved the houſe for leave to bring in a bill for the better regulation of the ſervants belonging to the company in India. The grand object in view was, to reſtrain the governor's council; and, indeed, all the ſervants belonging to the company, from tranſacting any ſort of buſineſs, and to give the directors of the company a ſovereign power over their own ſervants. The motion being carried, an enquiry into the ſtate of affairs in India was immediately directed. All the papers belonging to the company, were ordered to be laid before a ſelect committee of the houſe, and from the peruſal of them, many important diſcoveries were made. Indeed, it was found, that the mode of government in India was, in every reſpect, arbitrary, unconſtitutional, and not calculated for preſerving the rights of the people, or the adminiſtration of juſtice to individuals. The committee, finding the buſineſs increaſing faſt, and the ſeaſon far advanced, deſired leave to continue ſitting during the receſs of parliament, or at leaſt, till ſuch time as they could go through with the intended enquiry.

On the ninth of June his majeſty repaired to the houſe of peers, and cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne; in which he mentioned the laudable conduct of his parliament, that had conducted the affairs of the public with ſuch ſpirit and propriety. He thanked them for the care they had taken of his family in paſſing the act reſpecting the royal family; and informed them of the pacific diſpoſition of thoſe

* A petition was about this time offered to be preſented to the commons, by ſir William Meredith, for leave to bring in a bill to excuſe ſome of the clergy from ſubſcribing the thirty-nine articles of religion, ſome of which he declared were unintelligible, abſurd, and contradictory, and aſſerted the illiberality of their wounding tender conſciences, to eſtabliſh external uniformity at the expence of truth and ſincerity. It was urged in favour of the motion, that they could not ſubſcribe to doctrines of human invention, but only to the ſacred ſcriptures; and that it was their right to explain them according to what they eſteemed their genuine ſenſe and meaning. On the other hand, it was urged, that to grant ſuch an indulgence would be to open a door for all ſorts of licentiouſneſs: for, under a pretence, that particular tenets were the pure dictates of conſcience, the fundamental doctrines of our religion would be ſubverted; and blaſphemy taught in our very churches: that moſt of thoſe who had aſſociated upon this ſiniſter buſineſs had been formerly diſſenters, but had quitted their original profeſſion, in order to enjoy ſome of the ſpoils of the church, and that they had brought their Arian and Socinian notions with them: that if their conſciences were ſo very tender, they might give up their livings, and return to their conventicles, where they would be at liberty to diſſemnate what notions they pleaſed: that they would thus give a convincing proof of their diſintereſted views; but nothing could be more reaſonable, than for a church eſtabliſhed by law to beſtow her honours upon thoſe who ſubſcribed to her doctrines, and conformed to her diſcipline. The motion therefore was rejected by a great majority, and not without ſome ſevere ſtrictures on the conduct of thoſe who had promoted it.

Burke refiſted the introduction of the petition, not becauſe the church of England could not ſubſiſt independently of the thirty-nine articles, but becauſe the petitioners, by the extraordinary latitude they had taken, rendered their objects indeterminate. "What are we to 'underſtand," he ſaid, "by the holy ſcriptures, which 'theſe gentlemen deſire to make a profeſſion of their 'belief in? The Romiſh canon admits the books of the 'Apocrypha: the canon of Luther excludes ſome parts 'of the Pentateuch, and the whole epiſtle to the He'brews; and ſome ancient fathers have rejected the 'books of Revelations. Mankind were as little likely 'to be of one mind in this, as on any other point."

Lord North reprobated the deſired exemption, and a great majority of the houſe refuſed to receive the petition. The peers alſo rejected it by an extraordinary majority.

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perſons with whom we had any concern. That there was great reaſon to believe, that the public tranquillity would not be diſturbed. The commons were thanked in the moſt cordial manner for the ſupplies they had granted; and great joy was expreſſed that there were ſtill ſome hopes of the reduction of the national debt.

While the parliament was employed in the buſineſs of the ſtate, her royal highneſs the princeſs dowager of Wales, mother to his preſent majeſty, died at Carlton Houſe, on the eighth of February, in the fifty-third year of her age*. Her royal highneſs had, by an act of parliament of the tenth of George II. a revenue of fifty thouſand pounds *per annum* for life, if ſhe ſurvived the prince, which was to be paid quarterly, and the firſt payment took place five days after his deceaſe. On the fifteenth the corpſe of her royal highneſs was interred with the uſual ſolemnities, in Henry the VIIth's chapel in Weſtminſter-Abbey †.

The feelings of George III. were at this time affected with unpleaſing intelligence. His ſiſter Matilda, who had become queen of Denmark by marriage, was ſuppoſed to have carried on a criminal correſpondence with count Struenſee. Among others, who like needy adventurers, came to ſettle in Copenhagen, was this Struenſee, the ſon of a Lutheran miniſter in Holſtein ‡. The rapid progreſs which this adventurer, and one Brandt, his companion, made by their inſinuating addreſs, was very extraordinary. They were both elevated to the dignity of noblemen; and Struenſee was appointed prime miniſter, a circumſtance which could not fail of creating indignation in the minds of the Daniſh nobility. By his advice, accompanied with that of his friend Brandt, all the old counſellors were diſgraced and baniſhed; till at laſt the two favourites, intoxicated with power, even treated the king with contempt. Such inſolence and preſumption in two foreigners, who could claim no pre-eminence in rank, could not fail to inflame the minds of the ſubjects o every degree, nor can it be ſurpriſing that their downfall was meditated and effected. To this end a conſpiracy was formed, and to give it the greater ſanction, the queen-dowager, ſecond wife of the late king, was at the head of it. Every thing being ripe for execution, a maſked ball was given at court on the ſixteenth of January; and as ſoon as it was over, the king, who ſeemed to labour under great debility of mind, retired to reſt. He had not, however, been long in bed, when the principal conſpirators came into his chamber, and informed him, that the reigning queen with Struenſee and Brandt, were that inſtant employed in drawing up a paper, which they would oblige him to ſign, the contents of which were, that he was to renounce the crown. The queen-dowager aſſured him that there was no method of ſaving himſelf, but by ſigning an order to take into cuſtody the reigning queen, with the two odious favourites; and the king, much alarmed, readily complied. The warrant was immediately executed, and her majeſty, with the two favourites, were committed to different priſons. The queen was afterwards ſent to the caſtle of Cronenburg, where ſhe remained for ſome time cloſely confined; but, by the interpoſition of her royal brother, the king of Great Britain, ſhe was ſet at liberty, and ſuffered to reſide at Zell, in the electorate of Hanover, with a penſion equal to her dignity, where ſhe languiſhed for ſome time, and afterwards died with grief. The forbearance of the Britiſh court on this occaſion, was conſidered as a tacit acknowledgement of Matilda's guilt. But the fate of the two favourites was otherwiſe determined. After being confined in dungeons for two months, and not allowed any thing to ſubſiſt on but bread and water, and threatened with being put to the torture, unleſs they made an open confeſſion, ſentence of death was paſſed upon them, that they ſhould have their right hands cut off, and then their heads; and that, after

* Her royal highneſs was the youngeſt daughter of Frederick II. duke of Saxe-Gotha; born the thirtieth of November 1719. She was married the twenty-ſeventh of April, 1736, to Frederick late prince of Wales; by whom ſhe had iſſue as follow: Auguſta, born July thirty-firſt, 1757, O. S. married to the hereditary prince of Brunſwick. George, born May twenty-fourth, 1738, O. S. now king of Great Britain. Edward, duke of York, born March fourteenth, 1739; died at Monaco in Italy. Elizabeth, born December thirtieth, 1740; died September fourth, 1759. William Henry, duke of Glouceſter, born November fourteenth, 1743. Henry Frederick, duke of Cumberland, born October twenty-ſeventh, 1745, dead. Louiſa, born March eighth, 1748, dead. Frederick, born May thirteenth, 1750; died December twenty-ninth, 1765. Caroline Matilda, born July 11th (after the death of her father,) 1751; married October ſecond, 1766, to Chriſtian VII. king of Denmark, dead.

† "She was," ſays Mr. Belſham, "a princeſs poſſeſſed of "many virtues, perſonal and relative, and, till the acceſ- "ſion of the preſent ſovereign, greatly beloved and eſ- "teemed by the Engliſh nation: but in the latter years "of her life, it too plainly appeared that the extenſive "influence ſhe poſſeſſed over the mind of the king, her "ſon, was exerciſed in a manner very pernicious to the "nation. It might appear harſh to doubt the general "rectitude of her intentions; but unhappily, bred up in "the deſpotiſm of German courts, ſhe attained not the "juſt ideas of the ſpirit of the Engliſh conſtitution, or the "genius of the people, with whom her name became at "length the continued theme of reproach and obloquy." *Belſham's Memoirs*, 357.

‡ He was a young man of inſinuating addreſs, and ſplendid abilities, but profligate in his manners, and abandoned to every vice.

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their quarters had been expoſed on the wheel, they ſhould be placed on the moſt conſpicuous parts in the city. Accordingly this ſentence was executed, in all its rigour, on the twenty-eighth of April, on a ſcaffold near the city, in the midſt of a vaſt concourſe of people. They both behaved with great decency and reſignation *.

The parliament meeting on the twenty-ſixth of November, the ſeſſion was opened by his majeſty with a ſpeech from the throne; in which he informed the members, that his reaſon for calling them ſo ſoon was to take into their conſideration ſome matters of the utmoſt importance. He declared, that he had been informed that the Eaſt India company was in a moſt diſtreſſed condition; and that, as many of his good ſubjects had their fortunes depending on the credit of that company, its ſecurity was now become a national concern. He deſired them to take it into their immediate conſideration, and, if poſſible, contrive ſome rational plan, by which the intereſt and honour of the company might be reſtored, and every thing ſettled on the moſt permanent foundation. He concluded, by recommending the moſt prudent methods, in order to reduce the price of proviſions, as the diſtreſſes of the poor were not imaginary, but real; and that nothing could afford him greater pleaſure, than to hear that thoſe diſtreſſes were alleviated. The commons, being returned to their own houſe, Mr. Fitzpatrick, brother to the earl of Offory, moved that a loyal addreſs ſhould be preſented to his majeſty.

The preſent ſtate of the navy came immediately under the conſideration of the houſe of commons, and occaſioned very animated debates. The objections made by thoſe in oppoſition were to the following import: They aſſerted, that the number of ſeamen was too conſiderable in time of profound peace; and that we were at peace with all our neighbours, was acknowledged in a ſpeech from the throne. The miniſtry, on the other hand, urged the neceſſity of keeping our navy on the moſt reſpectable footing; and declared, that our fleet in the Eaſt-Indies was now much greater than formerly. After a variety of arguments advanced by both parties, the queſtion was put, and being carried by a great majority, the ſupplies were granted. A motion was now made to enquire into the nature of thoſe cauſes which occaſioned the extraordinary dearth of all ſorts of proviſions, but nothing had been effected which could be of any real ſervice to the public. Several regulations indeed were adopted with reſpect to bread, and ſome reſtraints laid upon bakers; but if the rents of landed eſtates could not be reduced by the retrenchment of different ſpecies of luxury, the legiſlature itſelf will never be able to remedy the evils complained of.

A ſecret committee having been appointed to enquire into the ſtate of the Eaſt India company's affairs; they reported that their ſituation was exceedingly diſtreſſed and deranged. It was therefore ſuggeſted, that ſupervifors ſhould be ſent to the Eaſt Indies, to make a proper enquiry how far the officers and ſervants of the company had abuſed the truſt repoſed in them, and to have power to afford redreſs to thoſe who ſuppoſed themſelves injured. Some of the members who were holders of Eaſt India ſtock ſtrongly oppoſed this bill, and others as ſtrongly ſupported it. At length the motion was carried; and ſupervifors were appointed, with plenary powers to enquire into the abuſes complained of, and to endeavour to redreſs them †.

Before the cloſe of the ſeſſion, his majeſty made an excurſion to Portſmouth, to inſpect the ſtate of the dock-yards, forts, &c. at the arſenals; and to review the fleet aſſembled at Spithead for that purpoſe. On his majeſty's entering the Land Port Gate, he was ſaluted by a triple diſcharge of two hundred and thirty two pieces of cannon mounted on the ramparts of Portſmouth, at Block-houſe Fort, and at South-ſea caſtle. His majeſty then proceeded through the town to the Dock-yard, where the artificers belonging to the yard, being all aſſembled at the commiſſioner's houſe, gave three hearty cheers as his majeſty entered, and then immediately diſperſed, each returning to his reſpective employment. The ſhores both on the Portſmouth and Goſport ſides, were lined by the populace, who manifeſted their loyalty to his majeſty with cannon, acclamations, and other demonſtrations of joy. The king expreſſed the higheſt approbation of the good order

* The crimes of which queen Matilda and counts Struenſee and Brandt were accuſed were theſe: Struenſee was charged with having embezzled from the king's coffers a large ſum amounting to one hundred and twenty-five thouſand pounds ſterling; of having iſſued many orders from the cabinet without the king's knowledge; of having been guilty of criminal converſation with the queen; of having ſecreted from the king ſeveral letters ſent to his majeſty, &c.—Count Brandt was accuſed of having been privy to Struenſee's criminal converſation, and all his other crimes, without divulging them, and of having laid violent hands on the king's majeſty, &c.

† Till about this period no proviſion was made to defray the expences of diſcharging exculpated felons from priſon; inſtances were produced of ſome poor creatures lying a whole year in gaol, becauſe they could not procure the cuſtomary fees. To remedy an evil of ſo grievous a nature, a bill was brought in to oblige every county to ſupply the deficiencies incurred to the gaolors by keeping the priſoners. In conſequence of which, the priſoner who is now acquitted muſt be diſcharged without demanding payment of his fees. The verdict of the jury is now conſidered as an ample liberation to all intents and purpoſes.

and diſcipline of his fleet *, and contributed liberally to releaſe the inſolvent priſoners confined in Portſmouth gaol.

The parliament meeting on the twenty-fifth of January †, the ſeſſion was opened by his majeſty, who, in his ſpeech from the throne, recommended to them to take into their ſerious conſideration the ſtate of the colonies, who menaced to throw off all ſubjection to the Britiſh government. He informed them, that the moſt ſalutary laws had been treated with contempt; that the colonies were little better than in a ſtate of rebellion: and that, unleſs ſome vigorous meaſures were adopted to enforce obedience, all laws would be trampled under foot, and the regularity which once exiſted among the different ranks of ſociety, would once more return to its original ſtate of confuſion.

The commons being returned to their own houſe, vehement debates enſued reſpecting the addreſs which ſhould be preſented to his majeſty. The partizans of the court recommended thanks to his majeſty for his paternal care of the nation. On the other hand, it was urged, that the colonies, ſo far from being in a ſtate of rebellion, were only contending for the enjoyment of thoſe rights and privileges which belong to all men in common as members of ſociety: that the mother country had no power to tax thoſe emigrants, unleſs a conſent to that meaſure was firſt had and obtained from their own repreſentatives; that the colonies were not regularly, nor in any ſenſe whatever, repreſented in the Britiſh parliament; and therefore, till that legal repreſentation took place, no taxes could, in juſtice, be impoſed upon them. Such were the principal arguments of both parties; but the queſtion being propoſed, it was carried by a great majority in favour of the court party.

The miniſtry's grand object now appeared to be the total reduction of the colonies to a ſtate of obedience, and to convince them of the neceſſity they were under of being ſubject to the mother-country; a bill was therefore brought in of a very coercive nature. Three ſhips laden with tea, which had been ſent from England, were plundered by the people of Boſton, and their cargoes conſiſting of three hundred and forty cheſts, were thrown into the ſea. As this was an intringement on private property, it called aloud for the exertion of the regal power. Accordingly, an act paſſed to remove the cuſtoms from the town of Boſton, to quarter a military force upon the people, and to block up their harbour by ſeveral veſſels of war.

During this ſeſſion of parliament many important affairs were diſcuſſed: and ſeveral eſſential acts were paſſed, among thoſe was one for the better regulation of the gold coin; and another relative to the naturalization of foreigners.

About this time H. S. Woodfall, printer of the Public Advertiſer, and the Rev. John Horne for cauſing a libel to be inſerted in it againſt the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, were ordered before the houſe. Woodfall obeyed without heſitation, and, on his interrogatory, declared the reverend John Horne author of the obnoxious paper. A warm debate enſued, in which lord North propoſed committing the printer to the Gatehouſe. Mr. Fox recommended Newgate; but he was ordered to be taken into the cuſtody of the ſerjeant at arms. After ſome demurs, relative to the ſummons, Mr. Horne was brought before the houſe. He extricated himſelf from the accuſation with great dexterity: having attempted to remove the imputation of contumacy, he enquired whether Woodfall's declarations were to be taken as *evidence*, or as the *charge* againſt him: after ſome heſitation he was told, they conſtituted the charge, and he pleaded, as many other court *not guilty*. The houſe was embarraſſed: Woodfall was again called and confronted with Horne; but as he was implicated in the guilt of the publication, his teſtimony was deemed inſufficient to warrant conviction. Three of Woodfall's journeymen afterwards attended: they failed, however, in proving the accuſation, and Mr. Horne was diſcharged.

The Britiſh miniſtry were now particularly engaged in providing for the ſafety of our fellow ſubjects in the Eaſt Indies. It had long been matter of complaint, that the ſuperior ſervants of the company, at their principal ſettlements, had acted very arbitrarily and oppreſſively, nor indeed had any code of laws been formed for their ſecurity. The great diſtance from England rendered it difficult, and almoſt impoſſible for any perſon to obtain redreſs. It was therefore reſolved in council, that four gentlemen learned in the law, and of the moſt approved integrity, ſhould be ſent over to Aſia, where we have ſettlements, and act there in the capacity of judges. They were to hold pleas of the crown, determine in real, mixed, and perſonal actions, to give judgment in all caſes of equity, and in every matter relative to the revenue; but as the ſettlements are diſtant from each other, the courts were not to be fixed upon any plan of locality, but to be moveable from one place to another, that juſtice might be equally diſtributed to all ranks of people.

* To the artificers, workmen, and labourers of the dock-yard, victualling office, and gun wharf, his majeſty ordered fifteen hundred pounds to be diſtributed. To the crew of the Barfleur and Auguſta yacht, and the crew of his majeſty's barge, three hundred and fifty pounds. To the poor of Portſmouth, Portſea, and Goſport, two hundred and fifty pounds.

† A. D. 1774.

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The diſturbances in America continued to increaſe. In conſequence of the Boſton port bill, which had paſſed the laſt ſeſſion, the people of New England began to form themſelves into companies, practiſe the military arts, enter into ſolemn leagues and covenants, &c. Several other colonies imitated the example, provincial aſſemblies were held, and a general congreſs eſtabliſhed, to which deputies from the ſeveral provinces were invited. Excluſive of the animoſities between the royaliſts and provincials, and the martial parade of the latter, the only material tranſaction which occurred, was, the ſeizure of Fort William and Mary, near Portſmouth in New Hampſhire, by the provincial militia, in which they found one hundred and ſix barrels of gunpowder, ſeveral pieces of cannon, a quantity of ſhot, ſmall arms, &c.

During theſe occurrences abroad, the Engliſh parliament was diſſolved by proclamation, and the writs for calling a new one were made returnable on the twenty-ninth of November. On that day his majeſty repaired to the houſe of peers, and being in his royal robes ſeated on the throne, commanded the attendance of the commons in the houſe of peers. On their appearance, the king by his chancellor, ſignified his pleaſure that they ſhould return and chooſe a ſpeaker, to be preſented the following day for his majeſty's approbation. They returned accordingly, and unanimouſly elected Sir Fletcher Norton. The next day his majeſty, in the uſual ſtate, approved of the ſpeaker choſen by the commons, and opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne; in which he obſerved, "That a moſt daring ſpirit of reſiſtance and diſobedience to the law ſtill unhappily prevails in the province of the Maſſachuſett's Bay, and has, in divers parts of it, broke forth in freſh violences of a very criminal nature. Theſe proceedings have been countenanced and encouraged in other of my colonies, and unwarrantable attempts have been made to obſtruct the commerce of this kingdom, by unlawful combinations. I have taken ſuch meaſures, and given ſuch orders, as I judged moſt proper and effectual for carrying into execution the laws which were paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion of the late parliament, for the protection and ſecurity of the commerce of my ſubjects, and for the reſtoring and preſerving peace, order, and good government, in the province of Maſſachuſett's Bay; and you may depend upon my firm and ſtedfaſt reſolution to withſtand every attempt to weaken or impair the ſupreme authority of this legiſlature over all the dominions of my crown; the maintenance of which I conſider as eſſential to the dignity, the ſafety, and welfare of the Britiſh empire." To his majeſty's ſpeech both houſes preſented very loyal and affectionate addreſſes; to each of which a gracious anſwer was returned *.

The parliament aſſembled purſuant to their adjournment, in January †, when lord North preſented to the houſe, by his majeſty's command, ſeveral bundles of American papers, the titles of which, being read by the clerk, appeared to be extracts of letters from the ſeveral governors of Boſton, New-York, New Hampſhire, Rhode Iſland, Virginia, Pennſylvania, and South Carolina; the proceedings of the continental and provincial congreſs, the firſt held at Philadelphia, and the latter at Cambridge near Boſton: inſtructions given at provincial meetings of the ſeveral delegates appointed to aſſemble at the congreſs; copies of invectives, ſarcaſms, and handbills; anonymous letters; reſolutions of different aſſemblies; proteſts of ſeveral diſtricts in the province of Georgia; meſſages between general Gage and the houſe of repreſentatives, with extracts of the ſeveral letters between general Gage, lord Dartmouth, the ſecretary, and board of admiralty, and the commander of the ſhips on the Boſton ſtation. As ſoon as the clerk had finiſhed reading the titles of theſe papers, a motion was made that they ſhould remain on the table for inſpection, and that a future day ſhould be appointed for the whole houſe to go into a committee to conſider the ſame; which, after ſome debates, was agreed to.

In the mean time petitions were preſented to the houſe from the merchants of London, Glaſgow, Briſtol, Liverpool, and many other places, complaining of the great decay of trade, occaſioned by the unhappy differences between Great Britain, and her colonies. Some of theſe petitions were referred to the committee appointed to take into conſideration the American papers; and others were referred to private committees appointed for the purpoſe. The corporation of London alſo preſented an addreſs, remonſtrance, and petition to the king; in which they complained of the meaſures that had been purſued, and were ſtill purſuing, againſt their fellow ſubjects in America; and earneſtly beſought his majeſty to diſcharge thoſe miniſters from his councils who had been the means of promoting them, as the firſt eſſential ſtep towards a full redreſs of the grievances, ſo univerſally complained of by the people ‡.

While

* This being the firſt ſeſſion of a new parliament, the ſwearing in of the members, and other formalities of office, engaged their attention for ſome days. This being ended, they proceeded to buſineſs, which was begun by the houſe reſolving itſelf into a committee of ſupply to his majeſty; when reſolutions were agreed to for amply furniſhing his majeſty with ſeamen, marines, &c.

† A. D. 1775.

‡ To the addreſs and petition of the Londoners his majeſty returned the following anſwer: "It is with the utmoſt aſtoniſhment that I find any of my ſubjects capable of encouraging the rebellious diſpoſition which unhappily exiſts in ſome of my colonies in North-America. Having entire confidence in the wiſdom of my parliament, the great

While innumerable petitions were presenting to the commons from the principal corporations in England, some papers, similar to those which the lower house had received, were laid before the lords; on which occasion lord Chatham rose, and after reprobating the delay of administration in detaining the papers so long after the arrival, and the whole of their proceedings respecting America, his lordship made the following motion: "That an address be presented to his majesty, praying that he would be graciously pleased to send orders to general Gage to withdraw his troops from Boston, as the best means of establishing a lasting concord with America." Great debates arose on this motion; but the question was at length put, and rejected by a considerable majority. A few days after, however, the same patriotic nobleman brought in a bill for reconciling the present differences between Great Britain and America. This also met with violent opposition: and the question being put, it shared the same fate with the preceding motion.

The multiplicity of papers relative to America were now taken into consideration in the lower house. Among them were two official letters from lord Dartmouth to general Gage, and the general's letter to his lordship. The former threatened firmness and coertion, which it was plain, the general was not by any means able to exert with the force he had under his command. The language of the latter varied according to the different circumstances and occasions which presented themselves. Two circumstances were, however, very evident, that the rage and dissatisfaction were greatly augmented on account of the last American acts passed by the parliament; and that they were working themselves up into a kind of phrenzy by the gradual augmentation of the troops, and by the fortifications raised at Boston Neck. He drew in some places the most lamentable picture of the state of that province, destitute at once of all legislative authority; of a council, of courts of justice, and of magistracy: and represented the whole as one scene of anarchy and confusion.

When the house, for the last time, went into a committee to examine the American papers, lord North began the business with a very accurate and detailed view of the whole mass of information laid before the committee, discriminated in a masterly manner the disposition of the respective colonies, marked the leading characters of each, pointed out those whose moderation prevailed, whose violence and unconstitutional views were concealed under the appearance of duty and submission, and particularly aimed his shafts at such as he thought were in a state of actual rebellion. He then adverted to the invidious arts employed to raise this seditious spirit on both sides of the water, entered minutely into a comparison of the burthens borne by the people of both countries, stated the trade and commerce carried on between them, the advantages arising from that commerce to the Americans, the very great disparity there was between the ability and real support which America afforded to this country; every person in Britain contributing in the proportion of twenty-five shillings per head, when America did not contribute sixpence. He then proceeded to explain in the fullest and most satisfactory manner, the legislative supremacy of parliament; stated in very forcible terms the measures adopted by America to resist it, and the almost universal confederacy of the colonies to deny it. This question, he contended, lay within a narrow compass: it was simply whether we should abandon this claim, and at once give up every advantage arising both from the sovereignty and the commerce, or to insure both; or whether we should resort to the measures indispensably necessary on such an occasion?

His lordship then pointed out the measures intended to be pursued. He said he should propose a temporary act to stop all the foreign trade of New England, and particularly to their fishery on the banks of Newfoundland, till they returned to their duty; at the same time declaring, that whenever they should acknowledge the supreme authority of the British legislature, and yield obedience to the laws, their grievances should be redressed. His lordship concluded by proposing a conference with the house of lords, that a joint address might be carried up to the throne, "To return thanks to his majesty for communicating to the house the American papers, and that he would be pleased to take such measures as might be suitable to his wisdom for enforcing the laws against America; and promising to support

great council of the nation, I will steadily pursue those measures which they have recommended for the support of the constitutional rights of Great-Britain, and the protection of the commercial interests of my kingdom."

During the mayoralty of Wilkes, the earl of Hertford, Lord Chamberlain, sent him a letter on the subject of the American disputes, declaring his majesty's determination not to receive on the throne, any redress, remonstrance, or petition, but from the body corporate. Wilkes eagerly seized the opportunity thus afforded of raising a new contest. In a long letter he insisted on the right of the city, "a right which even the accursed race of Stuarts had respected," to present petitions to the king *on the throne*. The correspondence between Wilkes and lord Hertford, was ordered on the city records, and the sheriffs instructed to enquire, when the king would receive *on the throne* this address, presented by the lord mayor, the city members, the court of aldermen, sheriffs, and livery. The king having offered to receive it at the next levee; Plomer, one of the sheriffs, declared the resolution of the livery not to present it, unless the king would receive it *sitting on the throne*. "I am ever ready," his majesty rejoined, "to receive addresses and petitions, but I am the judge *where*."

him, in the full and vigorous exertion of the ſame, with their lives and fortunes."

The meaſures intended to be taken were mentioned generally, and ſaid to be theſe: "That a fleet of fourteen frigates be ſent to join the ſhips at Boſton, by which all the ports of New England were to be blocked up; that ten thouſand troops, including Preſton's regiment of light horſe, be ſent to Boſton, to keep the New Englanders in order; and that an addition of two thouſand ſeamen more be demanded to man the fleet at Boſton, and to ſupply the naval eſtabliſhment at home." The motion for the addreſs met with great oppoſition; but the queſtion being at length propoſed, it was carried by a conſiderable majority.

The reſolution of the committee for preſenting the addreſs being reported to the houſe, the ſpeaker was proceeding to the queſtion to agree with the report; but was interrupted by lord John Cavendiſh, who moved that the conſideration of the American papers ſhould be re-committed. In his harangue on the ſubject he ſtated very clearly and judiciouſly our domeſtic ſituation, our ſtate with the colonies, and with foreign powers. He called the attention of the houſe to the unequal balance of our loſs and gain in the event, in which we might find our revenue deſtroyed, our trade annihilated, and our empire itſelf overturned. And if we ſucceeded in ſubduing America, we ſhould not gain any thing. He was ſupported by lord Irnham, who, after having in a long ſpeech agitated the queſtion on the ground propoſed by adminiſtration, in a conſtitutional as well as in a political light, concluded with aſſerting that it appeared, in both thoſe points of view, formidable and deſtructive; and that it became abſolutely neceſſary to retract the unconſtitutional and impolitic ſteps which adminiſtration had hitherto taken.

John Wilkes, Eſq. then the right hon. lord mayor of London, oppoſed the motion of the premier with great ability and force of argument. He adverted to the original ground and cauſe of the unhappy diſputes then ſubſiſting between Great Britain and her colonies, and inferred from a variety of poſitions, that they aroſe from an aſſumed right of taxation, in oppoſition to the fundamental laws of human nature, and the principles of the Engliſh conſtitution. He recommended the adoption of the plan of reconciliation propoſed by a noble lord in the other houſe. He pointed out the futility of the very means then purſued for the ſubjugation of America, and predicted that very ſtate of independence to which it has ſince arrived; and ſpiritedly concluded with expreſſing a hope that the juſt vengeance of the people might overtake the authors of thoſe pernicious counſels: and that the loſs of the firſt province to the empire, might be followed by the loſs of the heads of thoſe miniſters who adviſed ſuch weak and wicked meaſures.

Several other members expatiated largely on the propriety of the noble lord's motion; when at length, there appeared for lord John Cavendiſh's motion, one hundred and five; againſt it two hundred and twenty-eight. An addreſs was then drawn up, and agreed to without a diviſion.

The day following the commons ſent a meſſage to the lords, deſiring a conference on the ſubject of the addreſs to his majeſty. In conſequence of which ſeveral of the lords attended, and after ſome debates, it was agreed, that the addreſs ſhould be jointly preſented by both houſes to the king; which was accordingly done on the ninth of February. The anſwer returned by his majeſty was as follows:

"*My lords and gentlemen*,

"I thank you for this very dutiful and loyal addreſs, and for the affectionate, ſolemn aſſurances you give me of your ſupport in maintaining the juſt rights of my crown, and of the two houſes of parliament: and you may depend on my taking the moſt ſpeedy and effectual meaſures for enforcing due obedience to the laws and authority of the ſupreme legiſlature. Whenever any of my colonies ſhall make a proper and dutiful application, I ſhall be ready to concur with you in affording them every juſt and reaſonable indulgence; and it is my ardent wiſh that this diſpoſition may have a happy effect on the temper and conduct of my ſubjects in America."

The day after the preſentation of the addreſs, lord North acquainted the houſe that he had a meſſage from his majeſty which preſſed ſuch an augmentation to his forces, as on the preſent occaſion ſhould be thought neceſſary. The king's meſſage was referred to the conſideration of the committee of ſupply; after which the houſe reſolved itſelf into a committee of the whole houſe on the American papers, when a motion was made by lord North, "That the chairman be directed to move the houſe, that leave be given to bring in a bill to reſtrain the trade and commerce of the provinces of Maſſachuſett's Bay, New Hampſhire, Connecticut, Providence, and Rhode Iſland, colonies in North-America, to Great Britain, Ireland, and the Weſt Indies; and to prohibit ſuch provinces and colonies from carrying on any fiſhery on the banks of Newfoundland, or other parts therein mentioned, under certain conditions, and for a time to be limited." This motion, though productive of great debates, was carried by a very conſiderable majority, and a bill was ordered to be brought in accordingly *.

On

* It may be neceſſary to remark that an erroneous notion had been adopted with regard to the tea-tax. It was a great error both in miniſtry and oppoſition, to regard the tea tax as the cauſe of the American diſturbances; it was indeed the point on which the conteſt with Great Britain was to be raiſed; but not the repeal of that tax,

On the twenty-fecond of February, 1775, the lord-mayor moved in the houſe of commons, that the proceedings of that houſe on the ſeventeenth of February, 1769, might be read; which being complied with, ſome other extracts which his lordſhip called for were alſo read. He then harangued upon what he called proceedings unjuſtifiable, illegal, and unwarrantable; and moved, that the reſolution of the ſeventeenth of February, 1769, which declares, "That John Wilkes, Eſq. having been this preſent ſeſſion of parliament expelled the houſe, was, and is incapable of being elected a member to ſerve in this preſent parliament," be expunged from the journals of this houſe, as ſubverſive of the rights of the whole body of electors of this kingdom. Mr. Serjeant Glyn ſeconded the motion, and a general debate enſued. The arguments were very intemperate. The queſtion was repeatedly attempted to be called for, but was as often prevented by the riſing of new ſpeakers. At length after about eight hours debate, "the queſtion, the queſtion," was ſo reiterated, that it was propoſed, and the houſe divided, when the numbers were, one hundred and ſeventy-one for the motion, and two hundred and thirty-nine againſt it.

A petition was, in a few days after, preſented to the houſe of commons from the corporation of London, againſt the bill then depending in the houſe for reſtraining the trade of New England, and the fiſheries of that colony on the banks of Newfoundland. This petition repreſented the bill as unjuſt, cruel, partial, and oppreſſive: injurious to the trade of Great Britain, and tending to increaſe the wealth and ſtrength of her enemies. The ſame corporation alſo preſented a petition of a ſimilar nature to the houſe of lords; the American merchants alſo preſented a petition to the houſe of lords; and another to the king; but all theſe ſolicitations proved ineffectual, the bill paſſed both houſes, and on the thirtieth of March received the royal aſſent.

His majeſty again went to the houſe of peers on the thirteenth of April, and, among other bills, gave the royal aſſent to "A bill to reſtrain the trade and commerce of the colonies of New Jerſey, Pennſylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, to any part of Great Britain, Ireland, and the Weſt India iſlands." After the paſſing of theſe acts the generals Burgoyne, Clinton, and Howe, were ſent to take on them the command of the troops deſtined for reducing the Americans to obedience; for which expedition they embarked on board the Cerberus man of war on the twenty-firſt of April.

Hoſtilities were now actually commencing in America, and ſeveral ſkirmiſhes occurred between the Americans and his majeſty's troops. General Gage, who commanded the Engliſh forces, receiving information that a great quantity of military ſtores were in the poſſeſſion of the provincial troops, at the town of Concord, ſent a detachment of forces under the command of lieutenant-colonel Smith, and major Pitcairn, ſupported by another body, commanded by lord Percy, in order to ſeize or deſtroy it. This ſervice was effectually performed, after ſome ſkirmiſhes, but on the nineteenth of April the troops were attacked at Lexington, on their return towards Boſton, when ſeveral were killed and wounded on both ſides; the provincials firing from behind ſtone-walls, hedges, and buſhes.

The provincials now inveſted the town of Boſton, and the people of New York, hearing of the action at Lexington, and the affair of Concord, roſe in a tumultuous manner, entered the town-houſe, ſeized many ſtands of arms, appropriated to their own uſe the cargoes of two ſhips laden with military ſtores for general Gage, and then marched to the aſſiſtance of the Boſtonians. They not only continued to block up the town of Boſton, but began to raiſe batteries on the heights of the peninſula of Charles Town, in order to cannonade his majeſty's troops. This occaſioned an action at Bunker's Hill; for on the ſeventeenth of June, a conſiderable body of troops, under the command of major-general Howe, and brigadier-general Pigot, were ſent to diſlodge the provincials. This body of forces, with a proportionable quantity of artillery, facilitated their landing near Bunker's Hill, under the protection of the ſhips of war, armed veſſels, floating batteries, &c. and being ſoon after reinforced by another detachment, a deſperate action commenced, in which the Britiſh troops were victorious, the provincial lines being forced, and themſelves compelled to retreat, leaving behind ſeveral pieces of cannon and other military ſtores *.

On the evening of the twenty-third of Auguſt, the cannon were ſeized by order of the congreſs, though the Aſia man of war, which lay in the harbour, endeavoured to prevent it by cannonading the town.

In the mean time, general Carleton was indefatigable in his endeavours to render the province of Canada in

or any other meaſure, except ſuch a general ſyſtem as would leave to the mother country only a nominal ſovereignty, would have reſtored tranquillity. In their demand on government, they avowed the full extent of this principle, and in marking the line of their voluntary ſubjection, reſerved a ground for future cavil, by declaring they would ſubmit only to ſuch acts as were *bona fide* intended for the regulation of their trade.

* The loſs of the provincials in killed and wounded was ſaid to be very great; of the Britiſh troops, according to the return of general Gage, two hundred and twenty-ſix were killed, and eight hundred and twenty-eight wounded, ſome of the latter dying ſoon after; and more than a proportionable number of officers dignified their reſpective liſts.

a permanent ſtate of defence; and the earl of Dunmore, governor of Virginia, taking refuge on board a ſhip of war, harraſſed the coaſt, and made frequent deſcents upon Canada: laying waſte the country, carrying off or ſpiking up a vaſt number of cannon, deſtroying great quantities of military ſtores belonging to the provincials, &c. &c. But on the other ſide, Fort St. John ſurrendered to the provincial forces, on the third of November, and the garriſon became priſoners. On the eighteenth of the ſame month, a fierce engagement occurred between the king's troops and the provincials, near Savannah, in Georgia, in which the latter were defeated; and on the thirty-firſt of December, the provincial general Montgomery, who had for ſome time laid ſiege to the city of Quebec, attempted to take it by ſtorm. In this attempt, however, he was defeated and ſlain, with ſeveral of his officers, and about ſixty privates; about three hundred were alſo taken priſoners.

The parliament of England meeting on the twenty-ſixth of October, the ſeſſion was opened by his majeſty with a ſpeech from the throne *. The attention of the parliament, previous to the holidays, was engaged in raiſing and adjuſting the ſupplies for the enſuing year, and concerting the proper meaſures for raiſing them. Several ſalutary acts were alſo framed, which, having paſſed both houſes, received the royal aſſent; after which the parliament was progued to the twenty-fifth of January, 1776.

The parliament aſſembled purſuant to their adjournment; and on the ſame day, a paper was delivered to the members of both houſes, containing the following words: "To the parliament, A ſuffering and afflicted people moſt humbly and ſolemnly beſeech and implore every member of parliament to put a ſpeedy ſtop to the further effuſion of the blood of our American brethren; that peace and tranquillity may be reſtored to the royal breaſt, and glory, commerce, and felicity, to the whole empire †."

Hoſtilities were now purſued with great vehemence in America. General Gage having been recalled, the chief command of the army at Boſton devolved on general Howe, who ſoon after iſſued a proclamation declaring thoſe inhabitants who attempted to quit the town without licence, ſubject to military execution, if detected and taken; and if they eſcaped, to be proceeded againſt as traitors. By another, ſuch as obtained permiſſion to quit the town were reſtrained, by ſeveral penalties, from taking more than a ſmall ſpecified ſum of money with them. He alſo enjoined the ſigning and entering into an aſſociation, by which the remaining inhabitants offered their perſons for the defence of the town, &c. But general Howe now thought it expedient to evacuate the town of Boſton, which he effected on the ſeventeenth of March; and ſoon after made good his landing, and capture of New York. In June a battle occurred in Canada, between the regulars under general Carleton, and the provincials, at a place called Trois Rivieres, (Three Rivers) when the latter were defeated, many of them being killed and wounded, and above two hundred taken priſoners. In the ſame month an attempt was made on Charles Town, South Carolina, by Sir Peter Parker, at the head of a fleet of ſhips of war, and general Clinton with a body of land forces, but it failed of ſucceſs; and on the fourth of July following, the congreſs declared the colonies independent.

On the nineteenth of September a declaration was publiſhed by lord Howe and general Howe, addreſſed to the provincials; offering rational terms of accommodation, and ſoliciting them to reflect upon their conduct; but the cauſes of diſſention were ſo highly aggravated by ſome recent tranſactions both in England and America, that the provincials ſeemed not only to reject every conciliatory propoſal, but were obſtinately determined to aſſert that independence which they had avowed.

On the thirtieth of September general Howe iſſued another proclamation, offering a full pardon to all deſerters, who ſhould ſurrender themſelves at the head quarters on or before the thirty-firſt of October, 1776. But this proclamation proved equally ineffectual.

After the publication of theſe proclamations many ſkirmiſhes happened between the king's troops, and the provincials; but nothing deciſive happened till towards the end of October, when the latter were defeated, in an action, afterwards termed the Battle of the White Plains.

In the diſpatches from general Howe, dated November thirty, beſides an account of a variety of

* A few days before the opening of the ſeſſion, a petition from the general congreſs in America, ſigned by the heads of the reſpective colonies, was preſented to his majeſty, humbly ſoliciting that ſuch meaſures might be purſued as might tend to eradicate the preſent diſturbances, and effect a laſting and happy reconciliation.

† In the courſe of the ſeſſion the attention of the lords was engaged on the trial of the ducheſs of Kingſton, who was accuſed of bigamy, in having married the duke of Kingſton, while her firſt huſband, the honourable Mr. Hervey, (afterwards earl of Briſtol) was living. The trial continued five days, at the cloſe of which the priſoner being called to the bar, was informed by the lord high-ſteward, that the lords had pronounced her guilty. In conſequence of this ſhe claimed her privilege of peerage, which occaſioned the lords to adjourn to the chamber of parliament to debate on the matter. On their return the priſoner was again called to the bar, and the lord high ſteward pronounced it to be the ſenſe of the houſe, "That the ducheſs ſhould be allowed the privilege ſhe claimed." As a peereſs, ſhe could endure no kind of corporal puniſhment, and was therefore diſcharged on paying her fees.

ſkirmiſhes, information was given of the taking of Fort Waſhington, and Fort Lee, by the Britiſh forces, together with a great variety of military ſtores, and many priſoners. In December, Rhode Iſland was taken by general Clinton; about the ſame time lord Cornwallis took poſſeſſion of Eaſt-Jerſey, and general Lee was taken priſoner, by a patrole of Britiſh dragoons, commanded by lieutenant-colonel (afterwards lord) Harcourt*.

The parliament met again on the thirty-firſt of October, when his majeſty opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne, recapitulating grievances, and complaining of his proferred indulgence to the Americans being rejected with circumſtances of indignity and inſult. The nature of the ſpeech occaſioned conſiderable debates in both houſes, concerning the addreſſes which were proper to preſent to his majeſty upon the occaſion. The moſt important were in the houſe of lords; but they were at length adjuſted, as well as thoſe in the lower houſe: and the addreſſes were accordingly preſented; to each of which his majeſty returned a moſt gracious anſwer.

The firſt national buſineſs proceeded on was, the conſideration of the ſupplies, when a motion was made that forty-five thouſand ſeamen, including ten thouſand one hundred and twenty-nine marines, be employed for the ſervice of the enſuing year. The motion was carried by a great majority. At the ſame time a reſolution paſſed for allowing four pounds per man per month, for the maintenance and wages of every ſeaman.

On the twenty-ſecond of November a proclamation was iſſued by his majeſty for a general faſt to be obſerved throughout England on the thirteenth of December following. The ſame ſolemn act of humiliation was enjoined to be obſerved on the ſame day in Ireland; and on the twelfth in Scotland.

Shortly after another proclamation was iſſued for recalling and prohibiting ſeamen from ſerving foreign ſtates, and for granting rewards for diſcovering ſuch ſeamen as ſhould conceal themſelves, in a gratuity of two pounds for every able, and thirty ſhillings for every ordinary ſeamen, to be paid to any perſon on making ſuch diſcoveries; that ſuch men might be taken into his majeſty's ſervice, by any one of his majeſty's ſea-officers for raiſing men, on or before the thirty-firſt of December next†.

The parliament met on the twenty-firſt of January 1777, purſuant to adjournment, and immediately proceeded on the buſineſs of the nation. The firſt thing that engaged the particular attention of the commons was, a bill brought in for granting commiſſions, or letters of marque and reprifal, as they were uſually called, to the owners or captains of private merchant ſhips, authorizing them to take and make prizes of all veſſels with their effects, belonging to any of the inhabitants of the thirteen ſpecified revolted American colonies. This bill paſſed the commons without oppoſition; nor did it produce

* The following are the particulars of the manner in which general Lee was taken priſoner. Colonel Harcourt having penetrated the country upon a reconnoitering party with about twelve light dragoons, and happening to meet a country man on the road, entered into converſation with him, and found he was charged with a letter to general Waſhington, and that the wafer with which the letter was ſealed was ſtill wet; the ſignature being that of Mr. Lee, the colonel deſired the countryman to conduct him to that gentleman, which he complied with. The countryman was accordingly mounted behind one of the dragoons, and a party galloped to the houſe where Mr. Lee was: the guard fired upon the dragoons, by which one private was killed, and a cornet wounded; a bullet paſſed through colonel Harcourt's helmet, but did not injure him. Lee was now ſummoned to ſurrender which he complied with, delivered up his ſword, and in the moſt earneſt manner interceded for his life, deſiring to come in under the proclamation. This, of courſe, could not be complied with, he was therefore conducted to the head-quarters, and conveyed on board one of his majeſty's ſhips. He was afterwards exchanged for ſome of the king's officers, who had been taken priſoners by the provincials.

† This year terminated with an event, which, for a conſiderable time, occaſioned great confuſion, apprehenſion, and ſuſpicion. On the ninth of December intelligence was received at the admiralty office, by expreſs, that a fire broke out in the rope houſe of his majeſty's yard at Portſmouth, about half an hour after four o'clock on Saturday afternoon, which continued with great violence, and conſumed the whole, except the outer walls; but by the timely aſſiſtance, and vigorous efforts of the workmen of the yard, the ſeamen of his majeſty's ſhips, the marines quartered at Portſmouth, and the men belonging to the ordnance with their reſpective officers, it was happily prevented from extending to any other of the buildings in the yard; and was at length totally extinguiſhed. The principal loſs ſuſtained by this accident conſiſted chiefly of the rigging of two ſhips, the implements belonging to the rope makers and rigging houſe, a ſmall quantity of cordage, and ſome toppings of hemp. The alarm occaſioned by this accident was greatly increaſed by another of a ſimilar nature, that happened ſhortly after at Briſtol, which deſtroyed a conſiderable range of warehouſes, beſides many private dwellings, and, had it not been for the quick diſcovery and alacrity of the people in ſuppreſſing it, would have been productive of the moſt fatal conſequences. How theſe accidents were occaſioned was for ſome time a myſtery; but it was at length diſcovered that they originated from the machinations of a wretched enthuſiaſt and incendiary, afterwards well known by the appellation of John the Painter, but whoſe real name was James Aitken. When he was ſecured and examined, he refuſed anſwering any queſtions, and otherwiſe behaved in a very reſolute and daring manner. But there appearing ſufficient reaſon to ſuppoſe him the guilty perſon, he was committed to Wincheſter gaol. At the next aſſizes he was brought to trial, and being found guilty, was ſoon after executed at Portſmouth.

much

much debate among the lords, with whom it underwent the inconſiderable alteration, of inſerting the words, "letters of permiſſion," inſtead of "letters of marque," the latter being thought only applicable to reprifals on a foreign enemy.

On the day the above bill paſſed the lords, a motion was made in the houſe of commons, for leave to bring in a bill to enable his majeſty to detain perſons charged with, or ſuſpected of, the crime of high-treaſon committed in America, or on the high ſeas, of the crime of piracy. The bill being admitted, was, after great debates, read the firſt time; and a motion being made for the ſecond reading, it was carried by a great majority *. At the very next meeting of the members, the bill, notwithſtanding it had been petitioned againſt by the city of London, was read the third time, and, after ſome few alterations, paſſed the houſe.

It was more ſtrongly oppoſed in the upper than the lower houſe, till the queſtion was put for reading it the third time, when (among others who objected to it) lord Abingdon roſe, and declared himſelf totally againſt the bill, as repugnant to the laws of nations, and to the dictates of humanity. His lordſhip particularly dwelt upon the word "ſuſpected," as a term of ſuch latitude, that it was liable to be conſtrued to the moſt unconſtitutional meanings, and the conſequences of the bill might prove fatal to the liberties of this country: he therefore could not give his conſent to the paſſing of the bill. The bill, however, was carried, without further debate; and, on the third of March, received the royal aſſent. Among others which received the royal ſignet at the ſame time was, the "bill for enabling the lords of the admiralty to grant letters of marque to private ſhips of war, or merchant ſhips belonging to the American colonies, that were then in actual rebellion againſt Great Britain."

The next circumſtance that excited the attention of the commons was, the following meſſage from his majeſty, which was read by lord North.

"G. REX.

"It gives his majeſty much concern to find himſelf obliged to acquaint the houſe of commons with the difficulties he labours under, by reaſon of debts incurred by the expences of his houſehold, and of the civil government, which being computed on the fifth of January laſt, do amount to more than ſix hundred thouſand pounds. His majeſty relies on the loyalty and affection of his faithful commons, of which he has received ſo many ſignal proofs, for enabling him to diſcharge this debt; and that they will at the ſame time make ſome further proviſion for the better ſupport of his majeſty's houſehold, and the honour and dignity of his crown.

G. R."

This meſſage being read, a motion was made for referring it to a committee of ſupply on that day ſe'nnight. One member ſtrongly oppoſed this motion as unuſual, if not unprecedented, it having at all times been cuſtomary to take *royal* meſſages into immediate conſideration. This produced a very warm debate, at the cloſe of which, however, the motion was carried. On the day appointed for taking this matter into conſideration, the houſe went into a committee of ſupply; and after ſome debates, came to the following reſolutions: "Reſolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that the ſum of ſix hundred and eighteen thouſand two hundred and forty pounds nine ſhillings be granted to his majeſty to diſcharge the arrears and debt due, and owing, on account of the civil liſt on the fifth of January, 1775." "Reſolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that the ſum of one hundred thouſand pounds *per annum* be granted to his majeſty over and above the ſum of eight hundred thouſand pounds granted by an act made in the firſt year of his reign." When theſe reſolutions were reported from the committee of ſupply to the whole houſe, the firſt was agreed to without oppoſition; but the ſecond produced debates which continued for ſeveral hours, at the cloſe of which, however, it was agreed to by a great majority.

A bill was immediately framed, which ſoon paſſed both houſes, and on the ſeventh of May received the royal aſſent. This gratuity on the part of the commons to the ſovereign was accompanied by an addreſs from the ſpeaker †, which ſeemed very ingeniouſly adapted to reconcile ſo extraordinary a meaſure, at ſuch a criſis, to the minds of the people, under the idea of loyalty; while it recommended a practice of which the political manœuvres of the times could not boaſt in any eminent degree. Indeed, it appeared to the diſcerning and impartial, an admirable ſpecimen of ſtate fineſſe ‡.

While this bill was in agitation, a motion was made by Sir James Lowther, "that an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, for an augmentation of the annual

* This bill occaſioned great diſcontents among the people, and during the ſhort time it was in agitation, a petition againſt it was preſented to the commons from the city of London.

† For this ſpeech Sir Fletcher Norton received the thanks of the houſe, and was deſired to print it. *Adolphus's Hiſtory*, ii. 485.

‡ The following is a copy of ſir *Fletcher Norton's* addreſs, who was at that time ſpeaker of the houſe of commons:

"*Moſt gracious ſovereign,*

"The bill which it is now my duty to preſent to your majeſty, is entitled, "An act for the better ſupport of his majeſty's houſehold, and the honour and dignity of the crown

annual incomes of their royal highneſſes the dukes of Glouceſter and Cumberland." This motion, however, was rejected by a great majority.

No other buſineſs of importance occurred during the remainder of this ſeſſion. The public affairs being, therefore, finiſhed, on the ſixth of June, his majeſty repaired to the houſe of peers, and after ſigning ſuch bills as were ready, prorogued the parliament.

Let us now advert to our affairs in America, where the war was proſecuting with the utmoſt vigour. In the beginning of this year ſeveral ſkirmiſhes happened in the Jerſeys with various ſucceſs. On the twenty-third and twenty-fourth of March a great quantity of proviſions, ſtores, &c. with barracks and ſtore-houſes belonging to the provincials, were deſtroyed by the king's troops, at Peck's Hill, on the North River. The cruizers belonging to lord Howe and commodore Hotham's fleet continued to take many prizes. In Connecticut, on the twenty-ſeventh of April, the king's troops deſtroyed a great quantity of ſtores at Danbury. General Burgoyne, with the northern army, proceeded to Ticonderago and Fort Independence, which he took poſſeſſion of on the ſixth of July, and found great quantities of ſtores and proviſions, beſides what he deſtroyed at Skeneſborough. He then took poſſeſſion of Fort Edward, which the provincials abandoned, and proceeded to Saratoga, where they were ſtrongly poſted. On the eleventh of September, an engagement took place between the troops under general Howe and the provincials on the heights of Brandywine, in which many were killed and wounded on both ſides, and four hundred provincials were taken priſoners. But though the latter were defeated, and the action at firſt ſeemed of an indeciſive nature, it occaſioned Philadelphia to fall into the hands of the Britiſh forces. An attack was alſo made by the provincials on Staten Iſland nearly at the ſame time; but they were repulſed with great ſlaughter. And about the ſame period, general Clinton ſtormed and took Fort Chaton and Fort Montgomery.

On the ſixteenth of October, the provincials, under the command of general Gates, having ſurrounded general Burgoyne's army at Saratoga, the latter thought proper to enter into articles of capitulation: by which, after laying down their arms, he and his troops were to have a free paſſage to Great Britain. Towards the cloſe of the year ſeveral forts were taken by the troops and ſhipping; and many ſkirmiſhes happened on the banks of the Delaware, in order to preſerve the communication with the army at Philadelphia. The provincials likewiſe evacuated their entrenchments at Red Bank.

During this year great diſturbances happened in the Eaſt Indies, where lord Pigot, governor of Madras was depoſed, impriſoned, and ſoon after died. His death was imputed to various cauſes, but as it happened in a region where the moſt palpable crimes have often been connived at, it is ſuppoſed to have eſcaped that minute inveſtigation which it demanded.

The parliament aſſembling on the twentieth of November, his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech. The houſe then reſolved itſelf into a committee of ſupply, when a ſhort ſtate of the navy, both as to the number of ſhips and men employed, and where ſtationed, being given, a motion was made, "That it is the reſolution of this committee, that ſixty thouſand ſeamen be employed for the ſervice of the year *." This motion produced very warm debates, at the cloſe of which it was carried without a diviſion. The ſupplies being granted, and ſeveral bills read, (among which was that for ſuſpending the habeas corpus) on the tenth of December his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and after ſigning the reſpective bills, adjourned the parliament.

A motion was made by the earl of Abingdon, on the fourth of February, when the parliament again aſſembled, "That this houſe, taking into conſideration the legality of the preſent mode of benevolences, or of raiſing forces by ſubſcription, do look upon this practice as contrary to law, and the principles of the conſtitution." This motion produced conſiderable debates, but was at length rejected by a great majority.

On the ſecond of February, it was moved in the houſe of commons, that an addreſs ſhould be preſented to his majeſty, requeſting that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to order the proper officers to lay before the houſe the accounts received from the admiral on the Jamaica ſtation, relative to the ſhipping under his command. The queſtion was carried without a diviſion. Mr. Pulteney then took the chair;

crown of Great Britain, to which your commons humbly beg your royal aſſent.

"By this bill, ſir, and the reſpectful circumſtances which preceded and accompanied it, your commons have given the fulleſt and cleareſt proof of their zeal and affection for your majeſty; for in a time of public diſtreſs, full of difficulty and danger, their conſtituents labouring under burthens almoſt too heavy to be borne, your faithful commons poſtponed all other buſineſs, and, with as much diſpatch as the nature of their proceedings would admit, have not only granted to your majeſty a large preſent ſupply, but alſo a very great additional revenue; great beyond example; great beyond your majeſty's higheſt expence.

"But all this, ſir, they have done in a well-grounded confidence, that you will *apply wiſely* what they have *granted liberally*, and feeling what every good ſubject muſt feel with the greateſt ſatisfaction, that under the direction of your majeſty's wiſdom, the affluence and grandeur of the ſovereign will reflect dignity and honour upon his people."

* A. D. 1778.

having gone into a committee of the whole houſe to take into conſideration the ſtate of the nation, Mr. Charles Fox, on whoſe motion the committee was formed, opened the debate. He took a retroſpective view of the American war; followed it in all its ſtages; pointed out the events, as well fortunate as unfortunate, of each reſpective year; demonſtrated from his ſtatement the incapacity of adminiſtration to conduct the war, their ignorance of men, meaſures, and the country of America; and enumerated the errors and blunders into which this unpardonable ignorance had plunged them. He pointed out the defenceleſs ſtate of the Britiſh empire in Europe, from the abſence of the troops and navy; and concluded his ſpeech with moving, that as it would be impoſſible to complete the propoſed levies in due time to replace the regiments that might in the interim be ſent away, the houſe, conſidering the ſtate to which ſuch a meaſure would reduce the nation, would not ſuffer any troops from Great Britain, Ireland, Minorca, or Gibraltar, to be ſent to America *."

The buſineſs of the new levies came on two days after: it was oppoſed by ſome of the minority, but the houſe, after a long debate, granted to his majeſty a ſum of money for the pay and maintenance of the new corps.

On the ſixteenth a full houſe aſſembled to hear Mr. Burke's promiſed motion; and the honourable member began with an awful ſolemnity to prepare their minds, and incline them to adopt his ſentiments. After an intereſting exordium, he deſcribed the ſavage ungovernable rage of the Indians let looſe upon the unarmed, the aged, the infant, and the helpleſs female; he repreſented them rioting in murder, luſt, and rapine: he drew, in the moſt affecting terms, the ſufferings of the unhappy victims whom they devoted to death; a death which his pathetic eloquence repreſented with an aſpect horrid almoſt beyond conception. Raiſed by his own imagery to a high degree of indignation, he inveighed moſt vehemently on thoſe who, by ordering a treaty with the barbarians, might be juſtly deemed the authors of all the calamities which attended the inhuman meaſure. Adminiſtration, and ſeveral principal commanders were minutely exhibited; and the ſhare they had undertaken in the barbarities complained of were held up to execration. Towards the concluſion of his harangue, which had delighted and aſtoniſhed the auditors for about three hours, he moved, that copies of the treaties entered into with the Indians ſhould be laid before the houſe The motion was warmly oppoſed by adminiſtration, and as vigorouſly defended by the minority. The arguments of the latter differed but little from thoſe of Mr. Burke; they were all framed after his model; the differences lay only in the colouring and fancy. The oppoſite ſide vindicated the Indians from the reflections thrown on them; and inſtances of their humanity, and the ſtrict diſcipline they were obliged to ſubmit to, were adduced. The facts urged as proofs of the untameable and ungovernable rage of the Indians, it was ſaid, were greatly exaggerated; they owed much of their horror to the fancy of the orator; and, ſuch as they were, ought to be deemed the acts of a few lawleſs banditti of their body, who equally diſclaimed obedience to our commanders and to their own; and therefore were not to be attributed to the nation, who, to the knowledge of many members of the houſe, had often acted with a degree of humanity which might make even a chriſtian bluſh. The emancipation of the negroes, by lord Dunmore, was juſtified on the ground of neceſſity; it was impoſſible to raiſe men otherwiſe to recover our juſt rights; every private conſideration ſhould yield to the promotion of the public good. The debate was warm, intereſting, and of great extent; the queſtion being put, the motion was rejected by a majority of eighty-ſix.

On the nineteenth, lord North preſented to the houſe, "a bill to enable his majeſty to appoint commiſſioners to treat, conſent, and agree on the means of quieting the diſorders then ſubſiſting in certain of the colonies, plantations, and provinces of America." As alſo, "a bill for declaring the intention of the parliament of Great Britain, concerning the exerciſe of the right of impoſing taxes on the colonies, plantations, and provinces of America," which after ſeveral days debate, and ſome amendments, were carried.

On the twenty-ſecond of March an embargo was laid by the French on all ſhipping belonging to the ſubjects of his Britannic majeſty at that time in their ports; and having previouſly fitted out a large fleet, it was thought neceſſary to call out the militia of England, and encamp them, in order to oppoſe any intended invaſion; and on the twenty-ſeventh of March, an order was iſſued for detaining in the ports of England, all French ſhips.

His majeſty, having ſuddenly formed a reſolution of viewing ſome of the principal dock-yards, repaired to Chatham and Sheerneſs, and having ſurveyed what was thought moſt worthy of obſervation at thoſe places, he, together with the queen, &c. viſited Portſmouth on the ſecond of May, and after reviewing the fleet, returned on the ninth to London †.

On

* This important reſolution was not oppoſed by arguments, but by votes. The queſtion was called for, and upon a diviſion it was rejected. The numbers for the reſolution were one hundred and ſixty-five againſt two hundred and fifty-nine.

† On the twelfth of May the nation ſuſtained a moſt important

On the twenty-eighth of May, the royal aſſent was given to a bill for the relief of the Roman Catholics; and about the ſame time an embargo was laid on all foreign veſſels in the ports of England.

Having narrated the material tranſactions of the parliament, and other domeſtic occurrences, we muſt now advert to our naval and military affairs. Admiral Keppel having ſailed with a fleet deficient in point of force, for the purpoſe of attacking the French, returned to England for a reinforcement, which having obtained, he again put to ſea. On the twenty-ſeventh of July, the two grand fleets met, and engaged off Uſhant; the iſſue of which, in conſequence of an accuſation laid by ſir Hugh Palliſer, vice-admiral, againſt the chief commander, produced great diſſentions. The engagement was mentioned in ſuch cenſorious terms by ſir Hugh Palliſer, as to reflect on the reputation of the admiral. Mr. Keppel, however, vindicated his character in parliament on the ſecond of December, notwithſtanding which, ſir Hugh Palliſer exhibited his charge againſt him on the ſeventeeth of the ſame month at the admiralty. The bill for his trial was land received the royal aſſent on the twenty-fourth enſuing; his trial accordingly commenced on the firſt of February, when he was unanimouſly acquitted with the greateſt honour, and the proſecution pronounced to be malicious *.

During theſe tranſactions at home, hoſtilities were proſecuting with vigour in America. On the eighteenth of June, general Clinton evacuated Philadelphia. He was attacked on his march by the provincials, whoſe object appeared to be the gaining poſſeſſion of the Britiſh baggage; but in this they were diſappointed, and every where repulſed by means of the judicious manner in which general Clinton had diſpoſed his forces.

In conſequence of the bill empowering his majeſty to appoint commiſſioners to treat of a pacification with America, the earl of Carliſle, Mr. Eden, and governor Johnſtone, went officiouſly to America, for the purpoſe of effecting an accomodation with the Americans. But ſo far from accompliſhing that moſt deſireable object, the meaſures purſued tended to extend the unhappy breach. The bill for declaring the intention of the Britiſh parliament of impoſing the taxes on the colonies, could not poſſibly fail of producing ſuch an effect, as it ſtruck at the original primary cauſe of the rupture.

The iſland of St. Pierre and Miquelon were taken from the French about this time, by admiral Montague's fleet; to form a kind of counterbalance to which, the iſland of Dominica was captured by an armament of French and Americans from Martinico.

On the eleventh of December, admiral Barrington, who ſucceeded lord Howe in the command of the Britiſh fleet, and a body of forces under general Grant, ſeized on the iſland of St. Lucia, one of the Antilles belonging to the French. Count D'Eſtaing attempted to retake it, but was repulſed with conſiderable loſs both by ſea and land.

The provinces of Georgia ſurrendered to a detachment of Britiſh troops, on the fourth of January †, and many inhabitants of that colony and of the Carolinas came in and joined the royaliſts. On the third of March, general Prevoſt, by ſurpriſe, obtained a complete victory over the Americans under general Athe. In the beginning of May, ſir Henry Clinton concerted with ſir George Collier, who then commanded the marine at New York, an expedition to the Cheſapeak, and a deſcent upon Virginia, as meaſures which would embarraſs and diſtreſs the enemy, much more than any other that could be undertaken. A ſufficient quantity of naval and land forces for the intended purpoſes, were accordingly diſpatched from New York, under the conduct of ſir George Collier and major-general Matthew.

important loſs in the death of the illuſtrious earl of Chatham; a ſtateſman unrivalled in the annals of hiſtory. To aggrandize his country appears throughout the whole of his political conduct to have been his ultimate view. He was not only eminent for the diſplay of eloquence in the ſenate, but the formation and execution of plans which at once aſtoniſhed and terrified the common enemy, and rendered the Britiſh arms the dread and admiration of the world.

Particulars reſpecting the death of lord Chatham, extracted from a letter from lord Camden to a nobleman of the higheſt rank. "I ſaw him in the prince's chamber, before he went into the houſe, and converſed a little with him: but ſuch was the feeble ſtate of his body, and indeed the diſtempered agitation of his mind, that I did forbode his ſtrength would certainly fail him before he had finiſhed his ſpeech. The earl ſpoke, but was not like himſelf. His ſpeech faultered, his ſentences broken, and his mind not maſter of itſelf. His words were ſhreds of unconnected eloquence, and flaſhes of the ſame fire, that he, Prometheus-like, had ſtolen from heaven, and were then returning to the place from whence they were taken. He fell back upon his ſeat, and was to all appearance in the pangs of death. This threw the whole houſe into confuſion. Many crowded about the earl. Even thoſe who might have felt a ſecret pleaſure in the accident, yet put on the appearance of diſtreſs—except only the earl of Mansfield, who ſat ſtill, almoſt as much unmoved, as the ſenſeleſs body itſelf." *Belſham's Memoirs*, ii. 335.

* On the acquittal of admiral Keppel, the moſt general demonſtrations of joy took place, and the greateſt illuminations were diſplayed in moſt of the cities, towns, &c. throughout the kingdom. He likewiſe received the united thanks of the houſe of lords, houſe of commons, the lord mayor and common council of London (who preſented him with the freedom of the city, in a box made of the heart of oak, and richly decorated with gold,) and of many other cities, towns, corporations, &c.

† A. D. 1779.

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The fleet having ſucceſsfully paſſed between the capes of Virginia, the Raiſonable man of war, with ſome armed tenders, were left in Hampton Road to block up that port, and to intercept the navigation of the river James, while ſir George Collier, having ſhifted his pendant to a frigate, proceeded with the ſmaller ſhips of war and tranſports up Elizabeth River. The town of Portſmouth was their immediate object, but the fleet being delayed by ſome circumſtances of wind or tide in its paſſage, the general and troops, impatient of delay, were landed at ſome diſtance, and marched directly towards the place. The town was open and defenceleſs, but the paſſage to it by water was covered by Fort Nelſon, which had been conſtructed at about half a mile diſtance for that purpoſe. The garriſon of the fort, knowing that no ſuccour was at hand, and that the fort was incapable of any effectual defence, abandoned it on the approach of the army, which inſtantly took poſſeſſion of that and the town. The town, or remains of Norfolk, on the oppoſite ſide of the river, alſo fell into their hands. On the approach of the fleet and army, the enemy burned ſeveral veſſels in theſe ports, among which were two large French ſhips laden with a thouſand hogſheads of tobacco; the celerity of the invaders having early checked the deſtruction, ſeveral others were preſerved, and fell into the hands of the victors. In the mean time the Britiſh guards marched eighteen miles by night to the town of Suffolk, on the Nanſemond River, and arrived there at day break. They found the place had been haſtily abandoned at their approach; and they immediately proceeded to the deſtruction of a very large magazine of proviſions, together with the veſſels and naval ſtores. Within a fortnight that the fleet and army continued upon the coaſt, the loſs ſuſtained by the Americans in proviſions and ſtores was prodigious. Above one hundred and thirty ſhips and veſſels of all ſorts were deſtroyed or taken. All thoſe upon the ſtocks were burned, and every thing relative to the building or fitting of ſhips, that was not portable, was deſtroyed. When the above circumſtances were communicated to ſir Henry Clinton by ſir George Collier's letter, the general ſent an immediate order for their return; and the fleet and army, with their prizes, arrived ſafe at New York, before the expiration of the month.

The provincials had, for ſome time, been engaged in conſtructing very ſtrong works at the two important poſts of Verplanks Neck and Stoney Fort in the Highlands. All theſe works were nearly completed, but not yet defenſible, when the general thought it a proper ſeaſon to avail himſelf of the induſtry of the enemy, and to reap the fruits of their toil. The troops deſtined for this ſervice under the command of major-general Vaughan, were lately embarked, when they were joined by the force returned from Cheſapeak, and proceeded all together up the North River, the naval department being under ſir George Collier. On the following morning, general Vaughan, with the greater part of the army, landed on the eaſt ſide of the river, about eight miles below Verplanks, whilſt the remainder under general Patiſon, and accompanied by ſir Henry Clinton, advancing farther up, landed within three miles of Stoney Point. On the appearance of the ſhips the enemy abandoned their works, but ſet fire to a large block-houſe. On the approach of the troops to take poſſeſſion of Stoney Point, they, however, made ſome ſhew of reſiſtance, but did not think proper to diſpute the matter. The Americans had finiſhed a ſmall complete work on the oppoſite ſide of the river, on which they beſtowed the name of Fort la Fayette. This was defended by four pieces of artillery, and a ſmall garriſon of between ſeventy and eighty men. But this little redoubt, though ſtrong in itſelf, was effectually commanded by Stoney Point, which lay at the diſtance of about a thouſand yards on the oppoſite ſhore, and it being exceedingly difficult to approach from its own ſide, the attack was acordingly intended from the other. For this purpoſe, general Patiſon, with the moſt indefatigable perſeverance during the night, overcome the difficulties of dragging the heavy artillery from a very wretched landing place to the top of the hill; and his exertions and arrangements were ſo effectual and judicious, that by five on the following morning, he had opened a battery of cannon, and another of mortars, on the ſummit of the different rocks of Stoney Point, which poured a ſtorm of fire over Fort la Fayette. The attack was ſupported by ſir George Collier, who advanced with the gallies and gun-boats within reach of the fort. The cannonade was continued during the day, at the cloſe of which, ſir George ordered two of the gallies to paſs the fort and anchor above it, to prevent the eſcape of the garriſon by water. In the mean time general Vaughan with his diviſion, having made a long circuit through the hills, at length arrived and cloſely inveſted the fort on the land ſide. The garriſon ſeeing all poſſibility of eſcape was now cut off, and that their fire was totally overpowered, ſurrendered their little fortreſs on the following morning, and themſelves priſoners of war, without any other ſtipulation than that of demanding humane treatment*.

The ſtate of the armies in America, on both ſides, with reſpect to actual force, together with the ſcarcity of money and military proviſions on one ſide,

* Having theſe poſts, the enemy in the Jerſeys were under a neceſſity of making a detour of above ninety miles through the mountains, to communicate with the country eaſt of Hudſon's river.

neceſſarily limited the views of the oppoſite commanders, andd prevented their undertaking any deciſive or expenſive operations. The campaign was therefore languid, and rather confined to the ſurprizing of poſts, and to deſultory excurſions. While the greater part of the Britiſh army, however, were engaged in moving from one iſland to another, and eſtabliſhing different poſts, general Lincoln, the American commander, thought proper to attack lieutenant-colonel Maitland, who was ſtrongly poſted at the paſs of Stoney Ferry. The colonel's force amounted only to about eight hundred, while the American force is repreſented as amounting to five thouſand men and eight pieces of cannon. The attack was made and ſupported with ſpirit. The royaliſts loſt ſome officers as well as men, and about an hundred of both were wounded. The Americans loſt ſome officers of note, and a conſiderable number of privates.

Great diſpatch had been uſed in completing or reſtoring the works at Stoney Point, and that port was now in a reſpectable ſtate of defence, with a powerful garriſon under the command of lieutenant-colonel Johnſon. General Wayne, on the part of the Americans, was appointed to the arduous taſk of ſurprizing and reducing Stoney Point. The troops, having ſet out from Sandy Reach on the fifteenth of July about noon, after a moſt grievous march of fourteen miles, the van, about eight in the evening, arrived within a mile and a half of their object, where they halted, and the troops were formed into two columns as they arrived. While they were in this poſition, Wayne, with ſome of his principal officers, went to reconnoitre the works, and to obſerve the ſituation of the garriſon. It was near midnight before the two columns approached the place; that on the right was led by general Wayne, the van, conſiſting of one hundred and fifty picked men, led by the moſt adventurous officers, and commanded by lieutenant-colonel Fluery, advanced to the attack with loaded muſkets and fixed bayonets. The column on the left was led alſo by a choſen van with loaded muſkets and fixed bayonets, under the command of major Steward. The general iſſued the moſt pointed orders to both columns not to fire a ſingle ſhot on any account, but to rely entirely on their bayonets. Such was the aſtoniſhing reſolution of the Americans, that neither the deep moraſs, nor the ſtrong works, in front and flank, could damp the ardour of their troops, who, in the face of the moſt inceſſant and tremendous fire of muſquetry, and of cannon loaded with grape-ſhot, forced their way at the point of the bayonets, until the van of each column met in the center of the works, where they arrived at nearly the ſame inſtant *. The total number of priſoners amounted to five hundred and forty-three, and the ſlain of the garriſon to ſixty-three: and trophies, artillery, and ſtores, were as conſiderable as could be expected, from the nature and extent of the poſt.

The Americans were ſo elated on account of their ſucceſs at Stoney Point, that they undertook an attack on Paulus Hook, which lies almoſt oppoſite to the city of New York, on the Jerſey ſide. They failed, however, in the execution.

Sir George Collier ſailed from Sandyhook on the third of Auguſt, arrived in Penobſcot Bay on the fourteenth, ſurprized, routed, and deſtroyed the American fleet. One frigate of twenty guns and another of eighteen were taken. The Warren, of thirty-two guns, ſeven others of ſmaller force, ſix armed veſſels, and twenty-four tranſports, were ſunk or deſtroyed.

By the ſudden appearance of the French fleet, on the fourteenth of September, off Carolina and Georgia, the Experiment man of war of fifty guns, and three royal frigates, apprehenſive of no danger, and upon ſeparate ſervices, had the misfortune of falling in with them, and adding to their triumph and number.

General Prevoſt was now at the town of Savannah, but the greater part of his force was on the iſland of Port Royal in South Carolina, where it had lately taken poſt. The intercepting of an expreſs to colonel Maitland from the general, delayed the previous meaſures ſo long, that the enemy had leiſure to ſeize the principal communications before they could take effect. This rendered the junction of colonel Maitland's corps with the garriſon a matter of doubt, difficulty, and danger. But the colonel's addreſs, the zeal of his troops, with the diſtinguiſhed ſervices of lieutenant Goldeſborough, of the navy, ſurmounted every difficulty.

The whole French force, amounting to forty ſail, anchored off the bar of Tybee, at the mouth of the Savannah, on the ninth of September. On the fourteenth, the French, with Polaſki's American light horſe, appeared ſo near the Britiſh lines, as to ſkirmiſh with the piquets. The day following, M. D'Eſtaign, in an imperious ſtile, ſummoned the general in the name of the French king. Colonel Maitland's diviſion had not yet joined the garriſon: it was therefore thought eſſential to gain as much time as poſſible, and general Prevoſt had the addreſs to carry this point. Meſſages paſſed backwards and forwards, till at length a truce of twenty-four hours

* General Wayne received a wound in the head by a muſket-ball, but was gallantly ſupported by two of his aid-de-camps, Fiſhbourn and Archer, to whom he acknowledged the utmoſt gratitude in his public letters. Colonel Fluery, a French officer, was the perſon who ſtruck the Britiſh ſtandard with his own hand. Lieutenants Gibbons and Knox diſplayed great courage, one of whom led the avant-guard on the right, as did the other on the left, and both eſcaped unhurt, though the firſt loſt ſeventeen men out of twenty in the attack.

was agreed on, to afford leiſure for deliberation. During this interval the fortunate arrival of colonel Maitland with the troops, preſented a new face of affairs, and an anſwer was returned, that they were unanimouſly determined to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity. The French force conſiſted of three thouſand five hundred men, that of the Americans under general Lincoln, of four thouſand eight hundred. The ſpirit, vigour, and exertion of every individual of the garriſon, merited the higheſt encomium. Nor were the enemy inactive, for at midnight, between the third and fourth of October, they commenced a heavy bombardment, and at daylight opened a vehement cannonade, which was continued for five days. On the ninth, the allies attacked the Britiſh lines with great fury at day-break. The grand attack was directed to the right, where D'Eſtaing in perſon led the flower of both armies, and was accompanied by all the principal officers of each. The attack was begun with great ſpirit, and ſupported with an extraordinary degree of perſeverance and obſtinacy; till at length the enemy were broken, routed, and driven in the greateſt diſorder and confuſion into a ſwamp. At ten they required a truce, with permiſſion to bury their dead, and remove their wounded; the firſt was granted, but a reſtriction laid with reſpect to diſtance as to the reſt. Count Polaſki was mortally wounded in this action. Monſ. D'Eſtaing was twice wounded. The loſs on the ſide of the Britiſh was very ſmall. The French and Americans abandoned their camp on the night of the ſeventeenth, and about the firſt of November, M. D'Eſtaing quitted the coaſt of America.

Early in the month of October, captain Farmer of his majeſty's ſhip Quebec, being on a cruize off Uſhant, in company with the Rambler cutter, cloſely engaged a large French frigate called the Surveillante, mounting forty guns; while the Rambler was engaged with a French cutter, as ſuperior in force as the French frigate was to the Quebec. The action on both ſides was warm and bloody, from ten in the morning till two in the afternoon, when the French cutter ſet all the ſail ſhe could crowd, and bore away; but the Rambler being much diſabled in her maſts and rigging, could not follow her with any hopes of ſucceſs. The commander, therefore, ſeeing both the frigates diſmaſted, and the Quebec take fire, endeavoured to get as near the Quebec as poſſible, in hopes of ſaving ſome of her men; but no other aſſiſtance could be afforded them than by hoiſting out the boat, which picked up one maſter's mate, two midſhipmen, and fourteen more of the Quebec's people, the enemy's frigate at the ſame time firing at the boat. The Quebec continued burning very fiercely, with her colours flying till ſix o'clock, when ſhe blew up *.

In October, the baymen or logwood-cutters on the Moſquito, and bay of Honduras ſhores, being in great danger from the Spaniards, the governor of Jamaica had diſpatched captain Dalrymple, commandant of a new corps raiſed in Ireland for the ſervice of that iſland, with a ſmall force and ſome arms to their relief. Admiral ſir Peter Parker had alſo detached a ſmall ſquadron of three frigates and a ſchooner, under the conduct of captain Luttrell, as commodore to the bay of Honduras, to intercept ſome Spaniſh regiſter ſhips; which, however, eſcaped into the excellent harbour, and under the protection of the ſtrong fortreſs of S. Fernando de Omoa, where they were found too well ſecured for any attack by ſea, which their then ſmall ſquadron was capable of making. In the courſe of a few days, the commodore fell in at ſea with the Porcupine ſloop of war, and the detachment of the loyal Iriſh under her convoy. The commanders immediately reſolved to unite their forces in an attack by ſea and land upon Omoa, a bold attempt with their inconſiderable force; but in which ſucceſs preſented a proſpect of throwing the galleons, which were ſtill under its ſhelter, into their hands. The fortreſs of Omoa, could not be conſidered as a fort or caſtle for the defence of the harbour, the town itſelf being entirely open. Its batteries exhibited above forty pieces of artillery, but it ſeems to have been deficient in that reſpect, as well as in point of garriſon. The land force of the aſſailants by the junction of the baymen with the marines, which were allotted by the commodore for that ſervice, amounted to five hundred men; the defenſive force, without including the uſeleſs inhabitants, was not much inferior in number. In advancing to the fort, the Engliſh were ſo much annoyed by the guns from the tower, that they found themſelves compelled to ſet it on fire. The commander of the expedition conceiving that a regular ſiege would not anſwer his deſign, determined on a *coup de main*, and to attempt the place by eſcalade. Meaſures being accordingly concerted with the commodore, the Pomona frigate was towed in near the fort during the night, and the heavier ſhips took their proper ſtations, to enable them to commence the attack on their ſide about three in the morning, giving a ſignal twenty minutes before, which was to direct that from the land. In the mean time, one hundred and fifty men in four columns, in line, and carrying the ſcaling ladders, were moved down the hill, where they lay waiting for the ſignal. That being given, they ſuddenly advanced with trailed arms, under the fire of their own batteries,

* Words cannot ſufficiently diſplay the gallantry and magnanimity of captain Farmer on this occaſion, not only in the engagement, but the fatal cataſtrophe with which it was attended.

which

which with the heavy cannonade from the ships, ſerved to deafen as well as to diſtract the enemy: in conſequence of which they paſſed undiſcovered by the Spaniſh ſentries to the very entrance of the ditch. On their being diſcovered, the columns ſeemed for a moment to heſitate, but inſtantly recovered, and advanced to fix their ladders to the walls. Two ſeamen having mounted the wall, levelled their muſkets without firing, at a body of above ſixty Spaniards, and ſuch was the conſternation that prevailed, that they kept them for ſome moments in awe, and even motionleſs, while their friends were aſcending the ladders. The garriſon, notwithſtanding all the efforts of their officers, fled on all ſides. In theſe circumſtances, the governor and principal officers, aſking only for their lives, preſented their ſwords and keys to the commandant, with a ſurrender of the fort, garriſon, and ſhips. The treaſure had been removed from the caſtle on the approach of the Britiſh forces, but that which was on board the galleons, with the cargoes of their veſſels in the harbour, were eſtimated at about three millions of piaſtres *.

The ſixteenth of February †, was favourable to admiral Rodney, who, on that day, obtained a ſignal victory over the Spaniſh fleet commanded by Don Juan Langara, off Cape St. Vincent; in conſequence of which, the fortreſs of Gibraltar, then beſieged by the Spaniards, and the people in great diſtreſs for want of proviſions, were happily relieved. The admiral then proceeded on his deſtined voyage, and ſoon after his arrival, a ſmart engagement took place on the twenty-ſeventh of May, between the Engliſh fleet commanded by admiral Rodney, and that of the French under M. de Guichen, near Martinico. This engagemant proved unfavourable to the French, though no capture was made on either ſide ‡.

On the eleventh of May, Charles Town ſurrendered to ſir Henry Clinton; on this occaſion, many officers, a commodore, ſeveral continental regiments, and three battalions of artillery, with a great number of American and French ſeamen were taken; in all upwards of ſix thouſand men in arms, beſides ſeveral armed ſhips, and four hundred pieces of cannon.

About this time, between five and ſix thouſand men, under generals Clinton, Knyphauſen, Robertſon, and Tyron, paſſed over by night, from Staten Iſland to Elizabeth Town, in New Jerſey, in order to attack ſome of Waſhington's advanced poſts; and on the following morning they advanced a few miles to Connecticut Farms, a ſettlement which had been lately formed by ſome inhabitants of that province §.

The army now directed their march towards Springfield, but were annoyed on the road by the militia. On their arrival, they found general Maxwell at the head of the Jerſey brigade, and reinforced by all the militia which in a few hours could be collected; which induced the Britiſh army to halt: but the Americans, though inferior in ſtrength, did not permit them by any means to hold the poſt they had taken without moleſtation. They kept up a continual fire during the day, though they avoided coming to cloſe action. The Britiſh officers now abandoned the deſign of attacking Springfield, and the army returned to Elizabeth Town in the night. As ſoon as the day-light appeared, the Americans purſued them to that place: but being too confident of ſucceſs, they experienced a check in their career. On the twenty-third of the ſame month, the Britiſh forces left Elizabeth Town, and marched again towards Springfield, which place, after ſome oppoſition, they obtained poſſeſſion of; but, from ſome unknown cauſe, it experienced the ſame fate with

* A ſingular inſtance of true courage and magnanimity in a Britiſh ſailor, occurred on this occaſion. He ſcrambled ſingly over the wall, and, for the better annoyance of the enemy on all ſides, he armed himſelf with a cutlaſs in each hand. Thus equipped, he fell in with a Spaniſh officer, juſt rouzed from ſleep, and who, in the hurry and confuſion, had forgotten his ſword. This circumſtance reſtrained the fury of the tar, who diſdained to attack an unarmed foe, but, unwilling to decline any opportunity of diſplaying his courage in ſingle combat, he preſented one of the cutlaſſes to him, ſaying at the ſame time, "I ſcorn any advantage, you are now on a footing "with me." The aſtoniſhment of the officer at ſuch an act of generoſity, when he expected nothing leſs than that of being cut off inſtantly, and without pity or mercy, could only be equalled by the admiration, which his relating the ſtory excited in his countrymen.

† A. D. 1780.

‡ In all the debates of the ſeſſion of 1780, the moſt licentious inveſtives were indulged: it ſeemed to be the wiſh of political opponents to urge parliamentary altercation as much as poſſible, that it might amount to the unpardonable extremes of perſonal animoſity. In conſequence of a miſrepreſentation of words ſaid to have been ſpoken, through the ignorance or malice of the newspaper reporter, a duel was engendered between Mr. Adam and Mr. Fox, in which the latter was ſlightly wounded in the body.

§ In their march they were continually fired at by ſcattering parties of the neighbouring militia. This thriving ſettlement, together with the town and the preſbyterian church, were now deſtroyed. One circumſtance, however, ſerved to make this expedition appear more odious in the eyes of the Americans, than it otherwiſe would have done. The wife of the clergyman belonging to the preſbyterian church, was ſitting in her houſe with her children and family, when, either by accident or deſign, ſhe was ſhot dead through one of the windows. This ſerved as a new ground of clamour to the Americans, and tended to increaſe that averſion to the Britiſh government, which had already taken too deep a root.

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the Connecticut farms: the whole village, excepting about four houſes, was reduced to aſhes.

A ſignal victory was obtained on the ſixteenth of Auguſt over the American army under general Gates, by the Britiſh forces under lord Cornwallis. The loſs of the Americans was about nine hundred ſlain, among whom was brigadier general Gregory; a thouſand were alſo taken priſoners. Soon after this action, lieutenant colonel Tarleton defeated general Sumpter's army, which was much ſuperior to his own, taking two pieces of cannon, and about three hundred priſoners.

Arnold, one of the chief commanders of the American forces, now thought proper to quit that ſervice, and repair to the Britiſh ſtandard; and major André, a young Engliſh officer, concerted a plan for ſurpriſing the American army. This ſcheme, however, did not ſucceed, and André being apprehended as a ſpy, his caſe was referred to a board of general officers, held by an order of general Waſhington. When aſked by the board, whether he confeſſed ſeveral particulars that were alledged againſt him, he replied in the moſt open and ingenuous manner, acknowledging, that the motive by which he was actuated, was, the ſervice of his king, and declaring, that with reſpect to the diſguiſe he aſſumed in name and habit, he was involuntarily an impoſter; after his examination he was remanded into cuſtody. Several letters paſſed on the occaſion, between the commanders in chief of the reſpective armies and thoſe of inferior rank, but without effect; the unfortunate priſoner was executed, in purſuance of the ſentence of the board, and fell a victim to his zealous attachment to the cauſe he eſpouſed *.

Inteſtine tumults prevailed in London about this time. A bill which paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament for a relaxation of the penal laws againſt the roman catholics, had excited the jealouſy and indignation of the more zealous, but leſs moderate of the proteſtants. Theſe malcontents found a leader in lord George Gordon, who pledged himſelf to bring in a bill for the repeal of that noxious act †. As his lordſhip did not ſucceed in his endeavours, the multitude proceeded to acts of riot, rapine, and depredation, pulling down, and conſuming the Romiſh chapels, a great number of houſes, and ſeveral priſons, among which were Newgate ‡, the King's Bench, and the Fleet. All buſineſs for a time, ſubſided, and nothing but inebriation and anarchy prevailed among the outrageous multitude. At laſt, through the exertion of the military power, many of theſe deluded people were unfortunately marked as victims, and killed on the ſpot, others were taken, brought to trial, and, being found guilty in conſequence of the evidence produced, received ſentence of death. Nineteen were executed in London and Middleſex; and ſix in Southwark.

On Friday, during theſe diſturbances, lord George Gordon, who was conſidered as the inſtigator of them, was taken into cuſtody, and after a long examination before the privy council, committed to the tower. On the fifth of February following he was tried at the court of King's-bench, Weſtminſter, for high-treaſon, and levying war, inſurrection, and rebellion againſt the king, by aſſembling a great number of armed perſons on the ſecond of June in the preceding year, and diſturbing the peace, &c. The trial laſted from half paſt eight on Monday morning till five o'clock the next morning, when the jury, after much deliberation, pronounced his lordſhip Not Guilty.

In a committee of the houſe, Mr. Dunning made a motion, about this time, that, in order to ſecure the independence of parliament, and obviate all ſuſpicions of its purity, the proper officer ſhould, in future, within ſeven days after the meeting, lay before the houſe an account of all monies paid out of the civil liſt, *for the uſe of any member of parliament*. However unfounded ſuch a ſuſpicion might be, he ſaid the public *firmly believed* that large ſums were conveyed into the pockets of their repreſentatives. If any members did unduly poſſeſs themſelves of the public money, this propoſition would diſtinguiſh them: if not, it would be acceded to without difficulty. Slight objections were made to the motion, as propoſing a teſt which might be unpleaſant to the houſe, and beget differences, but it was carried without a diviſion.

The cloſe of this year may be conſidered as memorable for the declaration of hoſtilities by Great Britain againſt Holland. Circumſtances of irritation, and jealouſy, were continually accumulating on both ſides, 'till the capture of Henry Laurens § brought things

* His name is perpetuated by a monument erected to his memory, by order of his majeſty, in Weſtminſter-Abbey.

† On the ſecond of June, the day appointed for the meeting of the petitioners in St. George's Fields, from ſixty thouſand to one hundred thouſand attended. They were marſhalled in ſeparate bands, and after an harangue from Lord George, the main body made an unneceſſary circuit over London Bridge, and through the city, to the ſeat of Parliament. They marched ſix a-breaſt, preceded by a man carrying on his head the petition, ſigned with the names, or *marks*, of one hundred and twenty thouſand perſons.

‡ The aſſault of Newgate, without arms or ammunition, was certainly the moſt deſperate attempt that could be conceived. It ſeems ſo ſtrong as to defy any attempts without artillery.

§ Early in the month of October, Mr. Henry Laurens, preſident of the American council, was taken by one of the king's frigates in his paſſage for Holland, where he was commiſſioned to negociate a treaty of peace with the Dutch. Being conducted to London, and an accuſation laid

things to their ultimate point of decision. Sir Joseph Yorke immediately pressed the business in strong memorials to the states-general, and after stating the clandestine correspondence which, it now appeared from

laid against him for treasonable practices, he was, with John Trumbull, Esq. another of the American partizans, committed to the Tower, where he remained for a considerable time, and was then discharged.

During Mr. Laurens's confinement in the Tower, he petitioned the house of Commons for relief and enlargement: such petition being presented to the house in the form in which it came out of Mr. Laurens's own hand, it being written by him with a leaden pencil.

On the tenth of October, a dreadful hurricane happened in the West Indies, which did considerable damage to most of the islands in that part of the world, particularly Barbadoes, Jamaica, St. Christopher's, Martinico, St. Vincent's, and Grenada. The hurricane began at Barbadoes on the morning of the tenth, and continued, with very little intermission, about forty-eight hours. In the afternoon of the first day, the ships were driven from their anchors, and obliged to encounter all the horrors of the most outrageous sea that the oldest seaman had ever beheld. In the course of the night, Bridge Town, the capital of the island, was nearly levelled with the ground. No means were neglected, early in the evening, to barricade the doors and windows in such a manner as to render them proof to all outward violence. But before ten o'clock, the irresistible force of the tempest burst its way through different parts of the governor's house; and having carried off the roof, and the ruins falling on all sides, his family were obliged to fly for refuge to the souterrains; but they were soon driven from that asylum by the bursting in of the water, which, through the continued torrents of rain that fell, threatened nothing less than a deluge. They gained, however, some temporary shelter, amongst the ruins of the platform, on which the flag-staff had been erected. But these, however massy, became so obedient to the increased violence and astonishing force of the wind, as to threaten instant destruction to the distressed fugitives, who were again compelled to encounter all the open horrors of the tempest. The governor, and such others as had strength and recollection enough to keep together, after being frequently blown down, and rolled about in the mire and wet, at length gained a battery, and took shelter under the gun carriages; where they sat in continual apprehension of being crushed to pieces, so terribly were the cannon moved by the storm.

The other houses of the town being much earlier destroyed, the surviving inhabitants were exposed to the miseries of a longer night of continued danger and horror. Numbers were buried in the houses; and the dreadful uproar of the tempest, was intermixed with the groans of the dying; the cries of those who were incapable of dragging their mangled and wounded bodies from the ruins, and the screams of women and children, whose fate seemed only to be deferred for greater horror, whilst they were lamenting or calling for help to their friends. When day light appeared such a scene of

was presented to view, as has seldom been

That beautiful island, so lately glowing in the richest bloom and verdure of continual spring, now presented the image of those dreary polar regions, whose wastes are buried in eternal winter. To increase the calamity, most of the living stock of the island, particularly of the horned kind, perished. And reputable and opulent families were, in common with the most indigent, exposed to the still unexhausted fury of the tempest, without food, raiment, or cover. The loss of human lives was great, even among the whites; but including the blacks, amounted to some thousands. But the numbers could not be accurately estimated.

During the hurricane, the ships of war were driven from their moorings, and were either destroyed or greatly damaged.

The hurricane in the island of Jamaica differed in many respects from that which raged on the other islands. It was earlier by a week, than that at Barbadoes; and was more complex, being accompanied by an earthquake, and a most extraordinary swell of the sea, which rendered it more terrible as well as fatal. But its effects were happily more confined The two large districts of Westmoreland and Hanover, which include the whole breadth of Jamaica in its western extreme, were the principal victims of its rage. Whilst the unhappy inhabitants of Savannah la Mar, then a considerable trading town on the south side of the island, in Westmoreland parish, were gazing on the third of the month with astonishment, at such an immense swell of the sea, and the agitation of its waves, as had never been before beheld; on a sudden, bursting through all bounds, and surmounting all obstacles, it overwhelmed the town; and swept every thing away so completely upon its retreat, as not to leave the smallest vestige of man, beast, or habitation behind. About three hundred persons perished in this dreadful irruption. The sea flowed up half a mile beyond its usual fixed limits; and so sudden and unavoidable was the destruction, though it took place at noon day, that of the inhabitants of one gentleman's house, consisting of ten whites and about forty negroes, not a human being escaped. This was only the prelude to a more extensive calamity. Where the sea could not reach, the destruction was almost as effectual, by the succeeding earthquake and hurricane. The provisions were entirely destroyed; and the live stock escaped little better. But the calamity was not confined to the fruits of the earth, nor to its immediate inhabitants. The rich cultivated soil, was in many places covered with heaps of sterile matter which could not be removed without infinite labour, and which it was not in the power of culture to reclaim.

The damage sustained in the parish of Westmoreland only, was estimated at nine hundred and fifty thousand pounds, Jamaica currency, amounting to near seven hundred thousand pounds sterling. In that of Hanover, one fourth of the absolute property was said to be lost for ever. The damage in the other two parishes was very considerable. The merchants of Kingston, the metropolis of the island, generously subscribed ten thousand pounds for the immediate relief of the unfortunate sufferers; the value of which was speedily transmitted to them in those articles of cloathing and provision which were most urgently necessary. But the bounty of the crown and parliament of Great Britain, will afford a lasting testimonial of the beneficence, liberality, and grandeur of this country. Notwithstanding

from Mr. Laurens's papers, the ſtates of Amſterdam had long carried on with the Americans, and the inſtructions and powers which they had given, for entering into a treaty with them, though they were the natural ſubjects of a ſovereign to whom the republic was joined by the ſtricteſt ties of friendſhip, he then demanded in the name of the king his maſter, not only a formal diſavowal of ſo irregular a conduct, but alſo inſiſted on a ſpeedy ſatisfaction adequate to the offences; and the puniſhment of the penſionary Van Berkel and his accomplices, as diſturbers, of the public peace, and violators of the rights of nations. An immediate anſwer being evaded, the Britiſh ambaſſador continued to preſs the matter cloſely in ſeveral conferences, and, at length, in a ſecond memorial. The ſtates-general then informed Sir Joſeph Yorke, by a meſſage, that his memorial had been taken *ad referendum* by the deputies of the reſpective provinces, according to the received order and conſtitution of government: and that they would endeavour to frame an anſwer to it, as ſoon as the nature of their government would admit. This not being deemed ſatisfactory to the court of London, ſir Joſeph Yorke was ordered to withdraw from the Hague; and hoſtilities againſt Holland were declared on the twentieth of December *.

On the day that hoſtilities were denounced againſt Holland, general letters of marque and reprizals were granted againſt the Dutch, and their ſhips in the different ports were ordered to be ſtopped. The appearances of vigour and ſpirit generally gratify the multitude, who ſeldom look forward to conſequences, and are pleaſed at any increaſe in the clattering of thoſe arms from which they think themſelves ſecure. Many, however, regretted the war, not only as it added a new enemy to the tremendous combination already formed againſt us, but from a perſuaſion of the natural connection and mutual intereſts of both nations. Hoſtilities were ſoon commenced. The Princeſs Carolina, a Dutch man of war of fifty four guns and three hundred men, on her way through the Channel from Amſterdam to Liſbon, was taken, after a ſhort reſiſtance, by the Bellona man of war. And ſoon after captain Elphinſtone, in the Warwick, of fifty guns, with a crew young in the ſervice, fell in with the Rotterdam, of equal metal, and three hundred men, which he moſt gallantly attacked and took. A large Dutch Eaſt-Indiaman, outward-bound, with a number of other merchant ſhips, were captured in the courſe of a few days.

Early in the month of January †, the French made a deſcent on the iſland of Jerſey, but in attempting to land four of their tranſport veſſels were wrecked upon the rocks, and upwards of two hundred men periſhed. Thoſe who did land, proceeded to the moſt interior part of the iſland, where they were ſtrongly repulſed from the garriſon, great numbers of them being killed, many taken priſoners, and the reſt ſought their ſafety in a precipitate retreat.

About the commencement of February, admiral Rodney, commander of the Britiſh fleet in the Weſt Indies, in conjunction with general Vaughan, commander of the land forces, appeared before the iſland of St. Euſtatius, belonging to the Dutch. They ſent a peremptory ſummons to the governor, to ſurrender the iſland and its dependencies within an hour; accompanied with a menace that they muſt otherwiſe experience the conſequences. M. de Graaf, the governor, not having received any intelligence of the rupture between England and Holland, ſuppoſed the officer who delivered the ſummons could not be in earneſt. He, however, returned for anſwer, that being incapable of making any defence againſt the force which inveſted the iſland, he muſt of neceſſity ſurrender it; only recommending the town and its inhabitants to the clemency of Britiſh commanders. The wealth found in the place was ſo immenſe, as to excite the aſtoniſhment even of the conquerors, notwithſtanding their intimate previous knowledge of its nature and circumſtances. The whole iſland ſeemed to be only one vaſt magazine. All the ſtorehouſes were filled with various commodities, and even the beach was covered with hogſheads of ſugar and tobacco. The value of the

withſtanding the expenſive war in which it was engaged, the houſe of commons inſtantly granted eighty thouſand pounds for the relief of the ſufferers in Barbadoes, and forty thouſand pounds for thoſe in Jamaica. The generous benefactions of individuals likewiſe kept equal pace with the public munificence.

* In the declaration the ſtates-general are accuſed with departing, through the prevalence of a faction devoted to France, from thoſe prudent principles which uſed to govern the republic; and following the dictates of that court, which having adopted a policy deſtructive of the friendſhip which had ſo long ſubſiſted between the two nations, and which was ſo eſſential to the intereſts of both. The circumſtances of complaint and reſentment are then enumerated. The inattention to the friendly negociations propoſed by the Britiſh ambaſſador. Their not fulfilling the mutual and perpetual defenſive engagements ſolemnly eſtabliſhed between both nations. The total contempt of thoſe treaties ſhewn, in their ready promiſe to our enemies of obſerving a neutrality. Their giving every ſecret aſſiſtance to the enemy, whilſt they withheld from us the ſuccours which they were bound to furniſh. The protection afforded to the American pirate, Paul Jones, and the privateers of our enemies in general; and the endeavours of their ſubjects, in concert with the French, to raiſe up enemies to England in the Eaſt Indies. But the principal force and acumen of the manifeſto, ſeemed to be directed againſt the city and magiſtracy of Amſterdam, and againſt their penſionary Van Berkel, on account of the lately diſcovered treaty with the Americans.

† A. D. 1781.

merchandize.

merchandize was eſtimated at above three millions ſterling. The capture of ſhipping was immenſe. Upwards of two hundred and fifty veſſels of various denominations were taken in the bay: excluſive of ſix Dutch frigates. The neighbouring ſmall iſlands of St. Martin's and Saba, were reduced in the ſame manner, and admiral Rodney having received information, that a fleet of about thirty large ſhips, richly laden with Weſt India commodities, had, juſt before his arrival, ſailed from St. Euſtatius for Holland, under convoy of a flag ſhip of ſixty-guns, he immediately diſpatched the Monarch and Panther, with the Sybil frigate, in purſuit of them. Theſe ſoon overtook the convoy; and the Dutch admiral refuſing to ſtrike his colours, a ſhort engagement took place between him in the Mars, and captain Reynolds in the Monarch; in which the former died bravely in defence of his ſhip. The Mars then immediately ſtruck; and the Panther and Sybil, having in the mean time taken care to reſtrain the flight and ſeparation of the merchantmen, the whole of the convoy was then captured.

As ſoon as the rupture with Holland was known, a number of privateers, chiefly belonging to Briſtol, entered the rivers Demerary and Iſſequibo, which were deemed highly dangerous, and hardly navigable to ſtrangers, and brought out, from under the guns of the Dutch forts and batteries, almoſt all the valuable veſſels in either river *. The governors and principal inhabitants of the ſettlements of Demerary and Iſſequibo, ſenſible of their defenceleſs ſituation, had already made a tender of their ſubmiſſion to the governor of Barbadoes; requiring no other terms than a participation of thoſe which had been granted to St. Euſtatius and its dependencies. As both parties were equally ignorant of theſe terms, the newly propoſed ſubjects were naturally referred to the commanders in chief; who alone could tell the nature of the conditions which had never been ſpecified. A deputation was accordingly ſent by the Dutch coloniſts to St. Euſtatius for that purpoſe. There they diſcovered that they had made a very improvident demand, as, in effect, the terms which they required were, that they might be deprived of all their goods, and be baniſhed from their habitations. For ſuch was the general treatment of the greater part of the inhabitants of St. Euſtatius. But the odium which this rigorous proceeding began to excite, the embarraſſments which it created, and the impoſſibility of applying it, though nominally required, to a people who had voluntarily put themſelves under the Britiſh dominion, obtained a different kind of treatment for the inhabitants of theſe colonies. They were fully ſecured in their property; were allowed to be governed by their own laws and magiſtrates; and had every other indulgence granted, which could have been reaſonably expected. At the ſame time that their unfortunate fellows in St. Euſtatius, were obliged to ſuffer the opprobrium of having the crime of perfidy and perjury publicly charged and recorded againſt them in the gazettes. The Britiſh merchants in the Weſt-Indies, as well as at home, having ſuffered greatly by the indiſcriminate confiſcation of all private property which took place at St. Euſtatius; and the former, who from their vicinity were more fully acquainted with the tranſactions at the place, being alſo greatly irritated at the ſuppoſed oppreſſion, and the certain ruin, which individuals of their own country, as well as their friends and correſpondents of others, had ſuffered; all theſe matters at firſt drew out ſtrong repreſentations againſt the commanders in chief, and were at length productive of innumerable law ſuits. The merchants of the iſland of St. Chriſtopher's, who had ſuffered greatly by the confiſcation of property at St. Euſtatius, and even the legiſlature of that iſland, preſented ſeveral ſtrong remonſtrances to the commander in chief, in which they ſtated, that their connections with that iſland, and the property they had lodged in it, were all, in purſuance and under the ſanction of, repeated acts of the Britiſh parliament. Theſe remonſtrances produced little effect, or ſatisfaction. At length, a note was given in writing, to the following effect, viz. that the iſland was Dutch, every thing in it was Dutch, under the protection of the Dutch flag, and, as Dutch, it ſhould be treated. It is an unpleaſant taſk to treat of a buſineſs which drew upon the Engliſh the odium of all Europe. Suffice it to ſay, that all the horrors of ſo univerſal a havock of property, which might be expected, were fully realized. The beginning of this ſtorm fell principally upon the Jews †, in the iſland who were numerous and wealthy. Several of theſe, with many indignities, were

* Theſe ſettlements of Demerary, and Iſſequibo, as well as the neighbouring one of Berbices, appertain to the Dutch colony, which is known by the general name of Surinam, and which forms a moderate part of that vaſt country on the continent of South America, anciently called Guiana: The principal ſettlements, properly called Surinam, and which takes its name like the reſt, from the great river on which it is ſituated, was firſt cultivated by the Engliſh; and being taken by the Dutch in the wars with Charles II. was ceded to them by a peace, as ſome ſort of compenſation for the valuable colony of New York.

† The expulſion and plunder of the Jews was afterwards (fourth Feb. 1782) referred to a committee on the petition of Mr. Hohen, and motion of Mr. Burke, and a report preſented (fourteenth May) reflecting great diſcredit on the character of the general and admiral. Actions at law inſtituted againſt Rodney, were ſubſequently decided to his diſadvantage, and he was obliged to refund large ſums for property illegally, though not undeſervedly, ſeized. *Adolphus's Hiſtory*, iii. 435.

General Vaughan proteſted upon his honour, that he was not directly or indirectly one ſhilling enriched by the capture of St. Euſtatia.

torn

torn from their habitations, and baniſhed, without knowing the place of their deſtination; and were, in that ſtate of nakedneſs and wretchedneſs, tranſported as outlaws, and conveyed to the iſland of St. Chriſtopher's. The aſſembly of that iſland, to their great honour, paſſed an immediate act for their preſent relief, and future proviſion, till they ſhould have time to recover from their preſent calamitous ſituation *. The Jews were ſoon followed by the Americans, ſome of whom had been obliged to fly their native country, through the part they had taken in ſupport of the Britiſh cauſe and government. Theſe unhappy people were ſent to St. Chriſtopher's in nearly the ſame plight and condition with the former; and were received and entertained with the ſame humanity and liberality by the inhabitants of that iſland. The French merchants and traders were next baniſhed; and, at length, the native Dutch, or at leaſt the Amſterdammers, met with the ſame fate. In the mean time, public ſales were advertiſed, invitation given, and protection afforded, to purchaſers of all nations and denominations; and the iſland of St. Euſtatius became one of the greateſt auctions that ever was opened in the univerſe.

Though the Britiſh forces ſeemed to obtain a ſuperiority in America, there was no probability of terminating that deſtructive war. The coloniſts were rather animated than deterred by the ſlaughter which overſpread their country, and no effort was exerted againſt them without conſiderable loſs. In March, general Greene's army at Guildford was defeated, after a very ſharp engagement, in which ſeveral Engliſh officers of rank, and great numbers of privates, were killed and wounded.

The Engliſh affairs in the Eaſt Indies had no very favourable aſpect at this time. Diſpatches arrived from Madras, with intelligence that Hyder Ally had obtained a complete victory over a detachment of Britiſh troops commanded by colonel Baillie, which being unſupported by the main army under general ſir Hector Monro, was obliged to retreat, leaving behind him his heavy cannon, camp equipage, and baggage. The conqueror puſhed his ſucceſſes afterwards to Arcot, and ſeveral other places; and, it was then ſuppoſed, he would have made himſelf maſter of Madras; but by the judicious management of general Coote, and the intrepidity of the Engliſh forces under his command, he was not only diſappointed in his aim, but alſo defeated in ſeveral engagements, and moſt of the places he had taken were recovered by the Britiſh troops.

Commodore Johnſon's fleet, with ſeveral India ſhips under convoy, was attacked on the ſixteenth of April by the French fleet under M. de Suffrein, off the iſland of St. Jago, when great damage was ſuſtained on both ſides. Some of the India ſhips were taken by the French, but as they were not able to retain the whole, ſeveral eſcaped, and rejoining the Engliſh fleet, arrived at their reſpective ports in Britain.

The Britiſh troops being in poſſeſſion of Camden, lord Rawdon, with colonel Weſton's detachment, being near it, and cloſely purſued by the American general Greene, after the battle of Guildford, ſet fire to that beautiful town, and reduced it to aſhes, after which he retired for ſafety to within a ſmall diſtance of Charles Town.

About this period an engagement took place between admiral Arbuthnot, commander of an Engliſh fleet in America, and a ſmall ſquadron of the French.

* We muſt not, on this occaſion, wholly paſs by the elegant and pathetic petition of the Jews of St Euſtatius to admiral Rodney and general Vaughan.

" To their Excellencies, the Commanding Officers in Chief of his Britannic Majeſty's Army and Navy in the Weſt-Indies.

" May it pleaſe your Excellencies,

" To permit us in the name and on the behalf of ourſelves, and others of the people of the Hebrew nation, reſidents in the iſland of St. Euſtatius, humbly to approach your excellencies, and with heartfelt anguiſh, to lay our grievances before you, and ſay; that it was with the utmoſt concern and aſtoniſhment we have already, not only received your excellencies' afflicting order and ſentence, to give up the keys of our ſtores with an inventory thereof, and of our houſehold plate and furniture, and to hold ourſelves in readineſs to depart this iſland, ignorant of our deſtination, and leaving our beloved wives, and helpleſs children behind us, and our property and effects liable to ſeizure and confiſcation: but alſo find, that theſe orders are for the major part carried into execution, a number of our brethren having, on Tueſday the thirteenth inſtant, been ſent on board a ſhip, and have not ſince been heard of. Such unexpected orders as theſe from Britiſh commanders, whoſe principal characteriſtic is, " mercy and humanity," have not only been productive of the moſt horrid and melancholy ſcenes of diſtreſs and confuſion, that ever Britiſh eyes beheld under the fatal conſequences of a rigid war, but numbers of families are now helpleſs, diſconſolate, and in an abſolute ſtate of indigence and deſpair."

We cannot inſert the whole of this long and energetic petition, without incurring the diſapprobation of our readers, but we hope we ſhall be pardoned for admitting the concluſion of it which is as follows:

" May the God of all mercies incline your hearts to liſten to the prayers and ſupplications of your petitioners, and in this confidence we humbly ſubmit ourſelves to your excellencies' determination, hoping that you will pardon us for the intruſion of this addreſs; and that through your excellencies' lenity and humanity, your excellencies' will be pleaſed to grant us ſuch favourable terms, as you in your judgment and wiſdom ſhall think moſt advantageous to his majeſty's intereſt, and the honour and glory of his ſucceſsful arms.

" And your petitioners, as in duty bound ſhall ever pray, &c.

Saint Euſtatius, Feb. 16, 1781.

The battle was very fevere for a time, and conſiderable damage was ſuſtained on both ſides, but at length an uncommon miſt ariſing, the two fleets loſt ſight of each other, and conſequently ſeparated; nor did the French afterwards appear to renew the engagement.

A ſmart action took place, on the twenty-eight of April, in the Weſt Indies, between the Britiſh fleet, under the command of Sir Samuel Hood, and a ſquadron of French ſhips under the command of M. de Graſſe. The action was continued for ſome time with great obſtinacy, till at length night ſeparated the fleets, and the French bore away. On the thirtieth they again met and renewed the engagement, which at length terminated without any material advantage on either ſide.

On the ſecond of June the iſland of Tobago was taken from the Engliſh by a body of land forces, commanded by the French governor of St Vincent's, under cover of a large fleet of ſhips of war commanded by M. de Graſſe*.

Early in the month of June admiral Hyde Parker ſailed from Portſmouth with four ſhips of the line, and one of fifty guns, for the North Sea. In the mean time Holland ſtrained every nerve for the equipment of a force that might be able to convoy their outward bound trade to the Baltic, and protect it on its return, if not to intercept ours, and to become entirely maſters of the North Seas. It was not, however, until after the middle of July, that admiral Zoutman, and commodore Kingſbergen, ſailed from the Texel, with a great convoy under their protection. Their force conſiſted of eight ſhips of the line, ten frigates, and five ſloops. Several of the frigates were very large, and carried an unuſual weight of metal. They were joined by the Charlestown, an American frigate of curious conſtruction, being as long and large as a ſhip of the line, with ſeveral hundred men on board, and thirty-ſix forty-four pounders upon one deck; a weight of metal, in ſuch a compaſs and ſituation, which it was ſuppoſed few ſingle ſhips could long withſtand. She embraced this opportunity of ſailing with the Dutch fleet, to go north about on her way home. Admiral Parker was on his return with a great convoy from Elſineur. He had been joined by ſeveral frigates ſince he left Portſmouth, and by the Dolphin of forty-four guns; and, in this moſt critical and dangerous conjuncture, was reinforced by the junction of commodore Keith Stuart, in the Berwick, of ſeventy-four guns, who had been ſome time on the coaſt of Scotland. The ſquadron now conſiſted of ſix ſhips of the line, of which the princeſs Amelia carried eighty guns, the Fortitude, (the admiral's own ſhip) and the Berwick ſeventy-four each, the Beinfaiſant ſixty-four, the old Buffalo ſixty, and the Preſton fifty guns; but the ſuperiority of the enemy obliged the admiral to take the Dolphin, of forty-four guns, into his line †. The hoſtile fleets faced each other on the Dogger Bank, early in the morning of the fifth of Auguſt. Though one of the Dutch line-of-battle ſhips, had, through ſome accident returned to port, yet, as the Argo of forty-four guns was ſubſtituted in her place; their line ſtill conſiſted of eight two-decked ſhips. The Dutch were not diſpoſed to ſhun the conflict; they drew up with great coolneſs in order of battle, and waited the ſhock with compoſure.

The parties were equally reſolved to do their utmoſt; a gloomy ſilence prevailed; and not a ſingle gun was fired till the hoſtile fleets were within little

* In July the attention of the public was engaged in the fate of M. de la Motte, a Frenchman, who had been arreſted as a ſpy, committed to the Tower for high-treaſon, and being tried and found guilty, was, on the twenty-ſeventh of the ſame month, executed at Tyburn, purſuant to his ſentence.

About this time a general demolition of "E. O" tables took place in the metropolis. E. O. was a game ſuppoſed to be out of the reach of the law, becauſe not diſtinctly ſpecified in any of the ſtatutes; and tables were erected in almoſt every ſtreet and alley in the metropolis. To theſe, perſons of all denominations reſorted. Some were eſtabliſhed in common brothels, and exhibited diſgraceful ſcenes of riot, drunkenneſs, and debauchery, while robbery, aſſaſſination, and ſuicide abounded. Towards the cloſe of the enſuing ſeſſion, the attention of the legiſlature was directed towards theſe nuiſances; and it was alſo ſtated in the houſe of commons, in June 1782, that in two pariſhes of Weſtminſter alone, two hundred and ninety-ſix E. O. tables were maintained. Another member corroborated the aſſertion, with this addition, that five hundred more were on the ſtocks, and that they were common in every county town.

Alſo at this time, a bill was introduced for diſfranchiſing the borough of Cricklade. A committee granted on the petition of an unſucceſsful candidate, reported, that great abuſes had been committed; and ſir Harbord Harbord declared, that out of two hundred and forty-three votes, eighty-three had already been convicted of bribery, and actions were pending againſt forty-three others. In the houſe of commons the diſfranchiſement was oppoſed, but without effect. It was juſtified on the ſame principles as that of the electors of New Shoreham! "When that bill was ſhewn to the late earl of Chatham," ſaid Mr, Montague, "he expreſſed his joy at finding the borough removed from Bengal, to its ancient ſituation in the county of Suſſex." If the preſent were rejected, Cricklade would certainly be removed from Wiltſhire to the Eaſt Indies.

† The two ſeventy-fours were the beſt ſhips. The princeſs Amelia, though a three decker was ſo old and weak, that her metal had been reduced to the rate of a fifty-gun ſhip, her lower deck guns being only twenty-four pounders; and the Buffalo, beſides being old, was ſo ill-conſtructed, that ſhe had long before been diſcharged from the ſervice, and employed as a ſtore-ſhip in America.

more than piſtol-ſhot diſtance, Admiral Parker in the Fortitude, then ranging a-breaſt of Mr. Zoutman's ſhip, the admiral Ruyter, the action was commenced with fury on both ſides. The cannonade continued without intermiſſion for three hours and forty minutes; when the ſhips were ſo ruined on both ſides, that they were incapable of anſwering ſo much command, as would keep them within the diſtance neceſſary for mutual annoyance; while the combatants were reluctantly ſeparated by the mere motion of the water. The Engliſh ſhips were principally wounded in their maſts and rigging, but thoſe of the enemy were greatly injured in their hulls, inſomuch, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty they were kept above water, till they reached ſeparately, and in the utmoſt diſtreſs, ſome of their own neareſt ports *.

Advices were received in Auguſt, that Penſacola, the capital of Weſt Florida, had been beſieged by the Spaniards, and that the garriſon had ſurrendered at diſcretion; in conſequence of which the whole province became a conqueſt to the arms of Spain.

A briſk engagement took place near Sandy-Hook in North America on the thirty-firſt of Auguſt, between the Engliſh fleet under Sir Samuel Hood, and the French fleet commanded by M. de Barras. The engagement continued from four o'clock in the morning till ſun-ſet, during which time the ſhips belonging to both nations received great damage, but no complete victory was obtained by either. The Terrible received ſo much injury, that it was thought neceſſary to deſtroy her, which was accordingly done, after taking out the water, proviſions, and other eſſential articles. Sir Samuel Hood was deſirous of renewing the engagement the following morning, but was prevented by the French ſheltering themſelves in Cheſapeak Bay.

In September brigadier-general Arnold, with a body of tranſports, and a detachment of troops, proceeded to New London, to which he laid ſiege, and made himſelf maſter of the place, without much loſs. Several of the American ſhips were deſtroyed, and a great part of the town of New London reduced to aſhes. This victory was ſucceeded by a very material overthrow of the Engliſh. Colonel Tarleton was defeated at Glouceſter by the Sieur de Choiſy; after which the allied armies of France and America marched againſt the Britiſh forces commanded by lord Cornwallis.

The Britiſh fleet on its return to New York, was joined by the Prudent man of war, with ſeveral frigates for the Weſt Indies: and ſoon after its arrival, was further reinforced by rear-admiral Digby, with three ſhips of the line from England; but the junction of the Rhode-Iſland ſquadron, had given ſo decided a ſuperiority to M. de Graſſe, that nothing leſs than the moſt deſperate circumſtances, could have juſtified any attempt towards another encounter. The deſire of ſupporting lord Cornwallis and his army, however, prevailed over all conſiderations of danger, and the Britiſh naval commanders were expeditious in refitting and equipping the fleet at New York. This, however, though extremely neceſſary, required more time than could have been well afforded at this juncture. The delay ſeemed indeed to be in ſome degree compenſated, by the arrival of the Prince William and Torbay men of war from Jamaica. In the mean time a council of war, conſiſting of all the flag and general officers, being held, it was determined that every poſſible exertion ſhould be made both by the fleet and army, to form a junction with the ſquadron and army in Virginia. It was, however, the nineteenth of October, before the fleet could be got clear over the bar; ſir Henry Clinton, with about ſeven thouſand of his beſt forces, having embarked on board the ſhips of war.

The fleet now amounted to twenty-five ſhips of the line, two fifties, and eight frigates; and notwithſtanding the ſuperiority of force which the enemy ſtill retained, the ſpirit which operated both upon the common men and officers was ſo high, that they entertained not a doubt, but that the expected naval action would ſtand foremoſt, among the moſt obſtinate and the moſt bloody, that had yet been known. During theſe tranſactions on the ſide of New York, the united armies employed in the ſiege of York Town, ſenſible of the efforts that would be made for its relief, and unwilling to ſtake all their hopes on the iſſue of a naval engagement, exerted themſelves in the proſecution of their works; and ſhewed no leſs reſolution in their attacks, than vivacity in the fire of their batteries. On the night of the eleventh of October, they began their ſecond parallel within three hundred yards of the works of the place, and carried it on with unremitting induſtry. Two redoubts, which were advanced about three hundred yards on the Britiſh left, had greatly incommoded the enemy, and ſtill continued to impede their progreſs. It was reſolved to attack theſe at the ſame time, at dark, on the evening of the fourteenth. To balance the honour as well as the duty, between both nations, the attack on one was committed to the Americans, and on the other to the French. Colonel Hamilton, Waſhington's aid-de-camp, commanded the American detachment, which marched to the aſſault with unloaded arms; paſſed the abbatis and paliſades without waiting to remove them; and attacking the works on all ſides at once, carried the redoubt with aſtoniſhing rapidity. The French were equally ſucceſsful, but their loſs was greater; amounting to about an hundred in killed

*The Hollandia, one of their beſt ſhips, of ſixty-eight guns, ſunk in the night of the engagement: and the danger was ſo ſudden and extreme, that the crew were reduced to the melancholy neceſſity of abandoning their wounded in quitting the ſhip.

and

and wounded. The taking of theſe two redoubts may be ſaid to be deciſive of the fate of the army. Lord Cornwallis, in a letter to Sir Henry Clinton, conſidered their ſituation as being ſo deſperate, that he could not recommend to the fleet and army to run any great riſque in endeavouring to ſave them. The Britiſh commander, however, omitted nothing which could prevent that fatal iſſue, which was equally dreaded and expected. Being ſenſible that his works could not ſtand many hours after the opening of the batteries of the ſecond parallel, he did his utmoſt to interrupt that work, opening new embrazures for guns, and keeping up a conſtant fire with all his howitzers and ſmall mortars. At length the works were ſo ruined, and the batteries ſo overpowered, that there was no part of the whole front attacked, in which the beſieged could ſhew a ſingle gun; and their ſhells, which were the laſt reſource of defence, were nearly exhauſted. In theſe circumſtances, lord Cornwallis had no other choice left than to prepare for a ſurrender on the following day, or to endeavour to eſcape with the greateſt part of the troops. He determined upon attempting the latter, under the conſideration, that though it ſhould prove unſucceſsful in its immediate object, it might at leaſt delay the enemy in the proſecution of farther enterpriſes. The adverſe current of fortune gave a contrary effect, to a deſign well calculated to delay the fate of lord Cornwallis's army. Boats were prepared, under various pretexts, to be ready for receiving the troops at ten at night, in order to paſs them over to Glouceſter Point. The arrangements were made with the utmoſt ſecrecy; and the intention was to abandon the baggage, and to leave a detachment behind, in order to capitulate for the inhabitants of the town, and for the ſick and wounded; lord Cornwallis having prepared a letter upon the ſubject, which was to be delivered to general Waſhington upon his departure. The firſt embarkation conſiſting of the light infantry, the guards, and a part of the twenty-third regiment, had arrived at Glouceſter Point, and the greater part of the troops were already landed, when, at that critical moment, fortune proved adverſe, and the weather, which was then moderate and calm, inſtantly changed to a moſt violent ſtorm of wind and rain. The boats, with the remaining troops, were all driven down the river, and the intention of paſſing was not only entirely fruſtrated, but the abſence of the boats rendered it impoſſible to bring back the troops from Glouceſter. Thus weakened and divided, the army was involved in the moſt imminent danger. The enemies batteries were again opened at day-break; and the paſſage at Glouceſter Point was now much expoſed to their fire. But the boats happily returned; and the troops were brought back in the courſe of the afternoon. Lord Cornwallis perceiving the dreadful ſituation of his army, wrote a letter to general Waſhington on the ſeventeenth, propoſing a ceſſation of arms for twenty-four hours, and that commiſſioners might be appointed on both ſides for adjuſting the terms of capitulation. The poſts of York and Glouceſter were ſurrendered on the nineteenth of October. The troops, with the ſame honours which had been granted to the garriſon of Charles-town, became priſoners of war. They amounted to between five and ſix thouſand men; but ſo great was the number of ſick and wounded, that there were not above three thouſand eight hundred of all ſorts capable of bearing arms, in both poſts, on the day of ſurrender. Fifteen hundred ſeamen ſuffered the fate of the garriſon. The officers and ſoldiers retained their baggage and effects; but all property taken in the country, if viſible, was liable to be reclaimed. The Guadaloupe frigate, of twenty-four guns, with a number of tranſports, were ſurrendered to the conquerors; and about twenty tranſports were burned during the ſiege.

The affairs of the Engliſh in the Eaſt Indies preſented a very favourable aſpect, towards the termination of this year. In December, the gallant Sir Eyre Coote engaged the army of Hyder Ally between Porto Novo and Montecapollam with great ſucceſs. The battle continued eight hours, and was maintained with great obſtinacy on both ſides, till at length the forces under Sir Eyre Coote, though greatly inferior in number, became victors, and the enemy precipitately retreating, left them maſters of the field; the loſs of the Indian army was about four thouſand killed, among whom were many of their principal officers.

The Spaniards made a very forcible attack on Gibraltar, but from the intrepidity of the troops under the command of general Elliot, the governor, the enemy were repulſed. The battle began at three o'clock in the morning. The pioneers and artilleriſts made wonderful exertions, and ſpread their fire with ſuch amazing rapidity, that in half an hour two mortar batteries of ten inch mortars, and three batteries of ſix guns each, with all the lines of approach, communication, traverſes, &c. were in flames, and reduced to aſhes. The mortars and cannon were ſpiked, and their beds, carriages, and platforms deſtroyed. Their magazines blew up ſucceſſively as the fire approached them. Finding all oppoſition to be ineffectual, the enemy offered no farther annoyance, than an ill-directed fire of round and grape ſhot from the forts of St. Barbara and St. Philip, and the batteries on the lines, and remained in their camp ſpectators of the conflagration. Great numbers of the enemy were deſtroyed, but the loſs on the part of the Engliſh was very inconſiderable.

About this time St. Euſtatius, with the iſland of St. Martin, was captured by the French, under the marquis de Bouille. They were taken by ſurprize on the twenty-ſixth of November, and by a ſmall party

party of the enemy, the number not exceeding three hundred, who landed from three frigates and some small craft, at Jenkins's bay, on the back of the island. They obtained possession of the place, without the least opposition from the garrison, though they were both numerous. Lieutenant-colonel Cockburne, of the thirty-fifth regiment, who commanded at St. Eustatius when it was taken by the French, declared, that exclusive of the money deposited in that place by admiral Rodney and general Vaughan, there was a sum of two hundred and sixty four thousand livres, which was his property, and which he therefore demanded. The marquis de Bouille having assembled the superior officers of his corps, to inform them of lieutenant colonel Cockburne's demand, they were all of opinion, that the English governor's money should be restored to him, which was accordingly done. The marquis de Bouille found in the governor's house the sum of one million, which he restored to the Dutch, after receiving authentic proof that it was their property. He also found about one million six hundred thousand livres in colony money belonging to admiral Rodney, general Vaughan, and other officers, arising from the sale of their captures, which he divided between his land and sea forces.

About this time public meetings, clubs, committees, petitions, and projects of reform, were very frequent. In December *, a common-hall of the city of London voted an address, remonstrance, and petition to the king, complaining of his speech from the throne, and reprobating the conduct of ministers, recapitulating the disasters of the war, and their direful effects; declaring their abhorrence of it, as an unnatural and unfortunate contest. An address of a similar nature was voted by the electors of Westminster, whom Mr. Fox convened in Westminster-hall, and whom he addressed in a long and interesting harangue. The freeholders of Middlesex and Surry, the West India planters, and many other bodies and fraternities, adopted the same measure.

The war in America had been attended with so little success, and with such an immense expence of blood and treasure, that it excited the indignation of great numbers of the inhabitants in Great Britain. Many respectable members of both houses pointed out the atrocious cruelty of maintaining so injurious a contest, and inferred from thence the expediency of finally terminating such an offensive war. Among these the right honourable Henry Seymour Conway, particularly distinguished himself. On the twenty-seventh of February, he made a motion in the house of commons to the following effect: "That the farther prosecution of an offensive war on the continent of America, for the purpose of reducing the revolted colonies to obedience by force, will be the means of weakening the efforts of this country against her European enemies; that it greatly tends to increase the mutual enmity so fatal to the interests both of Great Britain and America, and by preventing a happy reconciliation with that country, to frustrate the earnest desire graciously expressed by his majesty, to restore the blessings of public tranquillity." This motion, after a short debate, was carried; upon which general Conway moved, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty thereupon." This was carried without a division, and an address was accordingly presented, to which his majesty was pleased to give a most gracious answer.

In the month of February *, the united forces of France and Spain laid siege to Minorca. The earnestness of the court of Spain to gain possession of this island was so excessive, that it seemed to have departed from that dignity of character which should ever be inseparably united with royalty, by an indidious endeavour, through the medium of an immense bribe, to corrupt the fidelity of the governor. Nor did the duke de Crillon pay a proper attention to his own rank and reputation, when he descended to become the instrument in such a business. General Murray treated the insult with a mixture of that generous disdain, and stern resentment, which it deserved from a man conscious of an illustrious ancestry. The fortress had been closely invested, and its communications with the country entirely cut off, from the landing of the enemy, about the middle of August in the preceding year. By this means the garrison were deprived of all supplies of vegetables; and that want alone, has not often produced more unfortunate effects. In all other respects they were admirably provided. The scurvy raged with such violence among the troops, as could hardly be exceeded in the most foggy and humid northern climates, and even under the worst circumstances of water and provisions; while this inveterate enemy was aided in its course, as usual, by its destructive concomitants, a putrid pestilential fever, and a mortal dysentery. It is however to be observed, that other causes concurred to the ill effects produced by the immediate want of vegetables. The greater part of the British troops had been eleven years on the island; and the soldiers had lived during that time upon salted meats. Its progress was likewise encouraged by the close confinement of the troops within the narrow limits of the fortress. The combined forces, which amounted to sixteen thousand regular troops, brought a prodigious artillery, consisting of one hundred and nine pieces of the heaviest cannon, and thirty-six great mortars, to act upon the place. The garrison consisted only of two thousand six hundred and ninety-two men. A marine corps, which had been formed on the present occasion, having preserved their health much better than the regular troops, were of

* A. D. 1781.

† A. D. 1782.

excellent ſervice in the ſiege, and compoſed a greater part of the remainder. A few Greeks and Corſicans alſo diſplayed great bravery. The fortreſs was, in many reſpects, exceedingly ſtrong; but the upper works by no means correſponded in ſtrength with the under. The knowledge of this weakneſs perhaps induced the duke de Crillon to lie more unguardedly in his head-quarters at Cape Mola, than he might perhaps otherwiſe have done: while the obſervation of this negligence encouraged a vigorous and ſucceſsful ſally from the garriſon, who, ſurprizing and routing the enemy, chaſed the duke from his poſt, and ſecured themſelves, for the preſent, ſo effectually in it, that though he brought up his whole army to diſlodge them, he, after much heſitation, deſiſted from the attack. The ſucceſsful party returned ſafe to the garriſon on the following night, taking with them about a hundred priſoners, among whom were a lieutenant-colonel, three captains, and four or five ſubaltern officers. About this time the enemy having opened their bomb batteries, a ſhell from the caſtle fell upon a powder magazine, which by its exploſion deſtroyed one of them entirely; a number of men were blown up, and a large quantity of loaded ſhells either ſpent their fury in the air, or burſt more deſtructively among the troops. The artillery of the fortreſs was likewiſe ſo well ſerved, as ſoon after to ſink a ſhip in the harbour, which was juſt arrived, loaded with ammunition and ſtores for the ſupply of the enemy's batteries. But theſe could in no degree counterbalance the increaſing ravages of thoſe diſeaſes which prevailed in the garriſon. Nor could the differences that took place, between the governor and lieutenant-governor, tend in any degree to the removal of difficulties. Though the enemy kept a moſt cautious diſtance in the conſtruction and progreſs of their works, their artillery were ſo weighty and inceſſant in their battery, that they ſoon produced an extraordinary effect in ruining the upper defences of the fortreſs, and diſmounted or rendered uſeleſs a great number of cannon. Nothing ever exceeded the zeal, valour, and conſtancy diſplayed by the garriſon. The behaviour of the emaciated private men, through the courſe of the ſiege, was indeed beyond example. Numbers of ſoldiers expired on guard, whoſe emulative eagerneſs to defend the place, occaſioned them to conceal their extreme illneſs to the laſt, to prevent their being ſent to the hoſpitals from a ſervice which held ſo firm a poſſeſſion of their hearts. The garriſon were at length ſo much reduced by ſickneſs, that only ſix hundred and ſixty men remained, who were in any degree fit for ſervice at the beginning of February; and of theſe, all but one hundred were ſo much under the dominion of the ſcurvy, that the phyſicians and ſurgeons declared, they could exiſt but a very few days, before they muſt of neceſſity be ſent to the hoſpital. They alſo declared, that a few days longer obſtinacy in defence, muſt prove the inevitable deſtruction of the remains of that brave garriſon. The neceſſary guards, on the laſt night of defence, required four hundred and fifteen men upon duty; only two hundred and forty-five were therefore left, which was one hundred and ſeventy leſs than the neceſſary number, for the next relief, and no picket could at all be formed. Under all theſe circumſtances, the governor ſaw himſelf reduced to the neceſſity of a capitulation, on the 5th of the month; by which he obtained all the honours of war, and what elſe he required, excepting that article only, of freeing the garriſon from the condition of priſoners of war, which the duke de Crillon aſſured him, his maſter, the Spaniſh king, had commanded him not to grant: the troops were, however, to be tranſmitted to England, ſubject to the cuſtomary conditions, till they were either exchanged, or diſcharged by a peace*. Such was the fate of the iſland of Minorca, near fourſcore years after its reduction by Engliſh arms and valour to the dominion of this country; and after being long conſidered as one of the ſplendid jewels of the Britiſh crown.

The iſlands of St. Chriſtopher and Nevis were about the ſame time captured by the French, under the command of the marquis de Bouille. Major-general Shirley, governor of the place, defended it with the moſt diſtinguiſhed reſolution, for a conſiderable time: but, at length, finding the enemy too powerful, he was obliged to ſubmit to their ſuperiority of ſtrength, and, after a ſiege of about five weeks, compelled to ſurrender to the French arms upon terms of capitulation.

The ſquadron under vice-admiral Barrington fell in with a number of tranſports belonging to the French, under the protection of three men of war, and two frigates. Captain Jarvis of the Foudroyant came up with, and engaged, the French commodore's ſhip La Pegaſe, of ſeventy-four guns, and, after an hour's engagement, obliged her to ſurrender. The

* So tragical a ſpectacle as the poor remains of the garriſon, has ſeldom been exhibited, as in their march through the Spaniſh and French armies, which were drawn up in oppoſite lines for the paſſage. Six hundred old, emaciated, and decrepid ſoldiers, were followed by one hundred and twenty of the royal artillery, and two hundred ſeamen: about twenty Corſicans, and a few Greeks, Moors, and Turks, cloſed the proceſſion. The ſcene became ſtill more melancholy and intereſting, when the battalions arrived at the place appointed for laying down their arms; the ſoldiers exclaiming with tears in their eyes, that "they ſurrendered them to God alone;" and at the ſame time ſeeming to derive conſolation from the idea, that the victors could not boaſt of their conqueſt in taking an hoſpital.

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reſt of the fleet were diligent in purſuing the tranſports, which were haſtening to ſecure themſelves in Breſt water; but in this, however, they were diſappointed, and thirteen out of eighteen were captured. Some of them were full of troops, and the reſt laden with ſtores, ordnance, &c. deſtined for the relief of the French ſettlements in the Eaſt Indies *.

During theſe occurrences abroad, ſome conſiderable revolutions took place at home. Great diſputes aroſe in the Britiſh ſenate relative to the ſuppreſſion of the war in America. A conſiderable majority were for its ſuppreſſion; but they were ſtrongly oppoſed by the miniſtry, and great debates aroſe on the occaſion. At laſt, after ſeveral reſolutions paſſed, ſir John Rous made a motion, which comprized the whole, adding theſe ſignificant words: "Therefore this houſe can no longer repoſe confidence in thoſe who have the management of public affairs." In conſequence of this lord North, on his next appearance in the houſe, declared he was no longer miniſter. The other members of the miniſtry ſoon after followed his example, and his majeſty was pleaſed to appoint a new adminiſtration, which was compoſed of ſuch characters as appeared to be ſatisfactory to all parties.

The Britiſh fleet in the Weſt-Indies now amounted to thirty-ſix ſhips of the line; and the French fleet under M. de Graſſe was nearly of equal force. The French fleet ſeems to have been rather over-manned, and beſides a full complement of ſeamen, had nearly ſix thouſand land forces on board. The Ville de Paris, of one hundred and ten guns, De Graſſe's own ſhip, had about thirteen hundred men, including ſoldiers, on board; and the French ſeventy-fours carried nine hundred men each. The van of the Engliſh was commanded by ſir Samuel Hood, the centre by ſir George Rodney, and the rear by admiral Drake. The three diviſions of the French fleet were commanded by the count de Graſſe, M. de Vaudreuil, and M. de Bougainville. The French fleet began to ſail out of the harbour of Fort Royal, by the break of day on the eighth of April, with a large convoy under their protection, all bound to leeward, and intended to fall down to the French and Spaniſh ports in Hiſpaniola. M. de Graſſe had every reaſon to wiſh to avoid an encounter on the preſent occaſion; but the movements of the French ſhips were ſo ſpeedily communicated, by ſignals from the frigates upon the watch, and the Engliſh fleet were ſo well prepared, that the whole were clear off Groſs-Iſlet-Bay by noon, and purſued them with the utmoſt expedition. This unequalled diligence, and the general ardour, brought them within ſight of the enemy under Dominique, on that very night; and they afterwards regulated the purſuit by their ſignals. So ſudden a preſſure could not have been expected by M. de Graſſe. He, however, immediately accommodated himſelf to the emergency, and though fighting was by no means his object, he formed the line of battle to windward early in the morning, to afford an opportunity to his convoy to proceed on their courſe, whilſt he remained to ſuffer the conſequences. On the other ſide, ſir George Rodney had thrown out ſignals ſoon after five in the morning to prepare for battle, to form the line at two cables length diſtance aſunder, and for the ſhips to fill and ſtand on. But the Engliſh fleet lay becalmed for a conſiderable time under the highlands of Dominique, while the enemy, who

* Towards the cloſe of the year 1781, lord George Germaine was, for his *eminent ſervices*, raiſed by his majeſty to the dignity of the peerage. But before the great ſeal was affixed to the patent, the marquis of Carmarthen moved, in the houſe of peers, "that it was highly derogatory to the honour of that houſe, that any perſon "labouring under the ſentence of a court-martial, ſtyled "in the public orders iſſued by his late majeſty, *a ſentence "much worſe than death*, and adjudged unfit to ſerve his "majeſty in any military capacity, ſhould be recommended "to the crown, as a proper perſon to ſit in that houſe."

This motion was evaded by the queſtion of adjournment: but lord George Germaine having actually taken his ſeat in that houſe, under the title of lord viſcount Sackville, the marquis of Carmarthen renewed his attack, and urged, "that the houſe of peers being a court of honour, "it was their duty to preſerve that honour uncontaminated, and to mark, in the moſt forcible manner, their "diſapprobation of the introduction of a perſon into that "aſſembly, who was ſtigmatized in the orderly books of "every regiment in the ſervice."

Lord Abingdon, who ſeconded the motion, ſtyled the admiſſion of Lord George Germaine to the peerage, "an "inſufferable indignity to that houſe, and an outrageous "inſult to the public."

Lord Sackville, in his own vindication, denied the juſtice of the ſentence paſſed upon him, and affirmed, "that "he conſidered his reſtoration to the council-board, at a "very early period of the preſent reign, as amounting to "a virtual repeal of that iniquitous verdict."

The duke of Richmond ſtrongly defended the motion, declaring, "that he himſelf was preſent at the battle of "Minden, and was ſummoned on the trial of lord George "Germaine; and had his depoſition been called for, he "could have proved, that the time loſt when the noble "viſcount delayed to advance, under pretence of receiving contradictory orders, was not leſs than *one hour and "a half*; that the cavalry were a mile and a quarter only "from the ſcene of action; and it was certainly in his "lordſhip's power to have rendered the victory, important as it was, far more brilliant and deciſive: and he "had little reaſon to complain of the ſentence paſſed upon "him."

The motion was alſo powerfully ſupported by lord Southampton, the earl of Shelburne, the marquis of Rockingham, and other diſtinguiſhed peers: but on a diviſion, it was rejected by a majority of ninety-three to twenty-eight voices. A proteſt, however, was entered on the journals of the houſe, which could not have been a pleaſing circumſtance to his lordſhip.

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were farther advanced towards Guadaloupe, had wind enough to enable them to make the movements we have ſtated. The breeze at length reaching the van of the Engliſh fleet, they began to cloſe with the French centre, whilſt their own centre and rear were ſtill becalmed. This action, however, commenced about nine o'clock on the ninth of April. The attack was led by the Royal Oak, captain Burnet, and ſeconded by the Alfred and the Montague, with the moſt impetuous bravery. The whole diviſion were in a few minutes cloſely engaged, and for upwards of an hour were exceedingly preſſed by the great ſuperiority of the enemy. The Barfleur, ſir Samuel Hood's own ſhip, had at one time ſeven, and generally three ſhips firing upon her, and none of the diviſion eſcaped the encounter of a very diſproportionate force. At length, the leading ſhips of the centre were gradually enabled to come up to the aſſiſtance of the van. Theſe were ſoon followed by ſir George Rodney in the Formidable, with his two ſeconds, the Namur and Duke, all of ninety guns; who ſupported a moſt tremendous fire. The gallantry of a French captain of a ſeventy-four in the rear, who, oppoſite to Prince Rupert's Bay, having backed his main-top-ſail, ſteadily received and bravely returned the fire of theſe three great ſhips in ſucceſſion, without in the leaſt flinching from his ſtation, excited the higheſt applauſe and admiration of his enemies. The coming up of the admiral, with part of the centre diviſion, rendered the fight leſs unequal; and M. de Graſſe, notwithſtanding his ſtill great ſuperiority, perceiving that his purpoſe had failed while the van was engaged ſingly; determined, by changing the nature of the action, to prevent its now becoming deciſive. The command of the wind, and the connected ſtate of his fleet, enabled him to execute this deſign, and to keep ſuch a cautious diſtance during the remainder of the engagement, as was evidently intended to diſable our ſhips as much as could be done, without any conſiderable hazard on his own ſide. This ſort of firing, which was extremely well ſupported on both ſides, was continued for an hour and three quarters longer: during all which time, the reſt of the fleet was held back by the calms and baffling winds under Dominique. About twelve o'clock the remaining ſhips of the centre came up, and the rear was cloſing the line; in conſequence of which M. de Graſſe withdrew his fleet from the action, and evaded all the efforts of the Engliſh commanders for its renewal. Captain Bayne of the Alfred gallantly fell in this action. The fleet lay to, on the night of the ninth, to repair their damages; and the following day was principally ſpent in refitting. Both fleets kept turning up to the windward, in the channel which ſeparates the iſlands of Dominique and Guadaloupe. On the eleventh, the enemy had got ſo far to windward as to weather Guadaloupe, and had gained ſuch a diſtance, that the body of their fleet could only be deſcried from the maſt head of our centre. Two of the French ſhips which had ſuffered great injury in the late action, were perceived about noon, to fall off conſiderably from the reſt of the fleet to leeward. This pleaſing circumſtance immediately produced ſignals for a general chace from the Britiſh admiral, and again renewed, throughout the fleet, the hope of coming up with the enemy. It was now impoſſible for them to avoid fighting; but the evening being too far advanced, that final deciſion was poſtponed to the morning. The purſuing ſhips fell back into their ſtations, a cloſe line was immediately formed, and a moſt maſterly diſpoſition of the Britiſh fleet exhibited; while ſuch manœuvres were practiſed in the night, as were neceſſary, at leaſt, to preſerve things in their preſent ſtate, and might poſſibly produce caſual advantage. The hoſtile fleets met upon oppoſite tacks. The battle commenced about ſeven o'clock in the morning of the twelfth, and was continued with unremitting fury till about the ſame hour in the evening. Admiral Drake, whoſe diviſion led to action, gained the higheſt honour, by the gallantry with which he received, and the effect with which he returned, the fire of the whole French line. His leading ſhip the Marlborough, captain Penny, was peculiarly diſtinguiſhed. She received and returned, at the neareſt diſtances, the firſt fire of twenty-three French ſhips of war; and had the fortune only to have three men killed and ſixteen wounded. The ſignal for cloſe fighting had from the firſt been thrown out, and was, without a ſingle exception, punctually obſerved. The line was formed at only a cable length's diſtance. Our ſhips as they came up, ranged ſlowly along the enemy's line, and cloſe under their lee, where they gave and received a moſt tremendous fire *. About noon ſir George Rodney, in the Formidable, with his ſeconds the Namur and Duke, and immediately ſupported by the Canada, bore directly, with full ſail, athwart the enemy's line, and ſucceſsfully broke through it, about three ſhips ſhort of the centre, where M. de Graſſe commanded in the Ville de Paris. Being followed and ſupported by the ſhips a-ſtern of his diviſion, he wore round upon his heel, and completing the ſeparation of their line, threw them into inextricable confuſion. This maſterly puſh decided the fortune of the day. The French, however, continued to fight with great

* The Formidable, ſir George Rodney's ſhip, fired near fourſcore broadſides: and we may well believe that ſhe was not ſingular. The French ſtood and returned this dreadful fire with the utmoſt gallantry; and both ſides fought, as if the fate and honour of their reſpective countries were ſtaked upon the fate of that ſingle day.

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bravery, and the battle continued till ſun-ſet; which in thoſe latitudes, is almoſt immediately ſucceeded by darkneſs.

The broken ſtate of the French fleet, naturally expoſed, in ſome inſtances, a few ſhips to the attack of a greater number; and the extent of the action, with the darkneſs and uncertainty occaſioned by the ſmoke, afforded opportunities, which might have been leſs expected, for ſingle combat. The Canada, of ſeventy-four guns, captain Cornwallis, took the French Hector, of the ſame force, ſingly. Captain Inglefield, in the Centaur of ſeventy-four guns, alſo came up from the rear, to the attack of the Ceſar, of ſeventy-four. Both ſhips were yet freſh, and had received no injury, and a moſt gallant action took place; but though the French captain had evidently the diſadvantage, he ſtill diſdained to yield. Three other ſhips came up ſucceſſively. His courage was inflexible; he is ſaid to have nailed his colours to the maſts, and his death only could terminate the conteſt. When ſhe ſtruck, her maſt went overboard, ſhe had not a foot of canvas without a ſhot hole. The Glorieux alſo fought nobly; and did not ſtrike, till her maſts, bowſprit, and enſign, were ſhot away. The Engliſh Ardent, of ſixty-four guns, which had been taken by the enemy in the beginning of the war, was now retaken, by the Bellequeux or the Bedford. The Diadem, a French ſeventy-four, went down by a ſingle broadſide, in an exertion to ſave her admiral. M. de Graſſe was nobly ſupported even after the line was broken, and till the diſorder and confuſion became unavoidable. His two ſeconds, the Languedoc and Couronne, were particularly diſtinguiſhed, and the former narrowly eſcaped being taken, in her laſt efforts to extricate the admiral. The Ville de Paris, after being much battered, was cloſely laid along ſide by the Canada; and in a deſperate action of near two hours, was reduced almoſt to a wreck. Captain Cornwallis was ſo eager in his deſign upon the French admiral, that without taking poſſeſſion of the Hector, he left her to be picked up by a frigate, while he proceeded to the Ville de Paris. It ſeemed as if M. de Graſſe was determined to ſink rather than ſtrike to any thing under a flag; but he perhaps alſo conſidered the fatal effects which the ſtriking flag might produce on the fleet. At length, ſir Samuel Hood came up in the Barfleur, almoſt at ſun-ſet, and poured in a moſt tremendous fire, which to have killed ſixty men; but M. de Graſſe, g to ſignalize, as much as poſſible, the loſs of e and ſo favourite a ſhip, endured the repeti- ns of this fire for about a quarter of an hour onger. He then condeſcended to ſtrike his flag to the Barfleur, and ſurrendered himſelf to ſir Samuel Hood. If we were diſpoſed to adopt the pompous language ſometimes uſed on the continent, it might be ſaid, without much extravagance of hyperbole, that miracles and prodigies of valour were performed on both ſides*. Sir George Rodney, for his gallant behaviour, received the thanks of the Britiſh ſenate, was created a peer of the realm, and gratified with a liberal penſion.

A conſiderable battle was fought about this time in the Eaſt Indies, between the Britiſh forces under ſir Eyre Coote, and thoſe under Hyder Ally, in which the former proved victorious. Hyder loſt his ſecond ſon, with many of his principal officers, and the whole number killed and wounded amounted to eighteen thouſand. After this ſanguinary engagement Hyder retreated with precipitation to Trincomale, in order to recruit his army †.

Diſpatches from ſir Edward Hughes, about the

* The Ceſar, which was one of the beſt ſhips in the French fleet, was unfortunately ſet on fire, and blew up in the night of the action. This happened through the inordinate behaviour of the French priſoners, who throwing off all obedience to their officers from the time ſhe ſtruck, and finding the Engliſh on board too few in number effectually to reſtrain their ill conduct, were guilty of the greateſt enormities. A lieutenant, and fifty Engliſh ſeamen, periſhed, with about four hundred priſoners. The loſs of men in the Britiſh fleet was wonderfully ſmall, conſidering the length and violence of the battle, the prodigiouſneſs of the fire, the nearneſs of the combatants, and the obſtinate bravery of the enemy. The whole number killed, and wounded, in two actions of the ninth and twelfth, (for no ſeparate liſts have been given) amounted only to one thouſand and fifty, of which two hundred and fifty three were killed on the ſpot. It is obſervable, that the ſlain in the Ville de Paris only, was ſaid to amount, at leaſt to four hundred. The brave captain Blair of the Anſon, who in the preceding year, had moſt gallantly fought the Dolphin againſt the Dutch, in the North-ſea action under admiral Hyde Parker, fell gloriouſly on this day. The loſs of lord Robert Manners, ſon of the late marquis of Granby, and brother to the duke of Rutland, was univerſally lamented by the nation as well as the navy. That gallant young nobleman, in the command of the Reſolution, of ſeventy four guns, had been highly diſtinguiſhed during the war, by a ſeries of the moſt brilliant actions; and being moſt grievouſly wounded in this battle, though with fair hopes of recovery from the excellence of his conſtitution, was, to the great loſs of his country and the ſervice, carried off by a locked jaw, a few days after, on his paſſage to England. Thirty-ſix cheſts of money, deſtined to the pay and ſubſiſtence of the troops in the intended invaſion of Jamaica, were found in the Ville de Paris. The Ville de Paris, however, ſuffered ſo much in the action, that it was impoſſible to keep her above water, and ſhe never reached England.

† On the commitment of the mutiny bill for 1782, Mr. Burke expreſſed ſtrong diſapprobation of employing general Arnold as an officer in the Britiſh army; as he was a rebel to rebels. His ſervices might be properly rewarded by a pecuniary gift or a penſion, but he ought never to be entruſted with the power of committing freſh treaſons.

ſame time informed us, that on the twenty-firſt of October, in the preceding year, the company's troops under the command of ſir Hector Monro, marched to Nogore on the ſea-coaſt, to co-operate with his majeſty's fleet in the reduction of Negapatam. The marines, and the greater part of the ſeamen, with the heavy cannon, &c. being landed on the twenty-ninth, the ſtrong lines which the enemy had thrown up to defend the approach to the town, were ſtormed and carried. On the ſeventh of November a battery of ten eighteen pounders being ready to open, the admiral and general diſpatched a ſummons to the governor to ſurrender, who being indiſpoſed, his ſecond in command declared for him, that the place ſhould be defended. During the ſiege the enemy made two deſperate ſallies, but were repulſed with conſiderable loſs. On the tenth, more batteries being ready, the enemy demanded a capitulation, which was granted, and being ſigned on the twelfth, the town and citadel was then delivered up. The garriſon conſiſted of eight thouſand men, two thouſand three hundred of which were troops belonging to Hyder; and among theſe were one thouſand cavalry. In conſequence of the fall of Negapatam, Hyder's troops evacuated all the forts and ſtrong poſts they held in the Tangore country; and the petty princes in various other provinces, who, at the inſtigation of Hyder, had rebelled againſt the nabob of the Carnatic, laid down their arms, and returned to their obedience.

To return to domeſtic affairs; the marquis of Rockingham, having been appointed firſt lord of the treaſury, lord Shelburne, and the right honourable Charles James Fox, ſecretaries of ſtate, lord Camden, preſident of the council, &c. it was hoped the new adminiſtration was founded upon a permanent baſis, and as a memorable inſtance of the ſuppoſed triumph of freedom over venality, the reſolution declaring the expulſion of Mr. Wilkes, and his incapacity of ſerving as a member of parliament, was expunged the houſe of commons, by a vote of a very conſiderable majority. But the general joy ariſing from an arrangement of miniſtry ſo grateful to the people, was ſoon allayed by the univerſally lamented death of the marquis of Rockingham, a nobleman, whoſe whole conduct throughout life had evinced the moſt genuine patriotiſm and philanthrophy. This melancholy event was followed by the reſignation of Mr. Fox and other members of the new cabinet, in conſequence of the earl of Shelburne being appointed to the office of firſt lord of the treaſury. Various conjectures were formed from theſe ſudden reſignations, but the houſe of commons having been unexpectedly adjourned to the ninth of July, no authentic information could be obtained till that day, when, under the idea that Mr. Fox would then mention his reaſons for his reſignation, there appeared a moſt aſtoniſhing concourſe of people at every avenue of the houſe. A debate took place from a report of a penſion having been granted to colonel Barre, then treaſurer of the navy, amounting to three thouſand two hundred pounds a year. In the courſe of this very intereſting conteſt, thoſe of his majeſty's late adminiſtration gave their reaſons for their reſignation, whilſt ſuch as remained pledged themſelves for the continuance of thoſe principles, for which they were firſt received into his majeſty's councils. The next day this intereſting ſubject was diſcuſſed in the upper houſe. The duke of Richmond ſpoke with extreme candour and liberality, declaring his wiſh that the world ſhould know on what principles he came into office. He affirmed that the new government was formed on this triple foundation: the great baſis was in a peace with thoſe againſt whom we waged war abroad; in retrenching expences at home, and in leſſening the increaſing influence of the crown. After ſpeaking reſpectfully of the character of the late marquis, he lamented the reſignation of the ſecretary of ſtate, and chancellor of the exchequer, but declared that the preſent miniſters ſhould have his ſupport ſo long as they remained firm to thoſe principles they at firſt profeſſed.

His majeſty repaired to the houſe of peers on the eleventh, and having in a ſpeech to parliament commended their unwearied zeal and induſtry with the plaineſt regard to its true intereſt, whether peace or a continuance of war ſhould be the event, thanked the commons for their liberal ſupplies, and declared his reliance on the ſpirit, affection, and unanimity of his people in the ſupport of the honour of his crown, and the intereſt of his kingdoms; the lord chancellor by command of his majeſty, prorogued the ſeſſion to the third of September.

By accounts, from the Eaſt India houſe, it appeared, that there had been a deſperate engagement between our fleet under ſir Edward Hughes, and that of France under M. Suffrein. The French, at length, after a warm conteſt of upwards of two hours, ceaſed firing and hauled off after their tranſports they had in convoy; much loſs was ſuſtained on both ſides; that of the enemy could not be determined, but on the ſide of the Engliſh fell two captains, ſeveral inferior officers, and thirty-two private men, beſides about one hundred were wounded. Sir Edward, after the action, proceeded to Trincomale to repair his damages, and having refitted, ſailed for Fort St. George.

The deplorable circumſtances which the American war brought on in this country, may be gathered from the following reſolution in the houſe of delegates, tranſmitted in the South Carolina gazette: Reſolved unanimouſly, "That this houſe will exert the power of the ſtate, to enable congreſs to proſecute the war, until Great Britain renounce all claim of ſovereignty over the United States, or any part thereof, [illegible] their independence be formally or tacitly

tacitly assured by the treaty with Great Britain, France, and the United States, which shall terminate the war."

The loss of the Royal George, of one hundred guns, which happened at Spithead on the twenty-ninth of August, was thought one of the greatest misfortunes this country had experienced for many years past. This ship having, on her last cruize, made more water than usual, a resolution was formed, to heave her down at Spithead, in consequence of which the weather being moderate, the business was commenced at six o'clock in the morning, and the ship by ten was got to a proper situation for discovering the leak, but in order to take off some farther sheets of copper, to caulk the seams properly, she was ordered to be lowered another streak; in the mean time, great part of the crew were at dinner, when the ship by a sudden gust of wind fell on one side, and the lower deck port being open, she filled in about eight minutes, and sunk to the bottom. It is generally supposed that upwards of nine hundred people suffered upon this melancholy occasion, including about two hundred and fifty women and several children. The loss of the brave admiral Kempenfeldt was truly lamented; his abilities were known to all the naval powers, and he was justly esteemed as a brave and experienced sea-officer *.

An express was received at the admiralty from vice-admiral lord Shuldham, soon after the loss of the Royal George, with an account from the captain of a merchantman from Jamaica, of the loss of his majesty's ship the Ramillies. It appeared that admiral Greaves, who had the charge of the homeward bound Jamaica convoy, kept a very northward course to avoid the enemy's cruizers, whom he supposed might be detached to intercept the tardy ships of the convoy. His flag was flying on board the Ramillies from his departure from Jamaica, to the moment it was necessary to quit her for the preservation of the lives of the crew. She lost her masts on the tenth of September in a violent gale of wind, and continued ungovernable till the nineteenth, when she was abandoned and left in a sinking condition.

[illegible]ices from Bengal, received about this time, an- the most pleasing expectations of an imme- [illegible]nd general peace, though our government in [illegible]arter abounded in every species of resource [illegible]ecuting the war. The Mahrattas, weary of an unsuccessful war, had declared for pacific measures, and the late misunderstanding with the Nizam, and some other of the country powers, were now so far removed, that if Hyder Ally alone had proved refractory, they had all engaged to unite with the company's servants in bringing him to reason

Accounts received about the same time mention, that the squadron of a desperate adventurer, named Paul Jones, which surprised and took the forts and settlements in Hudson's Bay, consisted of three frigates and three or four privateers. They obtained a considerable booty at Fort Charles, and Fort Rupert factories, destroyed all the forts and vessels on the bay, and took away with them two valuable loaded vessels belonging to the company, which were sent for Boston prior to Paul Jones's bearing away for the North Seas. His booty, exclusive of the injury he had done to the forts and factories, was estimated at one hundred thousand pounds. This adventurer some time before fell in with his majesty's ships the Serapis, commanded by Captain Pearson, and the countess of Salisbury, commanded by captain Piercy, having under his convoy a large number of transports. A

* In the beginning of 1783, a very elegant monument was erected in the church-yard at Portsea, to the memory of the brave, though unfortunate, admiral Kempenfeldt, and his fellow-sufferers, who perished in the Royal George. The monument is lofty, in a pyramidal form, ornamented with marine trophies, arms, sculptured urns, &c. and in an oval compartment upon the upper part of the pyramid, in black marble and gold letters, is this inscription:

" Reader,
with solemn thought
survey this grave,
and reflect
on the untimely death
of thy fellow mortals:
and whilst
as a man, a Briton, and a patriot,
thou readest
the melancholy narrative,
drop a tear
for thy country's
loss."

And underneath the following inscription:

" On the twenty-ninth day of August, 1782,
his majesty's ship the ROYAL GEORGE,
being on the heel at Spithead,
overset and sunk;
by which fatal accident
about nine hundred persons
were instantly launched into eternity,
among whom was that brave and experienced officer
rear-admiral KEMPENFELDT.
Nine days after
many bodies of the unfortunate floated,
thirty-five of whom were interred
in one grave
near this monument
which is erected by the parish of
PORTSEA,
as a grateful tribute
to the memory
of that great commander
and his fellow-sufferers."

And upon a pedestal in gold letters is this epitaph:

" 'Tis not this stone, regretted chief, thy name,
Thy worth, and merit shall extend thy fame.
Brilliant achievements have thy name impress
In lasting characters on ALBION's breast."

desperate

desperate engagement ensued, in which Paul Jones's squadron proved victorious, and the Serapis and Countess of Salisbury were both captured; but the transports, fortunately made their escape *.

The English were about this time most agreeably relieved from the disagreeable apprehensions they had entertained respecting the fate of Gibraltar, by the following important intelligence, communicated by general Elliot, the gallant defender of that fortress, to Mr. Secretary Townshend. From the general's representation it appeared, that the enemy had collected their whole force by sea and land: the former consisted of forty-four sail of the line, besides three inferior two deckers, ten battering ships, five bomb ketches, several frigates, and zebecques, a great number of gun and mortar boats, a large floating battery, many armed vessels, and three hundred boats for carrying troops †. Their land batteries were mounted with above one hundred pieces of cannon, and an equal number of mortars and howitzers, and their army consisted of near forty thousand men. On the thirteenth of September, at eight in the morning, all the battering ships commanded by Don Buenventura Moreno, rear-admiral, were put in motion, and came forward to their several appointed stations, the admiral being placed upon the capital of the king's bastion, the other ships extending three to the southward of the flag as far as the church battery, five to the northward, about the height of the Old Mole, and one a little to the westward of the admiral. By a quarter before ten they were anchored in line, at the distance of a thousand to twelve hundred yards, immediately on which a heavy cannonade began from all the ships, which was strongly supported by the cannon and mortars in the enemy's lines and approaches. At the same instant our batteries opened with hot and cold shot from the guns, and shells from the howitzers and mortars. This fire continued without intermission on both sides till noon, when that of the enemy from their ships seemed to slacken a little. About two o'clock the admiral's ship was observed to smoke as if on fire, and a few men were observed to be active in searching out the cause. Our batteries never discontinued. The enemy's fire from the ships gradually decreased. About seven in the evening they fired only from a few guns at intervals. At midnight the admiral's ship was discovered to have taken fire, and in an hour after it was completely in flames; eight more of the ships took fire in succession. Signals of distress being now made, the launches, feluccas, and boats, had yet made no considerable progress, and the fire from the enemy's batteries on shore did not in the least diminish. Captain Curtis of the ship Brilliant, who was appointed to the command of the marine brigade, and with his squadron of gun-boats lay ready to take advantage of any favourable circumstances, left the New Mole at two o'clock, and about three formed a line upon the enemy's flank, advancing and firing with great order and expedition, which so astonished and discoucerted them, that they fled precipitately with all their boats, and abandoned the ships, in which some officers and numbers of their men, including many wounded, were left to perish ‡. In the course of the day the remaining eight ships severally blew up with a violent explosion; one only escaped the effect of our fire, which it was thought proper to burn, there being no possibility of preserving her. The admiral's flag remained flying on board his ship till she

* Towards the conclusion of this action, one of the crew on board Paul Jones's ship, thinking they must be inevitably conquered, or totally destroyed, attempted to strike the colours, which so irritated his commander, that he instantly shot him through the head.

† The preparations for this grand enterprise were beyond all example. It was found that no less than twelve hundred pieces of heavy ordnance of various kinds had been accumulated before the place, for the almost numberless intended purposes of attack by sea and land. The quantity of powder, shot, shells, and of every kind of military stores and provision, were so immense as to exceed credibility. The quantity of gunpowder only was said to exceed eighty-three thousand barrels. Forty gun-boats, with heavy artillery, as many bomb-ketches, with twelve inch mortars, besides a large floating battery, and five bomb-ketches on the usual construction, were all destined to second the powerful efforts of the great battering ships. Nearly all the frigates, and smaller armed vessels of the kingdom were assembled, to afford such aid as they might be found capable of; and three hundred large boats were collected from every part of Spain, which with the very great number already in the vicinity, were to minister to the fighting vessels during action, and to land troops in the place as soon as they had dismantled the fortress. The combined fleets of France and Spain, amounting to something about fifty ships of the line, were to cover and support the attack; and could not but greatly heighten the terrors as well as the magnificence of the scene. The preparations by land kept pace with those at sea. Twelve thousand French troops were brought to diffuse their peculiar vivacity and animation through the Spanish army, as well as for the benefit to be derived from the example and exertion of their superior discipline and experience. The duke de Crillon was assisted by a number of the best officers of both countries, and particularly of the best engineers and artillerists of his own.

‡ Captain Curtis's vigorous fire from some gun-boats, increased the consternation of the enemy, whose other ships were successively set on fire by the heated balls of the garrison, except one, which, from the impracticability of preserving it, was burned in the ordinary way. Many of the enemy were killed in the attack; many perished in the flames; many were drowned; and not a few were rescued from impending destruction by the efforts of the English, who endangered their own lives in this noble exercise of humanity. Thus did Elliott, and his resolute garrison triumph over the boasted preparations of Spain

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was totally consumed. The royal artillery, additional gunners, and marine brigade, only could be employed in this service, which they executed with deliberate coolness and undaunted intrepidity. The fire was incessant, and the batteries abundantly supplied with ammunition; every soldier in the garrison, not on duty, eagerly pressing to share in the honourable labours of the day. The enemy's daring attempt by sea was effectually defeated by the well supported fire from our batteries; but the well-timed, judicious, and spirited attack made by brigadier Curtis, rendered this success a complete victory. The loss in the brigade of seamen, considering the nature of the attack, was very inconsiderable, only one man being killed and five wounded. That of the enemy in killed, burned, drowned, and wounded, must have been almost incalculable *. The sincere gratitude all the prisoners of war expressed for their deliverance from the various horrors that surrounded them, afford the highest satisfaction to humanity †.

On the twenty-second of November, Mr. Secretary Townshend sent a letter to the directors of the bank of England, of which the following is a copy:

" Gentlemen, *Whitehall, Nov. 22*, 1782.

" His majesty's ministers, anxious to prevent, as much as possible, the mischiefs too commonly resulting from speculations in the funds, during the uncertain state of the negociation for peace, between the powers at war, (and which it is to the general honour and interest of all great powers to avoid) have thought it their duty to ask his majesty's permission to communicate to you, for the information of the public, that the negociations now carrying on at Paris, are brought so far to a point, as to promise a decisive conclusion, either for peace or war, before the meeting of parliament, which will on that account be prorogued from Tuesday the twenty-sixth instant, to Thursday the fifth of December next.

" I have his majesty's commands to assure you, that you will receive immediate notice of the issue.

" I am, Gentlemen,

" your most obedient

Governor and Company of the Bank of England. " humble servant,

T. TOWNSHEND."

The lord mayor of London also received a letter of similar import with that addressed to the governor and company of the bank of England. After this notification the following letter was received by the lord mayor:

" My Lord,

" In consequence of my letter to your lordship of the twenty-second of last month, I take the earliest opportunity of informing your lordship, that a messenger is just arrived from Paris with an account of provisional articles being signed on the thirteenth of November, between his majesty's commissioners and the commissioners of the United States of America, to be inserted in, and constitute a treaty of peace; hence peace shall be concluded between Great Britain and France. Your lordship will make this as public as possible.

" I am, &c.

December 3, 1782. " T. TOWNSHEND."

A copy of the above was also sent to the directors of the bank.

On the fifth of December his majesty went to the house of peers, and opened the session of parliament with a speech from the throne, importing that in consequence of the sense of his parliament, he pointed

* The fate of the Spaniards must have been wretched, had they not been dragged from amidst the flames through the personal intrepidity of brigadier Curtis and his people, almost at the hazard of their own lives. The general expressed the utmost anguish at seeing the brigadier's pinnace close to one of the largest ships at the instant she blew up, and spread her wrecks to a vast extent all around, till the black cloud of smoke being dispersed, he was again revived by the sight of the pinnace, little apprehending that the brigadier was in the utmost danger of sinking; some pieces of timber having fallen into, and pierced the boat, killing the cockswain, and wounding others of the men, so that scarce any hopes remained of reaching the shore: he was providentially saved by stopping the hole with the seamens jackets until boats could arrive to their relief. One of our gun-boats was sunk at the same moment.

† The duke de Crillon, a general of great reputation having the chief command of the allied forces, princes of the royal blood of France, dignified characters of Europe, the first nobility of Spain, and great military officers, being present with the besieged army, an amazing concourse of spectators that filled the camp and covered the adjacent hills on this occasion, plainly proved that the combined powers had formed the most sanguine expectations from their battering ships, deemed perfect in the design, completed by prodigious labour and unlimited profusion of expence, and by common report pronounced invincible.

The loss sustained by the combined force of France and Spain in this fruitless attack upon Gibraltar, cannot by any means be ascertained: their own accounts being so evidently calculated to depreciate their loss both by sea and land. A letter from a French officer, dated on the evening of the eighteenth, giving an account of the attack upon the works on that day by the garrison, contains the following pathetic passage, which may afford some idea of the effect produced by a similar or greater fire on the thirteenth, viz. " The eye is fatigued, and the heart rent, with the sight and groans of the dying and wounded, whom the soldiers are this moment carrying away; the number makes a man shudder, and I am told that in other parts of the lines, which are not within view of my post, the numbers are still greater. Fortunately for my feelings, I have not, at this instant, leisure to reflect much on the state and condition of mankind."

all his views and measures, to an entire and cordial reconciliation with the colonies; and expressive of his perfect reliance on their wisdom in the further prosecution of the war, should its continuance appear to be indispensible. In his particular address to the commons, he displayed a very œconomical disposition, a generous feeling for the sufferers in America, made the greater concession, on his part, and recommended such measures as should be deemed most salutary and patriotic. After some debates as to certain particular parts of the speech, an address was unanimously agreed to in the house of lords; the same form passed in the lower house, and the addresses being respectively presented, met with most gracious answers from the king *.

On the twelfth of December captain Luttrell, commander of the Mediator, of forty-four guns, displayed an instance of singular prowess in the attack of five sail of French and American frigates laden with military stores off Ferrol, and the capture of the Alexander of twenty-four, together with the Managere of thirty-guns, *armée en flute*. On the fourteenth captain Stephen Gregory, of the Alexander, contrived a plan to occasion the prisoners to rise, and hoped to have taken the command of the Mediator from captain Luttrell; but through the indefatigable attention of lieutenant Rankin of the marines, the parties were discovered, and ordered to be put in irons, and kept on bread and water. The Managere was conducted into Plymouth Sound, and the Alexander followed a short time after.

On the twenty-third of December his majesty went to the house of peers, and gave the royal assent to several bills that were ready; after which the lords unanimously voted their thanks to sir Edward Hughes and sir Eyre Coote, as did also the house of commons on the same day †.

Public expectation was now greatly raised by the apparent prospect of the happy restoration of general tranquillity, as the preliminary articles of peace between England and France were signed at Versailles, on the twentieth of January ‡, by Mr. Alleyne Fitz-herbert, on the part of the one, and by the count de Vergennes, on that of the other. The preliminary articles between England and Spain were signed on the same day by the first of those gentlemen, and by the count D'Aranda, on the part of the catholic king.

Great debates arose in the houses of parliament on the subject of the preliminary articles of peace. In the upper house the leaders of the opposition considered the preliminaries as injurious to the interest and honour of Great Britain: accused the ministry of impolicy and improvidence in marking the boundaries between the territorial rights of Great Britain, and the United States of America; censured them for employing an incompetent commissioner to negociate with them, as appeared from the shameful ignorance, and absurdity of the provisional articles; condemned the several concessions both in America and the East Indies, and concluded, from the general tenor of the preliminaries, that the ministry had acceded implicitly to whatever terms might have been proposed to them. In answer to these charges, the friends of administration observed, that the peace was as good as we had reason to expect, considering the number of foes that assailed us in Europe, in America, in the West Indies, and in the East. They judiciously remarked, that the ministry who transacted the important matter alluded to had come into power at the most critical moment this nation had ever experienced; that they were sensible of the distressed situation of their country, and the arduous task they were about to undertake; but that, actuated by their duty, their attachment to the constitution, and their public spirit, they rather chose to hazard every thing

* Intelligence was about this time received of the fate of his majesty's ship the Centaur, of seventy-four guns, commanded by captain Inglefield, which foundered near the Azores in the Atlantic Ocean. At the time of her sinking, the crew were chiefly on board, there not being a single ship in sight to afford them any assistance. A short time previous to her going down, a part of the crew took to her remaining boats, which were three in number, her other boats being stove in the hurricane; but of these, two were sunk from being too much laden, and all who were in them perished. The other, which was very small, containing only twelve men besides the captain and a boy, fortunately reached Fyal, one of the Azores, after being exposed to the greatest distress for sixteen days. When these wretched survivors quitted the ship, they took with them only water sufficient for three days, but which, by prudent management, sparingly furnished them for nine days; after which time they were reduced to the shocking extremity of drinking their own urine.

† Towards the termination of this year, the pleasing intelligence arrived of the release of captain Asgill, son of sir Charles Asgill, alderman of London, by virtue of an order of the United States of America in congress assembled on the seventh of November. This brave and amiable young officer, had been doomed by lot to suffer death, to retaliate for the murder of one captain Huddy, an American officer, who had been executed as a traitor by the loyal refugees of New York. Immediately on hearing of the fate of her unfortunate son, lady Asgill, his afflicted mother, applied in the most pathetic terms, to the count de Vergennes, prime minister of France. The count with great humanity and politeness, wrote to general Washington on the interesting subject, and that officer, warmly interfering in behalf of the unhappy captain, his life was spared.

Lady Asgill's letter to count Vergennes on this occasion, was so truly pathetic and interesting, that we were almost inclined to insert it, had it been shorter.

‡ A D. 1783.

than ſuffer ſuch deſtructive meaſures any longer to be purſued; that they had come into adminiſtration, when the cry of the whole nation was, "Give us peace on any terms;" and that they had procured a peace on much better terms than could have been expected. As to the boundaries in America, ſo much objected to, they urged, that they were propoſed agreeable to the ſyſtem of moderation that now began to prevail in the moſt enlightened parts of Europe; and, in a word, preſumed that, all circumſtances conſidered, every diſpaſſionate and impartial man would be convinced that the miniſtry had done their duty, and made as good a peace as this kingdom had a right to expect. At length a motion for an addreſs to his majeſty, congratulating him on the return of peace, was carried by a majority of thirteen.

In the lower houſe, Fox and Sheridan condemned the treaties as pregnant with diſadvantage and ignominy: lord North, to the aſtoniſhment of all preſent, joined in the public clamour; in conſequence of which, the addreſs propoſed by the miniſterial party, was deprived of thoſe clauſes which involved an approbation of the articles, by a majority of ſixteen voices. The attack and defence of the treaties were renewed in a ſubſequent debate; and the conceſſions which had been made to the adverſaries of Great Britain, were voted to have been greater than they had a right to expect.

An unexpected and very extraordinary coalition took place at this time, between lord North *, and Mr. Fox, and their partizans, and the conſequent cenſures paſſed in the lower houſe on the negociators of the peace. Many members thought theſe inconveniencies of ſuch ſerious conſequence, that however it might ſeem to encroach on the royal prerogative, in which alone was the appointment of miniſters, it was highly neceſſary, in a moment ſo extremely critical, to addreſs his majeſty on this occaſion. Accordingly the following motion was made on the twenty-fourth of March, "That an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to take into conſideration the preſent calamitous condition of this country, occaſioned by a long and ruinous war, and that he would appoint ſuch an adminiſtration, as would deſerve the confidence of the people, and relieve them from the diſtractions under which they groaned." This motion was not expected to paſs without oppoſition, nor the wonderful coalition to eſcape without being ſeverely noticed by the oppoſite parties. Mr. Martin, a member whoſe parliamentary conduct had ever been graced by independence and integrity, peremptorily declared, that from fixed principles he abhorred the coalition; that he had for many years heard the wiſeſt and beſt men in the houſe exclaim againſt the incompetence of the noble lord (North) to ſuſtain the cares of this mighty empire, that his ſomnolency, his blunders, his obſtinacy, &c. had been the continual theme of thoſe very men who were now elaborate in their encomiums on his character; and that therefore he ſhould feel himſelf a betrayer of the intereſts of his country, if he gave his voice for an addreſs to countenance ſuch a coalition; but, having an entire confidence in the wiſdom and firmneſs of his ſovereign, he ſhould vote for it, not doubting that his majeſty's choice would meet the moſt ſanguine wiſhes of his people. At length the addreſs was propoſed, carried, and graciouſly received by his majeſty, who, declared, that it was his earneſt deſire to do every thing in his power to comply with the wiſhes expreſſed by his faithful commons.

On the thirty-firſt, the country being without an adminiſtration, the chancellor of the exchequer announced his reſignation to the houſe. The ſuſpenſion of public buſineſs, unavoidably conſequent on this ſtate of affairs, created juſt ground for public murmur and parliamentary interference. Different forms of addreſſes were moved and ſubmitted to the conſideration of the houſe, but nothing was carried into reſolution; till at length an adminiſtration was formed, and on the ſecond of April many of the conſequent new writs were moved for in the houſe.

His majeſty, however, delayed the expected change, till after repeated application. He then appointed the duke of Portland to preſide in the treaſury, Fox and lord North to be ſecretaries of ſtate, reſtored the chancellorſhip of the Exchequer to lord John Cavendiſh, appointed Burke pay-maſter of the army; and complied with ſuch other alterations as were dictated by the victorious party.

Among the taxes propoſed by the new miniſtry at the opening of the budget by lord John Cavendiſh, that on receipts and promiſſory notes was thought particularly unpopular, as it produced a general murmur among the commercial part of the community, followed by petitions from the city of London, and other parts, though without producing the deſired effect.

The king having, about this time, engaged to allow the prince of Wales ſixty thouſand pounds per annum out of his civil liſt, the commons voted a temporary aid of ſixty thouſand pounds for the ſettlement of the prince's houſehold, on his attainment of the age of twenty-one years.

From this period no more important buſineſs was diſcuſſed in either houſe till the ſixteenth of July, when his majeſty cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne.

* Till this ſtrange coalition, no politicians were more hoſtile in their public declarations than Fox and North, during many years of acrimonious conteſt. The moſt opprobrious epithets had been applied to each other upon all manner of occaſions. But ambition and faction too frequently prevail over honour and principle.

His

His majesty had now leisure to attend to the gratification of many of his loyal and meritorious subjects, by heaping honours on them. On the fifth of February, he was pleased to order letters patent to be passed under the great seal of the kingdom of Ireland, for creating a society, or brotherhood, to be called Knights of the Illustrious Order of St. Patrick, to consist of the sovereign and fifteen knights companions, of which his majesty, his heirs and successors, should perpetually be sovereigns; and his majesty's lieutenant-general, and governor-general of Ireland, or the lord-deputy or deputies, or lords justices, or other chief governors, should officiate as grand masters: fifteen knight companions of the said order were accordingly constituted by appointment of his majesty, and afterwards vested with the insignia in due form *.

The court martial which had been summoned on the trial of general Murray, for the loss of Minorca, met at the close of the preceding month, at the Horse Guards, to receive the decision of the court, after its revision by his majesty. Both general Murray, and sir William Draper, who had exhibited the charges again him, being present, the judge-advocate proceeded to read the decision, which was, "That twenty-seven of the charges were frivolous "and groundless." Of the remaining two, the court had found the prisoner guilty, and sentenced him to receive such reprehension as his majesty might think proper, which his majesty had been pleased to *remit*. The judge advocate then informed sir William Draper, that it was the pleasure of the court, that he should be required to make an apology to general Murray for having instituted the present trial against him. Sir William acquiesced, and apologized accordingly. When a similar requisition was made of general Murray to sir William, for having wounded his feelings as a soldier, by his conduct to him during his command at Minorca, general Murray vehemently refused acquiescence, declaring that he was the protector of his own honour, and would leave that of every other man to his own vindication. He was, therefore, put under arrest; but the affair was accommodated, by changing a word in the proposed apology, and the matter terminated in such a manner as to leave no possible ground for apprehension that any future ill consequence would take place between the two generals.

Intelligence from the East Indies now arrived, informing us, that the establishment of peace with the Mahrattas was almost accomplished, as articles of a treaty of peace and perpetual amity and alliance, between the English and the Mahrattas, had been agreed upon and executed. Some time after advices were received of the death of Hyder Ally, who had been our most formidable opponent in that remote quarter of the globe, and that his successor Tippoo Saib was more pacifically inclined to the English than his father.

On the twenty-second of May, articles were agreed on between Mr. Ofwald, his Britannic majesty's commissioner, and the commissioners of the United States of America. These articles declare the acknowledgment of the freedom, sovereignty, and independence of those states on the part of Great Britain, pointed out their boundaries in express terms, and settled several points relative to navigation, trade, and commerce.

Sir Roger Curtis, who had eminently distinguished himself for his valour during the late siege of Gibraltar, renewed on the sixteenth of June, as deputed from our court, the treaty of peace which had subsisted between Great Britain and the emperor of Morocco †.

On the second of September, preliminary articles of peace, between the king of Great Britain, and their high mightinesses the States General of the United Provinces of Holland, were signed at Paris by the plenipotentiaries of the respective powers; as was, on the third, the definitive treaty with France, Spain, and America; and on the sixth of the following month, by virtue of his majesty's royal warrant, peace was proclaimed between Great Britain, France, and Spain, at the usual places, and with the accustomed ceremonies.

On the eleventh of February, the session of parliament was opened by a speech from his majesty to both houses, informing them that definitive treaties of peace had been concluded with the courts of

* The following is a list of the knights companions as then instituted:

His royal highness prince Edward,
His grace William, duke of Leinster,
Henry Smyth, earl of Clanrickard,
Randal William, earl of Antrim,
Thomas, earl of Westmeath,
Morrough, earl of Inchiquin,
Charles, earl of Drogheda,
George de la Poor, earl of Tyrone,
Richard, earl of Shannon,
James, earl of Clanbrassen,
Richard, earl of Mornington,
James, earl of Courtown,
James, earl of Charlemont,
Thomas, earl of Bective,
Henry, earl of Ely,
Chancellor, archbishop of Dublin,
Register, Dean of St. Patrick's,
Secretary, Lord Delvin,
Ulster, William Hawkins, esq.
Usher, John Freemantle, esq.

† Sir Roger Curtis on this occasion took with him, as presents to that African monarch, three twenty-six pounders, and one of eighteen, with four hundred balls, besides several other articles of less importance.

France

France and Spain, and with the United States of America; and that preliminary articles had been also ratified with the states general of the United Provinces. When his majesty had retired, his royal highness the prince of Wales, who had been previously introduced with the usual ceremonies, and taken his chair on the right hand of the throne, took the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and made and subscribed the declaration, and also took and subscribed the oaths of abjuration. In both houses, a motion for an address was carried.

Mr. secretary Fox brought forward his motion respecting the future regulation of the English settlements in the East Indies, and after a number of ingenious observations, concluded his speech with the following motions: 1. That leave be given to bring in a bill for vesting the affairs of the East India company in the hands of certain commissioners, for the benefit of the proprietors and the public: 2. That leave be given to bring in a bill for the better government of the territorial acquisitions and dependencies in India. These motions, after a short debate, were severally put and agreed to by the house. When the first bill was brought in, it was read the first time, and ordered to be printed; and after some desultory debates, a day was fixed for the second reading. Accordingly, at the stated time, the point was agitated with great vehemence by the respective parties. Mr. secretary Fox vindicated the bill with his usual force and energy. He argued upon principles of humanity, and painted, in the liveliest colours, the shocking acts of barbarity committed by the Europeans on the natives of India. He represented the impropriety of supporting the servants of the company, who, in defiance of every thing sacred, could be guilty of the most atrocious acts of cruelty and wantonness: urged the grand plea, necessity: and having declared, that in bringing it into parliament, he had done his duty as a minister of this country, a friend to humanity, and an enemy to oppression, he therefore moved, that the bill might be committed. Lord North, in a very able manner, defended the principles of the bill, reprobated the servants of the company for engaging in the most wanton hostilities, which had nearly ruined the interests of the India company in that part of the world, and concluded with averring, that the tendency of the bill was only to diminish their political, but not by any means their real consequence.

The opponents reasoned against the bill upon general principles, as dishonest, impolitic, and arbitrary. Mr. William Pitt said he was shocked at the propositions in the bill. Its tendency, he declared, was equally hostile to private property and public freedom. In addition to the general atrocity of the measure, the influence which it would create was dreadfully dangerous. It would render the king subservient to an aspiring faction, and destroy the true balance of our excellent constitution. Others pointed out particularly the injustice of infringing the purchased rights of the chartered company, and the dangerous tendency of establishing an influence which might end only with the existence of the constitution. After a variety of arguments produced on both sides, the house divided on a motion for adjournment, which was carried in the negative by a majority of one hundred and nine voices. The question, that the bill be committed, was then carried without a division, and it was ordered to be committed for the first of December. On that day the principal opponents again displayed their eloquence, and the bill was again committed by a majority of one hundred and fourteen. But this measure of administration met with a very different fate in the house of lords, where, after some debates, the motion for the commitment of the bill, was lost by a majority of nineteen.

The offensive behaviour of the two leaders of the coalition, roused the king's displeasure, and a letter was sent soon after midnight, on December the nineteenth, to Mr. Fox and lord North, demanding the seals of their offices, without permitting them the indulgence of an interview. Mr. Fox had before rallied Mr. Pitt on his eagerness to re-enter into office, declaring it was perfectly agreeable to him to retire. On the following day, the right honourable William Pitt was appointed first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer; earl Gower, president of the council, in the room of lord Stormont; and earl Temple, secretary of state: the latter immediately wrote letters of dismission to the remaining members of the cabinet, the consequence of which was, a general and almost unexampled resignation of their adherents. Earl Temple did not long continue in office; for on Monday the twenty-second, Mr. Grenville rose and announced the resignation of his noble relation, who, he said, had taken this step, that he might not be supposed to shelter himself under the cover of authority against any charge that might be brought against him, but that he might meet it fairly and openly in his private capacity. A dissolution of parliament being now expected, a motion was made to address his majesty, with a view to prevent its taking place. At length, the question being put, that the house agree to the motion for the address, it was carried with so great a strength of shew, that the friends of the new ministry did not think proper to try the question by a decision. When the address was presented to his majesty, he returned an answer, in which he assured the house, that he should not interrupt their meeting by any exercise of his prerogative, either of prorogation or dissolution. It was then finally agreed

to by the houſe, to adjourn to the twelfth of January enſuing *.

During theſe revolutions, diſpatches arrived from his excellency major-general James Stuart, commander in chief of his majeſty's and the Eaſt India company's forces on the coaſt of Coromandel, containing a particular account of a very ſignal victory obtained over the French and Tippoo Saib's auxiliaries, under his command. The ſame diſpatches brought intelligence from vice-admiral ſir Edward Hughes, ſtating that he had had another action with the French ſquadron, under monſieur Suffrein. It began on the twentieth of June, when the enemy, having the advantage of the wind, hauled off. Several of his majeſty's ſhips received injury in their hulls, maſts, and rigging, and ſickneſs prevailed throughout the whole fleet. The admiral, on his return to Madras road, received intelligence of the ratification of the preliminary articles of peace, as well as the ceſſation of hoſtilities agreed to between Great Britain and the States General of the United Provinces; and on the twenty-ſeventh, diſpatched his majeſty's ſhip Medea on a flag of truce, with letters to monſieur Suffrein and the marquis de Buſſy. On the fourth of July, the Medea returned to Madras road, with anſwers from the French commanders in chief, concurring in a ceſſation of hoſtilities, as well as an immediate releaſe of priſoners on both ſides: and thus terminated the war in that quarter of the globe.

A reconciliation was no ſooner effected with foreign enemies, than domeſtic faction reared its baneful head, and involved our political ſyſtem in anarchy. When the houſe of commons met purſuant to adjournment, on the twelfth of January †, debates were maintained by the contending parties with much zeal and ſome degree of acrimony. A retroſpect was had to the rumoured diſſolution of parliament, and the talents of the late miniſters were contraſted with thoſe of the preſent. The ſovereign's prerogative to appoint miniſters, and diſſolve parliament, was admitted; but the propriety of ſuch meaſures, at a certain criſis, was queſtioned by the advocates for the late adminiſtration. After a diviſion of the houſe on the order of the day, upon which there appeared a majority of thirty-nine againſt the miniſter, the houſe went into a committee on the ſtate of the nation, and Mr. Fox moved ſeveral reſolutions to the following effect: that it is the opinion of this committee, that for any perſon or perſons in his majeſty's treaſury, exchequer, or navy offices, or the bank of England, to iſſue any money for ſervices already voted by the houſe of commons, unleſs the uſual bill for appropriating the ſums voted for ſervices, ſhould paſs into a law before any diſſolution or prorogation of parliament, would be a high miſdemeanor, derogatory to the dignity of the houſe, and ſubverſive of the conſtitution. That there be produced before the houſe, an account of all ſums iſſued for public ſervices, from the nineteenth of December, 1783, to the twelfth of January, 1784. That no more money be iſſued on the credit of a vote of the houſe, till the above account ſhall have been laid before the houſe, nor for three days after. That the chairman be inſtructed to move the houſe that the mutiny bill be read a ſecond time on the twenty-third of February next.

Objections having been made to the third of theſe reſolutions, the mover ſaid, that in order to take away every poſſible ground for accuſing him of any intention to withhold the ſupplies, he would not proſs that reſolution. The other three were then carried without a diviſion. Several other reſolutions were moved reſpecting general and alarming reports, new appointments, &c. pointing upon the whole ſo directly againſt the new miniſtry, that their friends of courſe oppoſed them; however, they were carried by a conſiderable majority.

On the twenty-third, Mr. chancellor Pitt moved, that the India bill laid by him before the houſe, be read a ſecond time and committed, after having recommended it to the houſe, as one which would be equally efficacious with that of Mr. Fox, in correcting abuſes and diſorders, without creating improper influence, violating charters, or invading property. Mr. Fox immediately roſe, and adverted to the tendency of the bill, as totally inſufficient to eradicate the evils complained of, or emancipate the company from that ſlaviſh dependence on its ſervants abroad, which deprived it of its energy, and rendered it the proſtituted object of foreign cabal. After a conſiderable debate, the houſe divided on the ſecond reading, when there appeared againſt the bill, a majority of eight, (viz. the votes being two hundred and twenty-two againſt two hundred and fourteen.) The bill being thus rejected, Mr. Fox moved for leave to revive his plan, and bring in a bill for the better regulation and government of our affairs in the Eaſt Indies; the two principal objects of which were, the rendering the ſyſtem for the government of India, permanent by the authority of parliament; and the fixing the government at home. The other ſyſtem as ſecondary, might be modelled to meet inclinations and opinions of the country. He

* Notwithſtanding there appeared ſo much difficulty in forming a cabinet, an arrangement of miniſtry was completed in a few days. The duke of Rutland was lord privy-ſeal; the marquis of Caermarthen and Mr. Townſhend, who had been created lord Sidney, principal ſecretaries of ſtate; and lord Thurlow, lord high chancellor.

† A. D. 1784.

then called upon the minister to declare explicitly, whether the house was to rely on the promise made in answer to their late address. The minister, however, made no answer. He was called upon again and again; but remained silent. At length, as if urged by the pointed severity of some remarks, he declared that he would not condescend to answer interrogatories, which he did not think gentlemen entitled to propose to him, and concluded with assigning his reasons in a high and elevated stile of expression.

The day following, the members were engaged as before on the subject of the dissolution, and as undecisively, till at length the question for adjournment was proposed and carried. A right honourable member, after some exordium, moved, that the house do come to this resolution, "That the house of commons expressed the firmest reliance on his majesty's most gracious assurance, that he would not interrupt their proceedings in settling the affairs of the East India company, the state of public credit, and of the revenue; objects which appeared of the greatest magnitude to his majesty, to this house, and to the public." The minister appeared, from the tenor of his observations on this motion, to be at first much agitated by it; at length, however, he said, he was not averse to declare, that he never had any intention of dissolving the parliament, that the circumstances of the public rendered it a measure which no friend to his country would advise; that he for one would not advise any such measure, nor even act with a ministry by whom it was advised.

This declaration having, in some degree, conciliated the minds of the opposite party; a motion was made, and passed unanimously, for adjournment to Thursday the twenty-ninth.

In this distracted state of our councils, a meeting was held by many independent members of the house of commons, at the Saint Alban's tavern, for the laudable purpose of recommending an union of parties. They were between fifty and sixty in number, and, in point of property and consideration in the country, truly respectable. The following requisition, signed by several members of parliament, was presented to Mr. Grosvenor, in consequence of his proposal in the house of commons for an union among the leaders of the contending parties.

"We whose names are hereunto signed, members "of the house of commons, being fully persuaded "that the united efforts of those in whose integrity, "abilities, and constitutional principles we have "reason to confide, can alone rescue the country "from its present distracted state, do join in most "earnestly entreating them to communicate with "each other on the arduous situation of public "affairs; trusting, that by a liberal and unreserved "intercourse between them, every impediment may "be removed, to a cordial co-operation of great "and respectable characters, acting on the same "public principles, and entitled to the support of "independent and disinterested men.

"And we depute—to present this representation "and requisition to his grace the duke of Portland, "the right honourable lord John Cavendish, the "right honourable William Pitt, and the right ho-"nourable Charles James Fox, in our names." But all the efforts of this respectable body were frustrated; the one part making the resignation of the minister the very basis of the proposed intercourse, and the minister stating, that his personal feelings would not suffer him to resign his post for the purpose of negotiating: so that after several meetings, and many letters had passed between the parties, the assembly carried a motion declaratory of their sentiments, and agreed to adjourn *sine die*.

The sixteenth of January, the lord mayor, attended by several of the aldermen, went in procession from Guildhall to St. James's, and presented an address to his majesty, expressing the satisfaction they felt at the dismission of his majesty's late ministers, and their earnest assurances of maintaining their zeal and loyalty inviolate. A similar address was also presented by the merchants of London.

On the twenty-ninth, the house of commons met pursuant to adjournment; but nothing important occurred till the second of February, when Mr. Grosvenor, the chairman of the meeting of the country gentlemen assembled for the purpose of effecting an union of parties, after informing the house, that the conciliatory efforts of that meeting were not likely to prove effectual, moved, "That "in the present circumstances of this country, so "arduous and pressing, it was necessary for that "house to take such measures as were most con-"ducive to procure a strong, permanent, extensive, "and united administration, as should carry the "full confidence of the commons and the public." The particular friends of administration opposed the motion, and reprobated the idea of an union between the parties mentioned, as too much in imitation of a recent coalition. Mr. Fox vindicated his measures and those of his adherents; asserted the dignity and privileges of the house of commons, and maintained, that to set the sense of that house at defiance, was to overturn its consequence, and with it the constitution itself, and the liberties of the subject. At length, after a few observations from some other members, the question was carried without a division. Another motion was then made similar to the former, both with respect to substance and effect, and carried by a majority against the minister.

But the present administration appeared to have had the concurrence of the upper house, in which a noble lord, on the fourth of February, made two resolutions respecting some late transactions, and then

moved

moved for an addreſs to the throne, founded on theſe reſolutions, expreſſive of their entire ſatisfaction with his majeſty's appointment of miniſters, and aſſuring his majeſty, that they would, upon all occaſions, ſupport him in the juſt exerciſe of a conſtitutional prerogative. The ſame ſubject of altercation which had engroſſed the attention of the lower houſe for ſome time, continued to be debated from day to day, and every motion was carried againſt the miniſter, till, on the twentieth, Mr. Fox moved for an addreſs to the king, which being alſo carried, was prepared and reported.

This addreſs was preſented on the twenty-fifth to his majeſty; when a reply being read in the houſe, Mr. Fox roſe and ſaid, he would not then enter into the conſideration of it, but would barely remark, that it appeared to him to be final on the part of his majeſty, and therefore the houſe could not well proceed more than one ſtep farther; and as this meaſure on the part of the houſe ought to be final alſo, there ought to be proper time for gentlemen to deliberate on what that meaſure ſhould be. He then moved that his majeſty's anſwer ſhould be taken into conſideration on Monday, the eighth of March, which was agreed to. Accordingly, on that day Mr. Fox, after ſome exordium, moved a variety of reſolutions, tending on the whole to teſtify the ſurprize and affliction of the houſe on receiving the anſwer which his majeſty's miniſters had adviſed, to aſſure his majeſty, that the houſe neither had diſputed, nor meant in any inſtance to diſpute, much leſs to deny his majeſty's undoubted prerogative of appointing to the executive offices of ſtate, ſuch perſons as to his majeſty's wiſdom might ſeem meet: at the ſame time again ſubmitting to his majeſty's royal wiſdom, that no adminiſtration, however legally appointed, can ſerve his majeſty and the public with effect, which does not enjoy the confidence of that houſe, to expreſs a moſt unfeigned gratitude for his majeſty's royal aſſurances, that he does not call in queſtion the right of the houſe to offer their advice to his majeſty on every proper occaſion, reſpecting the exerciſe of any branch of royal prerogative; to declare, that they had done their duty to his majeſty, and their conſtituents, in pointing out the evil, and in humbly imploring redreſs; and that therefore the reſponſibility muſt now be wholly upon thoſe who had diſregarded the opinions, and neglected the admonitions of the repreſentatives of his majeſty's people, and attempted thereby to ſet up a new ſyſtem of executive adminiſtration, which, wanting the confidence of the houſe, muſt prove inadequate, by its inefficacy to the neceſſary objects of government, and dangerous by its example to the liberties of the people. The oppoſers of adminiſtration, however, in this inſtance, loſt conſiderable ground, having, on a diviſion on Mr. Fox's motion, the majority only of a unit.

On the tenth, lord Hinchinbroke informed the houſe, that their repreſentation had been laid before his majeſty, and graciouſly received. On the twenty-fifth, his majeſty repaired to the houſe of peers, and having given the royal aſſent to ſeveral bills then ready, delivered a ſpeech from the throne, in which, among other particulars, he principally obſerved;

"My lords and gentlemen,

"On a full conſideration of the preſent ſituation "of affairs, and of the extraordinary circumſtances "which have produced it, I am induced to put an "end to this ſeſſion of parliament; I feel it a duty, "which I owe to the conſtitution and to the country "in ſuch a ſituation, to recur as ſpeedily as poſſible "to the ſenſe of my people, by calling a new par-"liament*."

On the eighteenth of May, the time appointed for the meeting of parliament, both houſes formally aſſembled, and the houſe of commons proceeded to the choice of a ſpeaker, when Mr. Cornwall was again placed in the chair. The day following, his majeſty in a ſpeech from the throne, declared the cauſes of his calling the parliament. He aſſured them of the ſatisfaction he enjoyed in meeting them, after recurring in ſo important a motion, to the ſenſe of his people; and of his reliance, that they were animated by the ſentiments of loyalty and attachment to the conſtitution. He then directed their attention to the maintenance of the public credit, to the ſupport of the eſtabliſhed revenues, and to the affairs of the Eaſt India company: and, after warning them againſt adopting any meaſures for the regulation of the latter, which might affect the conſtitution and our deareſt intereſts at home, concluded with expreſſing his inclinations to ſupport and maintain in their juſt balance, the rights and privileges of every branch of the legiſlature†. Addreſſes to his majeſty on his ſpeech were propoſed and carried.

On

* An occurrence the following day, threw the metropolis into a very great ferment, by an incident which, from the criſis in which it happened, was deemed the more extraordinary. Some robbers having entered the lord chancellor's houſe in Great Ormond-ſtreet, rattled off the great ſeal of England. As ſoon as his lordſhip knew of the robbery, information was ſent to the reſpective offices of police, and perſons were diſpatched in purſuit of the perpetrators of ſo daring a villainy, but without effect. A very important event was announced to the public on the ſame day. It was nothing leſs than a proclamation for diſſolving the then parliament, and declaring the calling of another.

† Prior to the motion for an addreſs, Mr. Lee ſtated to the houſe the conduct of the high bailiff of Weſtminſter, who had neglected making a return to the writ of election, on pretence of not having finiſhed the ſcrutiny into the legality of the votes, and concluded with moving a reſolution,

On the fourteenth of June, the attention of the houſe was claimed by Mr. Burke, in a ſpeech of conſiderable length, in which he examined with great freedom the dangerous principles upon which a late act of power was both executed and defended by government; reprobating the diſſolution of parliament as a breach of faith, as well as an impolitic meaſure.

On the twenty-firſt of June, the chancellor of the exchequer moved ſeveral reſolutions, as the foundation of the act, afterwards well known by the denomination of the "Commutation Act." He ſtated to the houſe, that the illicit trade of the country had of late increaſed to ſo alarming a height, as to endanger almoſt the very exiſtence of ſeveral branches of the revenue, and more particularly that of tea. It had appeared, before the committee on ſmuggling, that only five millions five hundred thouſand pounds weight of tea was ſold annually by the Eaſt India company, when the annual conſumption of the kingdom was ſuppoſed, from good authority, to exceed twelve millions. After ſtating the particulars, he ſaid, this tax would not be felt as an additional burthen, but ought to be conſidered as a commutation, by ſubſtituting an additional duty on windows, in which no ſmuggling could occur, and would in fact prove favourable to the ſubject: a houſe, for inſtance, of nine windows, which might be rated at ten and ſix-pence, might be ſuppoſed to conſume ſeven pounds of tea: the difference between the old duties on which, and the new duty propoſed, might, at an average, amount to one pound five ſhillings and ten-pence, ſo that ſuch a family would gain by the commutation fifteen ſhillings and four-pence. The act, however, was warmly oppoſed in both houſes of parliament. It was denied to have any claim to the principle of commutation. Tea, though an article of general uſe, was ſtill an article of luxury.

The next public meaſures related to an object that required all the addreſs and management of the miniſter. The firſt was a bill to enable the Eaſt India company to divide eight *per cent.* intereſt on their principal. This bill, after a warm debate, and contrary to expectation, paſſed the houſe of commons without a diviſion; and after a ſtrong debate in the houſe of lords, paſſed, on a diviſion of twenty-eight to nine. The ſecond act was to allowt he company a further reſpite of duties due to the exchequer; to enable them to accept of bills beyond the amount preſcribed by former acts of parliament; and to eſtabliſh their future dividends. Theſe propoſitions occaſioned frequent debates. The partiality of the miniſter towards the Eaſt India company was allowed to be highly and juſtly merited. At length, after ſeveral diviſions, the bill paſſed both houſes, and was followed by an act, "for the better government "of the affairs of the Eaſt India company," &c.

On the thirtieth of June, Mr. Pitt diſplayed the national accounts for the year, or what is generally denominated the Budget. After having recapitulated the ſupplies granted by parliament, and the ways and means for raiſing them, he ſtated, that the ways and means fell juſt within ſix million pounds of the ſum voted for the ſupplies; and this laſt ſum he propoſed to raiſe by a loan. With reſpect to the unfunded debt, which exceeded twelve millions in navy bills, and one million in ordnance debentures, though he intended to fund only ſeven millions of this debt, ſtill, as moſt of the navy bills bore intereſt, and as the intereſt on that part which he did not intend to fund this year, would amount to two hundred and eighty thouſand pounds, he propoſed to impoſe taxes this year for the intereſt of the whole, though only half of it would be funded.

The ſeſſion cloſed with a motion brought forward by Mr. Dundas, for the reſtoration of the eſtates forfeited in Scotland, in the rebellion of 1745. As this meaſure had for its object the relief of individuals, whoſe unequivocal attachment and loyalty to his preſent majeſty and his family, could not be ſuppoſed to be tainted or affected with the crimes of their anceſtors, it met with the perfect approbation of the commons. In the houſe of lords, however, it was oppoſed by the lord chancellor, both on the grounds of its impolicy and its partiality. It was impolitic, he ſaid, as far as it rendered nugatory the ſettled maxim of the Britiſh conſtitution, that treaſon was a crime of ſo deep a dye, that nothing was adequate to its puniſhment but the total eradication of the perſon, the name, or the family, out of the ſociety which he had attempted to injure. This was the wiſdom, he ſaid, of former times. The bill, however, paſſed the houſe of lords, and received the royal aſſent.

On the twentieth of Auguſt the king terminated the ſeſſion, by a ſpeech from the throne; in which after expreſſing his approbation of their proceedings, and his concern for the additional burthens which they had been compelled to impoſe upon the public, he adverted to the important objects, with reſpect to

ſolution, declaring it to be "his duty to return two citi-"zens to ſerve for the ſaid city." This motion, after a conſiderable debate, was negatived by a majority of two hundred and eighty-three to one hundred and thirty-ſix.

In this ſeſſion, the commons expelled a delinquent member, Mr. Chriſtopher Atkinſon, who, in the capacity of corn-contractor, had been guilty of groſs perjury, for which he was exhibited ignominiouſly on the pillory.

From ſome cauſe, however, proceedings againſt ſir Thomas Rumbold were diſcontinued about the ſame time, though many of the members entertained doubts of the purity of that gentleman's conduct.

trade and commerce, yet to be provided for; and he truſted that ſuch regulations would be framed, upon a full inveſtigation, as would tend to promote the wealth and proſperity of every part of the Britiſh empire.

In the progreſs of the general election, it appeared, from incontrovertible evidence, that the partizans of the coalition were not the favourites of the people. The moſt tumultuous conteſt, and that which excited the greateſt attention, occurred at Weſtminſter, as well with regard to the election as the ſcrutiny. At the general election, lord Hood, Mr. Fox, and ſir Cecil Wray, offered themſelves as candidates to repreſent that city in parliament. The firſt of theſe gentlemen was elected by a very great majority; the ſtruggle between the two laſt was long and obſtinate: after continuing the conteſt for upwards of ſix weeks, it was finally concluded on the ſeventeenth of May, leaving a majority of two hundred and thirty-five voters in favour of Mr. Fox. The high bailiff, at the requiſition of ſir Cecil Wray, the unſucceſsful candidate, granted a ſcrutiny into the poll which he had taken, on the day on which it cloſed, and which was the day previous to the return of his writ. This mode of proceeding was on the ſpot formally proteſted againſt by Mr. Fox, and alſo by ſeveral of the electors. Immediately on the meeting of the new parliament, the conduct of the high bailiff in granting the ſcrutiny, under the exiſting circumſtances, was warmly taken up by oppoſition, and as warmly defended by the miniſter and his friends. After much debate, as well by counſel at the bar of the houſe, as by the members themſelves, in every ſhape, and as often as it could be brought before them, both by petitions from Mr. Fox, and the electors, the proceeding of the high bailiff was juſtified; and it was reſolved, by a very conſiderable majority, on a motion of lord Mulgrave's, "That the high bailiff of Weſtminſter do proceed in the ſcrutiny for the ſaid city, with all practicable diſpatch." Agreeable to this reſolution of the houſe, the high bailiff proceeded with the ſcrutiny during the remainder of the ſeſſion, and during the receſs*.

The Weſtminſter ſcrutiny was brought again before the houſe, by a petition of ſeveral of the electors on the eighth of February, when the high bailiff and his counſel, Mr. Hargrave and Mr. Murphy, underwent a long examination at the bar of the houſe, reſpecting the practicability of carrying on the ſcrutiny, and the difficulties and delays attending the ſame. The high bailiff declared, that, calculating from what had been already done, it would take certainly not leſs than two years to finiſh the ſcrutiny. The day following, Mr. Welbore Ellis moved, "That Thomas Corbett, Eſq. high bailiff of the city of Weſtminſter, having finally cloſed the poll for members to repreſent the ſaid city, do forthwith obey the ſaid writ, and make a return of the precept directed to him for that purpoſe." This motion brought the merits of the whole queſtion again before the houſe, and was long and ably debated, during ſeveral days, by the reſpective advocates of each party in the houſe †. Towards the cloſe of the debate, the high bailiff was called to the bar, and informed by the ſpeaker of a reſolution made by the houſe, whereby it appeared that the proſecution of the ſcrutiny was not defended by any thing like ſo numerous a majority as during the preceding ſeſſion. Colonel Fitzpatrick moved, "That it appearing to this houſe, that Thomas Corbett, Eſq. high-bailiff having received a precept from the ſheriff of Middleſex, for electing two citizens to ſerve in parliament for the city of Weſtminſter, and having taken and finally cloſed the poll on the ſeventeenth of May laſt, being the day next before the day of return of the ſaid writ, he be now directed forthwith to make a return of his precept of members choſen in purſuance thereof." This motion was rejected by a majority of nine only. The ſame motion was again brought forward on the third of March, by alderman Sawbridge, and the queſtion of adjournment was moved on it by the chancellor of the exchequer, which paſſed in the negative. The main queſtion was then put, and carried without a diviſion. Thus, after a ſtruggle in parliament for two ſeſſions, terminated the Weſtminſter ſcrutiny, and the high bailiff the day following made a return of lord Hood and Mr. Fox.

Having gone through the buſineſs of the ſeſſion,

* Not quite two pariſhes out of the ſeven, into which Weſtminſter is divided, were finiſhed when the parliament met the ſecond time, and yet the ſcrutiny had then continued for eight months. It was calculated that the buſineſs already gone through was not more than an eighth of the whole.

Of the votes in favour of Mr. Fox, ſeventy-one had been objected to in the firſt pariſh, and the objections made good only againſt twenty-five: in the ſame pariſh out of thirty-two of the voters for ſir Cecil Wray, which were objected to, twenty-ſeven were declared illegal. In the ſecond pariſh, out of two hundred objected to, Mr. Fox loſt eighty; ſir Cecil Wray out of ſeventy-five, at the time objected to, had ſixty ſtruck off.

† In debating on this ſubject, Mr. Fox ſaid "He ſaw plainly, that it was a pecuniary ſtruggle, and that his friends were to be tired out by the expence of the conteſt. The ſcrutiny on both ſides could not coſt leſs than thirty thouſand pounds a year. This was enough to ſhake the beſt fortunes. His own laſt ſhilling might be eaſily got at, as he was poor; but ſtill little as he had, he would ſpend to the laſt ſhilling. If, in the end he ſhould loſe his election, it would not be, he well knew, for want of a legal majority, but for want of money! and thus would he be deprived of his right, and the electors of Weſtminſter of the man of their choice, becauſe he was not able to carry on a pecuniary conteſt with the treaſury."

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the houſe was adjourned, on the ſecond of Auguſt, till the twenty-ſeventh of October; but in the mean time a proclamation was iſſued, by which it was prorogued to the firſt of December.

On the twenty-fifth of February the committee, appointed to wait on Mr. Pitt with the freedom of the city of London, went in regular proceſſion from Guildhall to Mr. Pitt's houſe in Downing ſtreet, Weſtminſter, where they preſented the freedom in form.

The firſt object of importance that engaged the attention of parliament in the preſent ſeſſion, was a meaſure which originated with the duke of Richmond, the maſter-general of the ordnance. It was an extravagant ſcheme for fortifying the dock-yards at Portſmouth and Plymouth. The houſe of commons had, in the preceding ſeſſion, expreſſed their unwillingneſs to apply any part of the public money for this purpoſe, before they were made acquainted with the opinions of thoſe who were beſt able to decide concerning the utility and propriety of ſuch a meaſure. In conſequence of this intimation, a board of military and naval officers was appointed by the king, with the maſter-general of the ordnance as their preſident; and the propoſed plan of fortifications, was referred to them for their opinions and advice. After inveſtigating the ſubject, and making their report thereon, the plans recommended were laid before a board of engineers to form an eſtimate of the expences neceſſary to carry them into execution *. It was originally intended by Mr. Pitt, that it ſhould be debated and decided upon, together with the ordnance eſtimates, as a mere collateral queſtion. Lieutenant-general Burgoyne, who was one of the board of officers that made the report, expreſſed his deſire, that before the buſineſs was further proceeded on, ſo much both of the report itſelf and of the inſtructions upon which it was founded, as could be made public with ſafety to the ſtate, ſhould be laid upon the table of the houſe of commons: alledging, that the houſe might otherwiſe unwarily be led to imagine that the report perfectly approved of the plan of fortifications propoſed. In ſupport of this mode of proceeding, Mr. Sheridan, on the ſixteenth of February moved "for a copy of the appointment of the board of naval and military officers, and of ſuch parts of their inſtructions and of their report, as his majeſty's diſcretion might deem proper to be made public, with perfect conſiſtency to the ſafety of the ſtate;" but as the board in queſtion had been conſtituted by circular letters from the king, without any official commiſſion, Mr. Pitt ſubſtituted another motion, the ſame in effect as the foregoing, but more conformable to the fact, which paſſed unanimouſly. Theſe papers being laid before the houſe, Mr. Pitt, on the twenty-ſeventh of the ſame month, introduced the meaſure in the form of a general reſolution, to the following effect: "That it appears to this houſe, that to provide effectually for ſecuring his majeſty's dock-yards at Portſmouth and Plymouth, by a permanent ſyſtem of fortification, founded on the moſt œconomical principles, and requiring the ſmalleſt number of troops poſſible to anſwer the purpoſe of ſuch ſecurity, is an eſſential object for the ſafety of the ſtate, intimately connected with the general defence of the kingdom, and neceſſary for enabling the fleet to act with full vigour and effect for the protection of commerce, the ſupport of our diſtant poſſeſſions, and the proſecution of offenſive operations in any war in which the nation may hereafter be engaged." This mode of debating and diſpoſing of the queſtion, he ſaid he had deviſed, as beſt calculated, in his opinion, to afford an opportunity of diſcuſſing, in their fulleſt extent, every principle which could poſſibly be involved in the proceeding, whether in oppoſition to it, or in its favour. It was alſo, he thought, more conſiſtent with the importance of the ſubject to bring it immediately before the houſe ſeparately, and in the form of a ſpecific reſolution, than to ſend it to the committee involved with the reſt of the ordnance eſtimates. In ſupport of the reſolution, Mr. Pitt undertook to prove: Firſt, that the fortifying the dock-yards at Portſmouth and Plymouth, was a meaſure of abſolute neceſſity; ſecondly, that the plan of fortifications propoſed by the duke of Richmond was the beſt poſſible plan for that purpoſe; thirdly, that theſe fortifications would be the means of giving a greater effect to the operations of our fleets; and, laſtly, that they would diminiſh the ſtanding army.

Mr. Baſtard, however, took up the ſubject in a very different point of view, he ſatirically compared the ſchemes of the duke of Richmond with the romantic abſurdities of Don Quixote, and totally diſapproved the adoption of a ſyſtem which would evidently diſcourage the naval ſervice. He could not bear the idea of tearing the enſign of Britiſh glory from the maſt-head, and fixing it on the ramparts of a garriſon. He therefore moved for an amendment.

Captain Macbride, who was actually a member of the council of officers appointed upon this occaſion, conceived the report to be the reſult of the duke's artifice and influence, and by no means the unbiaſſed opinion of the board. Colonel Barré ſuppoſed that the officers had been deluded by the miſrepreſentations of the maſter-general, and that Mr. Pitt could not have approved of this extravagant project, if his conſcience had not been taken by ſurpriſe. Lord Mahon ſupported, on this particular conſideration, that the works might be defended by a very inconſiderable

* This eſtimate, amounting to ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, Mr. Pitt laid before the houſe on the day on which the reſt of the ordnance eſtimates were brought forward.

ſiderable number of men. Lord Hood, and ſome other naval officers, approved of the ſcheme as expedient and judicious; but Mr. Fox and Mr. Windham reprobated the idea, as derogatory from the honour and the conſequence of the navy. The diviſion upon this produced an exact equality of votes: the ſpeaker, therefore, judiciouſly voted for the amendment.

In the early part of this ſeſſion Mr. Pitt took notice of that part of his majeſty's ſpeech, which related to the neceſſity of providing for the reduction of the national debt; he had intimated to the houſe, that ſuch was the preſent flouriſhing condition of the revenue, than the annual national income would more than equal the annual national diſburſements, beſides leaving a ſurplus of conſiderable magnitude; this ſurplus, he ſaid, he meant to form into a permanent fund, to be conſtantly applied to the liquidation of the public debt. In purſuance of this information to the houſe, and to aſcertain the amount of the ſurplus in queſtion, Mr. Pitt, previous to his entering into the ſtate of the finances, or ways and means for the preſent year, moved, "That the ſeveral accounts and other papers preſented that ſeſſion, relating to the public income and expenditure, be referred to the conſideration of a ſelect committee, and that the committee ſhould be directed to examine and report to the houſe, what might be the ſuppoſed annual amount of the income and expenditure in future." This motion was unanimouſly agreed to, and the ſelect committee having framed their report, exhibited it before the houſe on the twenty-firſt of March: Mr. Pitt on the twenty-ninth, brought the conſideration of the national debt, and his propoſition for the diminution of it, formally before the houſe. In the courſe of the debate, he obſerved, that the accumulated compound intereſt on a million yearly, together with the annuities that would fall into that fund, would in twenty-eight years, amount to a ſum which would leave a ſurplus of four millions annually, to be applied, if neceſſary, to the exigencies of the ſtate. Some additional clauſes being added, it was read a third time on the fifteenth of May, and carried up to the lords, where it alſo paſſed without meeting with any material oppoſition, and afterwards received the royal aſſent.

About the twentieth of May, Mr. Pitt preſented a bill for transferring certain duties on wines from the cuſtoms to the exciſe, which was one of the plans he had in view for increaſing the revenue, and which he had before given the houſe notice of, when he propoſed the ſinking fund of a million annually. The bill, however, was objected to upon two grounds; firſt on the difficulty of applying the exciſe laws to wine; and, ſecondly, on the impolicy of ever extending thoſe laws. Though theſe objections were ſtarted by ſeveral members, the bill was read the third time on the twenty-ninth of June, and carried without any material alterations.

On the ſeventeenth of February *, Mr. Burke charged in the houſe of commons, Warren Haſtings, eſq. with high crimes and miſdemeanors, committed by that gentleman during his adminiſtration in the Eaſt Indies, in the capacity of governor-general of Bengal. In conſequence of the charges made againſt Mr. Haſtings, a proſecution was commenced; but as it could give little or no entertainment to our readers to enter into a detail of the particulars of ſuch an immenſe maſs of evidence, as would of itſelf furniſh matter to conſtitute ſeveral volumes, and which continued for ſeveral ſucceſſive years; we ſhall content ourſelves with juſt obſerving that many complicated ſcenes of villainy were exhibited to the public in the courſe of this trial, but at length Mr. Haſtings was acquitted †.

A treaty of commerce and navigation, between the king of Great Britain and Louis XVI. king of France, was ſigned at Verſailles, on the twenty-ſixth of September. We ſhall forbear making any other remark upon this new and important event, than that it appears to have cauſed much alarm and apprehenſion amongſt the manufacturing part of the French nation: its expediency and policy, with reſpect to this country, was amply diſcuſſed in the proceedings of the Britiſh parliament.

In the courſe of the receſs of parliament, the right honourable Charles Jenkinſon was advanced to the dignity of a peer of Great Britain, appointed chan-

* A. D. 1786.

† The adminiſtration of Mr. Haſtings has been ſaid, by Mr. Sheridan, "to exhibit a medley of meanneſs and "outrage, of duplicity and depredation, of prodigality "and oppreſſion, of the moſt callous cruelty contraſted "with the hollow affectation of liberality and good faith. "The fraud ſyſtem of commercial policy, to which all "the arrangements and regulations of the company are "ultimately to be traced, was under his government carried to its utmoſt extent. Thus have nations been exturpated for a ſum of money, whole tracts of country laid "waſte to furniſh an inveſtment, princes expelled for the "balance of an account, and a bloody ſceptre wielded in "one hand, in order to repleniſh the empty purſe of "of mercantile mendicancy, diſplayed in the other." *Vide Sheridan's ſpeech on the Begum Charge, in the fourteenth article of Impeachment.*

Yet, as Mr. Haſtings declares, in his famous minutes of defence, "that he had the conſcious ſatisfaction to ſee all "his meaſures terminate in their deſigned objects; that "his political conduct was invariably regulated by truth, "juſtice, and good faith: and that he reſigned his charge "in a ſtate of eſtabliſhed peace and ſecurity, with all the ſources of its abundance unimpaired and even improved."

To reconcile theſe apparent incongruities, we are required therefore, by a ſpecies of faith which can work miracles, to believe that there exiſted in India crimes without a criminal, oppreſſions without an oppreſſor, and tyranny without a tyrant. *Belſham's Memoirs*, iii. 222.

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cellor of the duchy of Lancaſter, and preſident of the board of trade; and throughout formally admitted to a ſeat in his majeſty's cabinet councils, was ſuppoſed to be confidentially conſulted upon all affairs of importance; the earl of Gower was created marquis of Stafford, and lord Camden, advanced to the degree of an earl; and the duke of Athol, earl of Abercorn, duke of Montagne, (with remainder to the ſecond ſon of the duke of Buccleugh,) the duke of Queenſberry, earl of Tyrone, earl of Shannon, lord Delaval, ſir Hasboard Harboard, and ſir Guy Carleton were created peers of Great Britain.

His majeſty opened the ſeſſion on the twenty-third of January, with a ſpeech from the throne, in which, after mentioning the friendly diſpoſition of foreign powers towards this country, he informed the two houſes, that he had concluded a treaty of commerce with the French king, and had ordered a copy of it to be laid before them. He recommended, as the firſt object of their deliberations, the neceſſary meaſures for carrying it into effect: and expreſſed his ſatisfaction, that they would find the proviſions contained in it were calculated for the encouragement of induſtry, and the extenſion of lawful commerce in both countries; and, by promoting a beneficial intercourſe between their reſpective inhabitants, to have a tendency to give additional permanency to the bleſſings of peace.

Addreſſes were moved and ſeconded in both houſes; and as they contained nothing but matters of mere compliment to the king, they paſſed without oppoſition; but in the houſe of commons Mr. Fox thought himſelf obliged to take notice of ſome general principles, which had been advanced by the propoſers of the addreſs, apparently as the ground upon which it was intended to defend the treaty, that had lately been concluded with the court of Verſailles.

On the fifth of February Mr. Pitt moved, "That the houſe ſhould reſolve itſelf into a committee on the Monday following, to take into conſideration that part of his majeſty's ſpeech on opening the ſeſſion, which related to the treaty of commerce and navigation formed with his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty." This was ſtrenuouſly objected to by the oppoſition, as affording too ſhort a time for deliberation: lord George Cavendiſh moved, that "Monday ſe'nnight" ſhould be ſubſtituted in the room of "Monday next," and that in the mean time a call of the houſe ſhould be ordered. After ſome altercation the houſe divided, when there appeared for the amendment eighty-nine, againſt it two hundred and thirteen.

On the ninth, Mr. Fox endeavoured to ſtate the particulars of the negociations with Portugal, previous to their coming to a deciſion upon the French treaty. The probable ſtate of our future trade with Portugal was, he declared, extremely eſſential for the houſe to advert to. The moſt proper period of treating with Portugal would have been before the concluſion of the treaty with France; it would have manifeſted a fairneſs and decency on our part to an old ally, and convinced the world, that whilſt we were ſeeking for new friends and new connections, we could not be accuſed of ſacrificing the old. This motion was oppoſed by Mr. Pitt, and rejected without a diviſion.

On the twelfth, before the houſe reſolved itſelf into a committee upon the treaty of commerce and navigation with France, a petition was preſented by Mr. Alderman Newnham from certain manufacturers aſſembled in their chamber of commerce, praying that the houſe would not that day come to any deciſive reſolution upon the commercial treaty with France, as the petitioners had not leiſure to underſtand the treaty, and conſequently were not perfectly aware to what degree their intereſts, and the intereſts of other manufacturers might probably be affected by it. Upon the petition, Mr. Pitt remarked, that its contents, and the moment of preſenting it were ſomewhat ſingular. The French treaty had been publiſhed between four and five months, during which time the petitioners it ſeems had not choſen to find leiſure to examine and underſtand it, and now, on the day on which the houſe had agreed to take it into conſideration, without pointing out one ſpecific objection to it, they modeſtly requeſted parliament would delay, for an indefinite time, all further proceeding upon it. Thus, he conceived the houſe, ought by no means to conſent to. The order of the day was therefore loudly called for; and the houſe being reſolved into a committee, Mr. Pitt again roſe, and in a long ſpeech entered into a full explanation and defence of the treaty. Mr. Fox anſwered him alſo at great length, in which he objected to ſeveral of that gentleman's principles, as too narrow for the great ſubject they were diſcuſſing, and to the concluſions he had drawn from them in favour of the treaty, in its three great points of view, policy, commerce, and finance, as fallacious and unwarranted.

At a late hour on the fifteenth, Mr. Pitt propoſed, that the committee ſhould again be formed for the conſideration of the commercial treaty. This was ſtrongly oppoſed, as taking the houſe by ſurpriſe; but upon a diviſion, Mr. Pitt's motion was carried by a majority of one hundred and forty-five to fifty-nine. The houſe being accordingly reſolved into a committee, Mr. Pitt read, without any preface to his ſecond reſolution: "That the wines of France be imported into this country upon as low duties as the preſent duties paid on the importation of Portugal wines." Some debates now enſued, and before the queſtion was demanded, Mr. Fox moved, by way of amendment, that the following words be added to it: "That the duties on the importation of Portugal wines ſhould at the ſame time be lowered one-third. This, Mr. Fox obſerved, would effectually

tually preſerve the Methuen treaty in full force, ſo far as related to our part of the obligation, and would enable government more advantageouſly to negociate the pending treaty with Portugal. This motion was negatived without farther diſcuſſion, by ninety-one to ſeventy-ſix, and the original reſolution put and carried.

On the nineteenth, the report of the committee upon the commercial treaty, was brought up, and on the uſual motion being made, that the houſe do agree to the ſame, notice was taken of the omiſſion of the mention of Ireland both in the treaty and the tariff; and it was aſked, whether ſhe was underſtood to be included in it? To this queſtion Mr. Pitt replied, that Ireland was certainly entitled to all the benefits of the French treaty; but it was at her own option, whether ſhe ſhould chooſe to avail herſelf of thoſe advantages; for it was only to be done by her paſſing ſuch laws as ſhould put the tariff on the ſame footing in that country, as it was ſtipulated ſhould be done in this. Had the adoption of the treaty by Ireland been a ſtipulation neceſſary to be performed before it could be finally concluded on by this country, then this country would have been deprived of all the benefits reſulting from it in the event of Ireland's refuſal. The report was finally agreed to, upon a diviſion, by a great majority.

On the twenty-firſt came on another debate, which the commercial treaty gave riſe to, in the houſe of commons. It aroſe from an addreſs, moved by Mr. Blackburne, member for Lancaſhire, "to thank his majeſty for the ſolicitude he had been graciouſly pleaſed to evince, in forming a treaty of commerce between Great Britain and France; aſſuring him that the houſe conceived that the moſt happy effects would reſult from it to his faithful ſubjects, and that they would take every neceſſary ſtep to render the negociation effectual." In ſupport of this addreſs, he ſaid that he had received letters from his conſtituents, informing him, that a numerous meeting of the cotton manufacturers had been held at Mancheſter, in conſequence of a kind of remonſtrance which they had ſeen in the public prints againſt the commercial treaty, from the chamber of manufactures; and that, after a ſerious deliberation, and a full diſcuſſion of the ſubject, they conſidered the treaty as highly beneficial to this country in general, and to the cotton manufacture in particular. They deſired him alſo to inform the houſe, that they neither approved of the chamber of commerce, nor had delegated any perſon to repreſent them in that body, when the petition, praying for time to conſider the ſubject, was carried.

The honourable captain Berkeley, (member for Glouceſterſhire,) ſeconded the motion; and ſaid, that the treaty had met the approbation of many bodies of woollen manufacturers among his conſtituents. It was in France only that it was condemned, as being too advantageous to England, and to have a tendency to ruin the French manufactures. The people of Abbeville in particular had already declared, that if the treaty ſhould be carried into effect, they muſt be inevitably undone. Theſe arguments were ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by ſeveral ſpeakers and politicians. The debate continued till near three in the morning, when the previous queſtion, which was moved by Mr. Ellis, being put, was carried in the affirmative, by two hundred and thirty-ſix to one hundred and ſixty, and the addreſs was afterwards agreed to without a diviſion.

On the twenty-third, the addreſs was communicated, at a conference, to the lords, and their concurrence requeſted; and the firſt of March was appointed by them for taking the ſubject into their conſideration. Whilſt the commons were engaged in the diſcuſſion of the commercial treaty, the attention of the houſe of lords was called, by the viſcount Stormont, to a queſtion in which the conſtitution of that branch of the legiſlature, together with the rights of the Scottiſh peerage, were eſſentially concerned. It aroſe out of a circumſtance which happened during the late prorogation of parliament, the creation of two of the ſixteen peers of Scotland to be peers of Great Britain; and it was ſimply this, whether, after ſuch creation, they could continue to ſit as repreſentatives of the peerage of Scotland? The act of union was ſilent upon the ſubject; the only precedent that exiſted, that of the duke of Athol, upon whom, in 1736, being then one of the ſixteen peers, the Engliſh barony of Strange devolved by inheritance, was for the affirmative; and it was well known that the lord chancellor's opinion was in favour of the ſame ſide of the queſtion. On the other hand, the negative appeared to lord Stormont ſo ſtrongly ſupported by every principle of equity, analogy, and fair conſtruction, as to induce him to bring the queſtion in the face of all thoſe difficulties, to a public deciſion. Accordingly, on the thirteenth of February, the lords, having been previouſly ſummoned, the houſe reſolved itſelf into a committee of privileges, for the purpoſe of their taking it into conſideration *. In ſupport of the motions he obſerved that the queſtion appeared to him to lie in a narrow compaſs, and was to be decided upon a few plain obvious principles, which he ſtated to the committee. After ſome debating on the ſubject, the motion was carried by a majority of fifty-eight to thirty-eight, and was followed by another motion of the ſame kind reſpecting the duke of Queenſberry, created baron Douglas.

On

* A meſſage from his majeſty was delivered on the nineteenth of March by the chancellor of the exchequer to the houſe of commons, in which he acquaints them "of his being deſirous of conferring a mark of his royal favour upon

On the twenty-eighth, Mr. Beaufoy, member for Great Yarmouth, at the requeſt of the deputies of the diſſenting congregations in and about London, made a motion for taking into conſideration the repeal of the corporation and teſt acts. But Mr. Beaufoy's endeavours to procure a repeal of thoſe parts of the teſt and corporation acts which excluded proteſtant diſſenters from office, were of no avail. Lord North apprehended danger to the church and ſtate from ſuch a repeal; and Mr. Pitt ſuppoſed that the barriers of our eſtabliſhment might be weakened by it. Mr. Fox, however, thought the conſtitution ſufficiently ſecure without thoſe illiberal reſtrictions. Mr. Fox alſo remarked that, on the preſent occaſion, he ſhould not be ſuſpected of being biaſſed by any improper partiality towards the diſſenters. Their conduct in a late political revolution was well known; but he was willing to let them ſee, that though they loſt ſight of the principles of the conſtitution upon that occaſion, he ſhould not upon any occaſion loſe ſight of his principles of toleration. The motion was alſo ſupported by ſir Harry Houghton, Mr. Smith, and ſir James Johnſtone: and oppoſed by ſir William Dolben; who, in proof of dangerous deſigns entertained by the diſſenters, read a paſſage from a book written by a diſtinguiſhed miniſter of their body, in which he obſerves, "That their ſilent propagation of the truth would in the end prove efficacious. They were wiſely placing, as it were grain by grain, a train of gunpowder, to which a match would one day be laid to blow up the fabric of error, which could never be again raiſed upon the ſame foundation." The queſtion being put, it paſſed in the negative; ayes one hundred, noes one hundred and ſeventy-eight.

A ſubject was about this time brought forward in the houſe of commons by Mr. Alderman Newnham, which had for ſome time engaged the attention and feelings of the public, namely the embarraſſed ſtate of the finances of the prince of Wales. Our readers will be pleaſed to recollect, that the eſtabliſhment of his royal highneſs's houſehold took place upon his coming of age, in the year 1783, during the adminiſtration of the duke of Portland. Upon a full conſideration of what was thought becoming the credit of the nation, and the exalted rank of the heir apparent to the throne, the miniſters of that day are ſaid to have propoſed, that an annual income ſhould be ſettled upon him by parliament of one hundred thouſand pounds. This propoſition is ſaid to have been rejected by the king with expreſſions of ſuch marked reſentment, as to make the immediate reſignation of thoſe miniſters more than probable. In this emergency the prince of Wales, who had early manifeſted a favourable opinion of that party, interpoſed, and gave the world a ſtriking proof both of filial duty and public ſpirit. He ſignified his deſire, that the whole buſineſs ſhould be left to the king; and declared his readineſs to accept of whatever proviſion the king in his wiſdom and goodneſs might think moſt fit. In conſequence of this interference the affair appears to have been accommodated, and an allowance of fifty thouſand pounds a year, payable out of the civil liſt revenue, was ſettled upon his royal highneſs. In a very few years afterwards, it appeared that this proviſion was inadequate to the purpoſe for which it was deſigned. In the year 1786 the prince was found to have contracted a debt to the amount of about one hundred thouſand pounds, excluſive of fifty thouſand pounds and upwards expended on Carlton houſe. His royal highneſs, on thus becoming acquainted with the ſtate of his affairs, thought it neceſſary to take ſome effectual meaſures for the relief of his creditors. His firſt application was to the king, his father, upon whoſe affection alone he wiſhed to rely, and to whoſe judgment he declared his readineſs to ſubmit his paſt, and conform his future conduct. By his majeſty's directions, a full account of the prince's affairs were laid before him; but from ſome cauſe, hitherto unknown, a direct refuſal to afford him any relief was conveyed to his royal highneſs through one of his principal officers of ſtate. In conſequence of this refuſal, the prince of Wales appears to have conceived himſelf bound in honour and juſtice to have recourſe to the only expedient. His determination was prompt and manly. The day after he received the meſſage from the king, he diſmiſſed the officers of his court, and reduced the eſtabliſhment of his houſehold to that of a private gentleman; he ordered his horſes to be ſold, the works at Carlton-houſe to be diſcontinued, and ſuch parts, as were not neceſſary for his perſonal uſe, to be ſhut up. From theſe ſavings an annual ſum of forty thouſand pounds was ſet apart, and veſted in the hands of truſtees for the payment of his debts. This conduct, however laudable it may appear, did not eſcape cenſure, as it appeared by an event, which happened ſoon after; we mean the

upon ſir John Skynner, late lord chief baron of the exchequer, in conſideration of his diligent and meritorious ſervices; and recommends to them to conſider of enabling him to grant an annuity, clear of all deduction, of two thouſand pounds *per annum*, during the term of his natural life." On the twenty-firſt Mr. Pitt moved for leave to bring in a bill for the purpoſes above-mentioned, and was ſeconded by Mr. Burke, who ſaid, that having frequently interfered in matters of ſupply, he could not avoid expreſſing on the preſent occaſion his conviction, that there never came a propoſal for a grant on better grounds than the one before them; never was an office ſo exalted filled with more diligence and integrity, and reſigned with more dignity. The motion and the bill paſſed both houſes unanimouſly.

danger to which his majeſty's life was expoſed in Auguſt, 1786, when Margaret Nicholſon, a lunatic, under pretence of preſenting a petition to his majeſty, made an effort to deprive him of life, by endeavouring to ſtab him in the body. Upon that occaſion no notice whatever of the accident was conveyed to the prince of Wales by the court. He was informed of it at Brighthelmſtone from the information of a private correſpondent. He immediately flew to Windſor. He was received there by the queen, but the king did not ſee him.

In this deplorable ſtate of the prince's affairs, the expedient was ſuggeſted to his royal highneſs, by ſeveral reſpectable members of the houſe of commons, of appealing to the juſtice and generoſity of the nation in parliament. To this meaſure the prince appears to have aſſented, as well from a natural wiſh to free himſelf from his pecuniary embarraſſments, as from a deſire of removing any ill impreſſion, that the misfortune of having incurred the royal diſpleaſure, and the conſequent refuſal of affording him any relief, might have left upon the minds of the public. Accordingly on the day already mentioned, Mr. Alderman Newnham demanded, in his place, of the chancellor of the exchequer, whether it was the intention of his majeſty's miniſters to bring forward any propoſition for reſcuing the prince of Wales from his preſent embarraſſed ſituation? For though his conduct, under the difficulties, with which he laboured, reflected the higheſt honour on his character, he thought it would bring indelible diſgrace upon the nation, if he were ſuffered to remain any longer in his preſent reduced circumſtances. Mr. Pitt replied, that it was not his duty to bring forward a ſubject of the nature that had been mentioned, except by the command of his majeſty. Mr. Newnham, therefore gave notice of his intention to bring the ſubject regularly by a motion before the houſe on the fourth of May. In the mean time the friends of the prince of Wales were indefatigable in their endeavours, to procure the ſupport of the independent members of parliament to the propoſed motion. On the twenty-fourth of the ſame month Mr. Pitt, after requeſting that Mr. Newnham would inform the houſe more particularly of the motion he intended to make, adverted to the extreme delicacy of the ſubject; and declared, that the knowledge he poſſeſſed of many circumſtances relating to it, made him extremely anxious to perſuade the houſe, if poſſible, to prevent the diſcuſſion of it. Should, however, the honourable member perſiſt in his determination to bring it forward, it would be abſolutely neceſſary to lay thoſe circumſtances before the public; and however diſtreſſing it might prove to him as an individual, from the profound reſpect he entertained for every part of the royal family, he ſhould diſcharge his duty to the public and enter fully into the ſubject. On the twenty-ſeventh, Mr. Newnham, in compliance with the requeſt that had been made, ſignified to the houſe, that the motion he intended to make would be to the following effect; That an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, praying him to take into his royal conſideration the preſent ſtate of the affairs of the prince of Wales, and to grant him ſuch relief as his royal wiſdom ſhould think fit, and that the houſe would make good the ſame." Some debates enſued on the above motion, and on the thirtieth, Mr. Newnham roſe again, to make a few obſervations upon what had paſſed during thoſe debates. A violent altercation enſued, and on the day following, overtures were made to his royal highneſs to bring the buſineſs to a private accommodation. On the third, Mr. Pitt had an audience at Carlton-houſe, and the ſame night the prince was informed by his majeſty's command, in general terms, that if the motion intended to be made next day in the houſe of commons ſhould be withdrawn, every thing might be ſettled to his highneſs's ſatisfaction. Accordingly, Mr. Newnham being in his place in the houſe, in which upwards of four hundred members were aſſembled, roſe and ſaid, he felt the higheſt ſatisfaction in being able to inform the houſe, that his intended motion was no longer neceſſary. Several members joined in expreſſing, in the warmeſt terms, the great ſatisfaction this information afforded them *.

On the thirtieth of May, the king went in the uſual

* In the year 1785, a tax had been impoſed upon retail ſhop-keepers, which was ſtrongly oppoſed at the time by the inhabitants of London and Weſtminſter, as partial and unjuſt in its principle, and peculiarly oppreſſive in its operation upon thoſe two cities. The buſineſs was this year committed to Mr. Fox, who on the twenty-fourth of April moved the houſe for the repeal. He ſaid, he had never been forward in oppoſing taxes, becauſe he thought it the duty, in general, of members of parliament to ſupport government in the arduous and invidious meaſures of finance; but at the ſame time he thought there were limits to this duty, and that they were bound to inſiſt upon the abolition of any tax, which upon a fair trial was found to be oppreſſive and unjuſt. Such a trial the tax in queſtion had undergone, and it was found by experience to be, a partial tax upon houſekeepers, whoſe houſes had ſhops annexed to them; it was, to all intents and purpoſes, a perſonal tax, unjuſtly levied upon a particular deſcription of men. The partiality of the tax, he ſaid, was in the higheſt degree glaring. The whole ſum aſſeſſed for the ſhop-tax amounted to fifty-nine thouſand pounds, of which the cities of London and Weſtminſter, and the adjacent pariſhes, paid forty-three thouſand pounds. In ſome parts of the kingdom not above one hundred pounds was aſſeſſed for a whole county, and not above fifty for a few. If, according to the opinions of ſome politicians, every place ſhould ſend ſuch a number of repreſentatives to parliament as was proportionable to their payment of taxes, the inhabitants of London and Weſtminſter would ſend not leſs than three hundred and fifty. Theſe facts, Mr.

usual state to the house of peers, and the commons being sent for, the speaker, as soon as he came to the bar, addressed his majesty, and stated that he had brought up two bills, by which the house of commons had granted to his majesty an additional supply; and he expressed the satisfaction they felt in having been able to provide for the services of the year without having recourse to any new loan. He then enumerated the principal transactions of the session, as they related to the several objects that had been recommended to their attention at the opening of the session.

The royal assent being then given to the bills, the king delivered a speech from the throne, in which he commended their zeal and assiduity, and thanked them for the proofs they had given to him, his family, and government, of their attention and regard. The lord chancellor then, by his majesty's command, prorogued the parliament.

A war for some time had raged with the utmost fury betweeen the empress of Russia and the Porte. The empress had sought the alliance of most of the European courts; but the disposition of the maritime powers of England and Holland were not yet fully known. The empress intended to send a fleet into the Mediterranean; and the assistance of England was now become necessary. In full confidence of English succour, pilot-boats were engaged in this country, to wait in proper stations for the arrival of the Russian fleet; to guide them into those ports, which, being the station of the royal navy arsenals, could the more expeditiously supply them with all manner of stores and provisions, and, at the same time, most effectually facilitate their equipment for the Mediterranean service. These objects being attained, the pilots were to conduct them through the Channel, and then to be replaced by a new set, equally versed in the navigation of the more distant seas, which they were to encounter. In the mean time, some merchants in London, as agents to the court of Petersburg, had agreed for the hire of eighteen large ships, of four hundred tons, or upwards, to serve as tenders to the Russian fleet, in the conveyance of provisions, stores, arms, artillery, and ammunition. In this promising train seemed the state of preparation for the expedition, when a proclamation in the London Gazette, prohibiting British seamen from entering into any foreign service, threw a fatal damp upon the design: this was attended with a notice to the contractors for the tenders, that the engagement for supplying them must be renounced; that the ships would not be permitted to proceed: and that government was determined to maintain the strictest neutrality during the war, with respect to all the hostile powers, and consequently should afford no aid whatever to any of them. In the hope of remedying, in some degree, this grievous disappointment, or at least of putting the better countenance upon the business, and affecting not to regard it, Russia applied directly to the republic of Holland for the hire of a number of large transports to answer the same purpose; but here the disappointment was renewed, that government not only absolutely refusing a compliance with the request, but declaring its fixed determination to observe the strictest neutrality through the course of the war. As this rejection was attributed solely to the influence of Great Britain at the Hague, so it was added to the black catalogue of her political sins, and stored up for future remembrance.

The interval between the prorogation of parliament, on the thirtieth of May, and its subsequent meeting on the twenty-seventh of November following, was not distinguished by any remarkable domestic occurrences. The speech from the throne contained a very full and explicit declaration of the reasons which induced the king to assemble the two houses at so early a period. He informed them, that the disputes which subsisted in the republic of the United Provinces had become so critical as to endanger their constitution and independence, and were therefore likely in their consequences to affect the interests of his dominions. That, upon this account, he had endeavoured by his good offices to maintain the lawful government in those countries, and had thought it necessary to explain his intention of counteracting all forcible interference on the part of France: that, in conformity to this principle, when his most Christian Majesty, in consequence of an application for assistance against the king of Prussia, made by the party which had usurped the government of Holland, had notified to him his intention of granting their request, he had declared that he should not remain a quiet spectator, and had given immediate orders for augmenting his forces both by sea and land; and that, in the course of these transactions, he had thought proper to conclude a subsidiary treaty with the landgrave of Hesse Cassel. That the rapid success of the Prussian troops having soon after enabled the provinces to re-establish their lawful government, and all subjects of contest being thus removed, an amicable explanation took place between him and the most Christian king, and both parties had engaged to disarm, and to place their naval establishments on the same footing as at the beginning of the year. His majesty next acquainted them with the friendly assurances he continued to receive from all foreign powers, and with the war that had unfortunately broken out between Russia and the Porte. He further informed them of a convention which had been

Mr. Fox contended, proved the tax to be so partial and unjust in its operation and pressure, that he could not see how the minister could refuse the application for its repeal with any colour of reason or candour. Upon a division there appeared for the repeal one hundred and forty-seven, against it one hundred and eighty-three.

agreed upon between him and the French king; and that he had ordered copies of the ſeveral treaties and declarations, before referred to, to be laid before them. Addreſſes were moved as uſual, and after ſome debates, paſſed *nem. con.*

Almoſt in the beginning of the ſeſſions, Mr. Grenville gave notice to the houſe, that he ſhould beg leave to propoſe for their conſideration, certain amendments and additions to the bill brought into parliament by his father, for the better regulation of the trials of controverted elections. He explained, in a ſhort ſpeech, the objects which his bill had in view, and the means he propoſed for obtaining them. He ſhould propoſe, therefore, to impower a committee to adjudge that the party preſenting an election petition, which ſhould turn out to be frivolous, ſhould pay reaſonable coſts, and to impower them in like manner to oblige the party offering a frivolous pretence or anſwer to a petition, to pay reaſonable coſts. This was merely an act of juſtice, and yet he added, he believed ſuch a regulation would ſave much expence to individuals, and much time and trouble to the houſe. Another very material inconvenience, in his opinion, called equally for a remedy, which was the want of a rule being laid down to eſtabliſh the rights of election. To remedy this, he meant to annex certain proviſions to his bill, which he preſumed would anſwer the end propoſed, and aſcertain the rights of election for the future. The bill was immediately brought in, and read a firſt time, and ordered to be printed; and, after going through the uſual forms in both houſes, received the royal aſſent.

The trade carried on by this country, and other European nations, upon the coaſt of Africa, for the purpoſe of purchaſing negro ſlaves, to be employed in the cultivation of the Weſt India iſlands, and parts of the continent of America, does not ſeem till lately to have been conſidered with that general attention, which a practice ſo abhorrent in its nature to the mild principles of modern policy and manners might have been expected to excite. The firſt public attempt that was made to put a ſtop to this traffic, was ſaid to be by the quakers of the ſouthern provinces of America, who ſoon after the eſtabliſhment of their independence, not only preſented for this purpoſe, a ſtrong and pathetic addreſs to their ſeveral legiſlative aſſemblies, but actually proceeded, in many inſtances, to emancipate the ſlaves that were in their poſſeſſion. In Great Britain, the ſame ſect appears alſo to have taken the lead, and, after the example of their American brethren, preſented laſt year a ſimilar petition to the

" nent of this kingdom. The cauſe ſoon after extremely popular. A ſociety was formed, and a conſiderable ſum ſubſcribed, for the purpoſe of collecting information, and ſupporting the expence of an application to parliament. Pamphlets were publiſhed upon the ſubject; ſeveral eminent divines recommended it from the pulpit and in printed diſcourſes, and in the preſent ſeſſion, petitions were preſented from the two univerſities.

In the mean time, his majeſty's miniſters thought it their duty to inſtitute an enquiry, before a committee of the privy council, into the facts and allegations contained in the repreſentation of both parties upon the ſubject; and Mr. Wilberforce, to whom the conduct of that buſineſs of the houſe of commons had been, by a ſort of general conſent, aſſigned, having been prevented, by illneſs, from bringing it before the houſe, Mr. Pitt roſe in his place, on the ninth of May, and, after mentioning this circumſtance, moved the following reſolution, " That this houſe will, early in the next ſeſſion of parliament, proceed to take into conſideration the circumſtances of the ſlave trade, complained of in the petitions preſented to the houſe, and what may be fit to be done thereupon."

Some difficulty attending the introduction of this buſineſs before the houſe, ſir William Dolben moved, on the twenty-firſt of May, for leave to bring in a bill to regulate the tranſportation of the natives of Africa, to the Britiſh colonies in the Weſt Indies. The regulations of the bill, he ſaid, would regard the number of Africans put on board each ſhip, limiting that number to the tonnage of the veſſel, to prevent their being crowded too cloſe together; ſecuring to them good and ſufficient proviſions, and other matters equally conducive to their health and their accommodation. He declared he ſhould not have thought of bringing in a bill at that late period of the ſeſſion, were he not convinced of the exiſtence of the grievance to a conſiderable extent, and, that, by applying an immediate remedy, ſome thouſands of the unhappy perſons' lives might be ſaved before the next ſeſſion of parliament.

On the twenty-ſixth of May, the merchants and other inhabitants of the town and port of Liverpool, preſented a petition, ſtating, that the ſuppreſſion of the ſlave trade would be attended with conſequences little ſhort of ruin to many of the petitioners, who, under parliamentary faith, had embarked in the trade, and inveſted their whole property therein; it would be highly injurious to the intereſt and public revenues of this country; and operate as an effectual bar to future commercial emulation and enterprize; and therefore praying, that they might be heard, by their counſel, againſt the abolition or reſtriction of this trade, before any reſolution, or a bill, be paſſed by the houſe. On the ſecond of June, the houſe being in a committee upon the regulating bill, the counſel for the petitioners appeared at the bar. The bill, however, having gone through the houſe of commons, was carried up to the lords, where it alſo paſſed, after having received ſeveral amendments; ſome of which being ſuppoſed to trench on the privileges

villeges of the lower houſe, a new bill was brought in, which paſſed both houſes, and received the royal aſſent.

While the legiſlature was thus laudably employed in alleviating the miſeries of this unfortunate deſcription of their fellow-creatures, they were not inattentive to the ſituation of another claſs of ſufferers. On the eighth of June, the chancellor of the exchequer drew the attention of the houſe to the compenſation which was intended to be made to the American Loyaliſts, for the loſſes ſuſtained by them in conſequence of their adherence to the mother country, during the late American war. He thought they could not call upon the houſe to make compenſation for their loſſes as a matter of ſtrict juſtice; but they, moſt certainly, had ſtrong claims on their generoſity and compaſſion. After this introduction, Mr. Pitt ſtated the different deſcriptions of loyaliſts, who had preferred their claims before the commiſſioners appointed to inquire into American claims, and divided them into four claſſes. In the firſt, he ranked all thoſe who had reſided in America at the commencement of the war, and who, in purſuance of their principles of loyalty and adherence to this country, were obliged to abandon their eſtates and other property in America, which, as a natural conſequence, were ſeized and confiſcated by the Americans. The ſecond claſs of claimants included thoſe who, though reſident in England during the war, had exhibited claims on the ſcore of the loſs of property in America. The other claſs of claimants, were thoſe loyaliſts who, having either enjoyed places, or exerciſed profeſſions, in America, had, by being driven away in conſequence of their loyalty to this country, loſt their incomes. With reſpect to the Weſt Florida claimants, he ſhould propoſe to pay them the full amount of their claims, as they ſtood in a very different predicament from the American claimants, having, in conſequence of a peace, which ceded Florida to another power, and which that houſe had agreed to, been obliged to abandon their habitations and property in Weſt Florida. Having thus explained the ſeveral points, and ſtated that the whole amount of claims was upwards of two millions, excluſive of the four or five hundred thouſand pounds which had been already advanced at different periods, he ſaid he ſhould move a general reſolution for the amount of that ſum to be iſſued in debentures, bearing three and a half *per cent.* intereſt, which would, he ſuppoſed, be nearly equal to ready-money payment; and he had, on a former occaſion, intimated his idea of propoſing, with the approbation of the committee, that the whole ſum ſhould be paid off by inſtalment, by means of a lottery. That, however, was reſerved for further diſcuſſion; it was ſufficient for the preſent to move, "That one million two hundred and twenty-eight thouſand two hundred and thirty-nine pounds ſhould be voted for the ſeveral American claimants for loſſes, &c. and one hundred and thirteen thouſand nine hundred and fifty-two pounds fourteen ſhillings and three farthings to the Florida claimants." Theſe propoſitions, with few exceptions, met with the general approbation of the houſe *.

On the thirty-firſt of January, departed this life at Rome, prince Charles Edward Lewis Caſimir Stuart. Since the death of his father in 1765, he aſſumed the title of king of England. He was generally known on the continent by the appellation of the Chevalier de St. George, and in England by that of the Young Pretender. He was ſixty-ſeven years and two months old on the day of his deceaſe. He was the ſon of James Francis, prince of Wales, ſon of James the Second. His mother was the princeſs Maria Clementina Sobieſki, grand-daughter of the celebrated John Sobieſki, king of Poland. She had an immenſe fortune; a great part of which was conſumed in the fruitleſs attempt made by her ſon, in 1745, to place his father on the throne of England. She had two ſons; Charles, who lately died, and Henry Benedict, who by his father was created duke of York, and who having been promoted to the purple, has been generally known by the name of Cardinal York. The elder ſon married ſome years ago, a princeſs of Stolberg, in Germany; but by her he left no iſſue. He has left, however, a natural daughter, whom, by his pretended royal power, he created ducheſs of Albany, and to whom he bequeathed conſiderable property: to his brother, the cardinal, he left his empty pretenſions to the crown of England. The remains of Charles were repoſited in Freſcati.

A ſingular circular letter, concerning the Engliſh nation, was now tranſmitted by order of the emperor of Morocco, to all the European conſuls reſident within his dominions †.

A treaty

* A bill was now brought into the houſe of commons, for granting to the earl of Newburgh, grandſon of the late Charles Radcliffe, and the heirs male of his body, a rent charge of two thouſand five hundred pounds, out of the eſtates forfeited by the earl of Derwentwater, and ſettled upon Greenwich hoſpital. The peculiar hardſhip of lord's Newburgh's caſe, whoſe father was an infant when his family were engaged in the rebellion of 1715, had often induced parliament, from time to time, during the late and the preſent reign, to grant certain ſums of money for his relief. In the act paſſed for reſtoring the forfeited eſtates, that of the Derwentwater family was not included, but an intention was then declared of making a ſpecial proviſion for the caſe. Some difficulties occurred with regard to the diminution in the hoſpital fund, but at laſt the bill paſſed as originally ſtated

† The whole of this curious epiſtle is nothing more than an unqualified aſſertion, that the Engliſh delight in telling

A treaty of defenſive alliance between the king of Great Britain and their high mightineſſes the States General of the United Provinces, was ſigned at the Hague, on the fifteenth of April*. A defenſive treaty between his Britannic majeſty and the king of Pruſſia, was alſo ſigned at Berlin, on the thirteenth of Auguſt following.

This year was diſtinguiſhed by a calamity which ſeemed to threaten the nation with conſequences of a very direful nature. The health of the ſovereign had ſuffered a gradual decline, a circumſtance which could not be aſcribed to the freedom of indulgence and the ſoftneſs of luxury; but, rather on the contrary, to the obſervance of too ſevere a regimen, too laborious exerciſe, too rigid abſtemiouſneſs, and too circumſcribed intervals of reſt. From ſome peculiar ſymptoms, the king was induced to viſit the medical waters at Cheltenham, and accordingly travelled into that part of the kingdom immediately after the prorogation of parliament, where he drank liberally of the mineral ſprings, without exhibiting any ſymptoms of mental derangement, and did not return to the metropolis till the eighteenth of Auguſt. No benefit, anſwerable to the expectations that had been formed, reſulted from this excurſion. His health was in a precarious ſtate, and, on the twenty-ſecond of October, ſymptoms were obſerved by one of the royal phyſicians, of that alienation of mind which afterwards occaſioned ſo many important tranſactions. For ſome time, it was thought proper to obſerve as much ſecrecy as poſſible reſpecting the nature of the king's indiſpoſition. The retreat of the ſovereign to Windſor was favourable to this purpoſe, and for ſeveral days an opinion was entertained by the people in general, that his indiſpoſition was a fever, and that it had ariſen to ſo alarming a height as to threaten a ſpeedy diſſolution. The real nature of the caſe, however, could not long be ſuppreſſed. Public prayers were offered up to the throne of grace for his recovery, and the private wiſhes of his loyal ſubjects accompanied them. By the ſtructure and practice of the Engliſh conſtitution, almoſt every ſpecies of public buſineſs is in ſome degree implicated with the royal prerogatives. The adminiſtration of political government, in particular, was by this event virtually ſuſpended from it functions; and notwithſtanding the critical ſituation of Europe, it was now deemed impracticable to return any anſwer to the diſpatches of foreign courts, or of our own ambaſſadors. In this ſituation, the moſt natural expedient was to ſuffer the two houſes of parliament, which ſtood prorogued till the twentieth of November, to meet at that time, and either adjourn for a ſhort interval, or immediately proceed to diſcuſs the meaſures it would be proper to adopt at the preſent criſis. Circular letters were accordingly addreſſed to the members of the legiſlature on the fourteenth, ſignifying to them, that the indiſpoſition of the ſovereign rendered it doubtful whether there would be a poſſibility of receiving his commands for the farther prorogation of parliament. In that caſe the two houſes muſt of neceſſity aſſemble, and the attendance of the different members was earneſtly requeſted. In conſequence of which, they haſtened to Weſtminſter from all parts of the kingdom.

At the meeting of parliament, the lord chancellor obſerved in the houſe of lords, that the reaſon of their being thus unuſually called together, without the ordinary notice for the diſpatch of buſineſs, aroſe from the ſeverity of the king's indiſpoſition, which had rendered it impoſſible for him to approach the royal perſon, in order to receive his commands. Lord Camden remarked, that the cuſtomary practice of giving forty days notice previouſly to the meeting of parliament, was not in his opinion abſolutely neceſſary. There was an expreſs act of parliament, that limited the notice in caſe of treaſon or rebellion to fourteen days; he therefore recommended an adjournment for that term, and at the ſame time moved, that the chancellor, by order of the houſe, ſhould addreſs an official letter to every individual peer. Mr. Pitt obſerved to the houſe of commons, that every authority had been conſulted reſpecting the preſent ſingular ſituation of affairs; but they did not point out either the poſſibility of directing a new prorogation, or enable miniſters to open the ſeſſion of parliament in any regular way. He therefore, recommended the interval of a fortnight, when, if the king's illneſs ſhould unhappily continue, it would be indiſpenſably incumbent upon them to enter upon the immediate conſideration of the ſtate of public affairs. Mr. Pitt farther moved a call of the houſe for the fourth of December, and that the ſpeaker be directed to ſend circular letters requiring the attendance of every member on that day.

The miniſters, by this expedient, removed the difficulties which at firſt preſented themſelves, reſpecting the legal aſſembling of the two houſes of parliament; but the queſtions that remained were

telling lies. We ſhall, however, ſelect the following article from this curious Imperial letter. "According "to our religion, a lie is the moſt abominable of all vices. "We never could dive into their character, becauſe they "have no other than that of telling lies."——More, we think, will not be expected from us.

* A. D. 1788.

† Many indeed were of opinion that the king's temporary loſs of intellectual capacity, was the conſequence of his general mode of living, which was ſuppoſed to be too abſtemious, though he habituated himſelf to exerciſe. His indiſpoſition, however, continued ſeveral months, amidſt all the exertions of his medical attendants; among whom Dr. Willis is ſuppoſed to have had the moſt perfect knowledge of his caſe.

more

more eſſential in themſelves, and had a greater tendency to intereſt the paſſions of mankind. The uniform tenor of all precedents afforded by the Hiſtory of England, were in favour of a protectorate or regency, under which the whole or a part of the political power ſhould be confided to the next heir to the crown, or to the adult of the royal family moſt nearly allied to the king *. Three modes of proceeding that might be adopted in the preſent inſtance, and three forms of executive government that might be employed for the preſent temporary purpoſe, appeared evident to the miniſtry. Parliament therefore might either be called upon to nominate a council of regency, or they might conſtitute the prince of Wales regent, at the ſame time declaring that none of his proceedings ſhould be valid unleſs approved of by a council ſo appointed: or they might conſtitute the prince ſole regent, but under ſuch limitations and reſtrictions, as ſhould be calculated to ſuperſede as much as poſſible all important changes, and to reſtrain him from the adoption of any deciſive meaſures. Theſe three projects are ſuppoſed to have paſſed ſucceſſively under the contemplation of miniſters. The two firſt were rejected as untenable: the moſt obvious objection againſt the laſt, was, that the government of England was a limited monarchy.

We cannot avoid remarking, upon this occaſion, the effect of reputation and popularity. Mr. Pitt and his colleagues in office, were in full poſſeſſion of the public favour. Upon Mr. Fox and his aſſociates remained a part of that odium, which the coalition and the India bill had originally excited. The prince of Wales himſelf was ſtill leſs unpopular. Diſſipation and irregularity of conduct appear leſs venial in the eſtimate of the maſs of mankind, than almoſt any qualities that can be named. A rumour had been propagated of his having married a lady of the Roman catholic religion, and, though this rumour had been ſolemnly contradicted, it ſeemed to be very generally credited. Perhaps few perſons were ſeriouſly apprehenſive of an endeavour to aboliſh the eſtabliſhed Proteſtant religion; but theſe conſiderations might probably have a conſiderable operation at ſo critical a time.

On the re-aſſembling of parliament on the fourth of December, a report of the board of privy council, containing an examination of the royal phyſicians, was preſented to the two houſes by lord Camden and Mr. Pitt. In the mean time, doubts were ſuggeſted by Mr. Vyner, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Burke, whether parliament could, conſiſtently with its privileges and its momentous ſituation, diſpenſe with that ſort of evidence upon which they were accuſtomed to proceed. Upon theſe ſuggeſtions, adminiſtration changed its original deſign, and it was reſolved on the eighth, that each houſe ſhould appoint a committee of its own members to examine and report the ſentiments of the royal phyſicians. In purſuance of the uſual mode of procedure in the two houſes, the committee of the houſe of commons was named on the ſame day, and the committee of the houſe of lords on the day following. The number ſelected in each houſe was twenty-one. The report of the committee was laid upon the table of the houſe of commons, on the tenth, when a farther propoſition was moved by Mr. Pitt, for the appointment of a committee to examine and report precedents of caſes, in which the perſonal exerciſe of the royal authority had been prevented or interrupted by infancy, ſickneſs, infirmity, or any other cauſe. Mr. Fox embraced this opportunity of bringing forward an opinion that was of conſiderable conſequence to the cauſe of the prince of Wales, and which, if admitted, would inſtantly put an end to thoſe precautions and limitations upon the regency, which it was in the contemplation of miniſters to ſuggeſt. By that report, they had aſcertained that the king was at preſent incapable of the executive government; and it was the firm opinion of Mr. Fox, that the prince of Wales had as clear and expreſs a right to exerciſe the powers of ſovereignty, during the continuance of the preſent incapacity, as if his father were actually dead. He did not, however, mean that the prince of Wales could enter upon this exerciſe at his own pleaſure, or was entitled to judge of the circumſtances that cauſed it to be requiſite. His right was perfect and entire, but the two houſes of parliament, as the organs of the nation, were alone qualified to pronounce when he ought to take poſſeſſion of his right. He commended the prince of Wales for not bringing forward his claim himſelf, and chooſing rather with patient deference to wait the deciſion of the parliament; adding, that his forbearance was to be imputed to his having been bred in the principles which had placed his family on the throne, and to his known veneration for thoſe principles as the fundamentals of our conſtitution. Mr. Fox obſerved with reſpect to precedents, that there were none that applied to the preſent inſtance, and that he could therefore conceive no adequate reaſon for the propoſed delay. The motion for a committee

* It may be neceſſary to obſerve, that ſoon after the indiſpoſition of the king had been aſcertained, the prince of Wales diſpatched an expreſs to Mr. Fox, who was then in Italy, requeſting his immediate preſence to aſſiſt him in forming an adminiſtration. Mr. Fox arrived in London on the twenty-fourth of November, and the rapidity with which he travelled, had been ſuch as to occaſion an indiſpoſition, which for ſeveral weeks had an alarming appearance. Lord Thurlow aſſented to become a member of the propoſed adminiſtration, and the principal officers of ſtate were ſaid to have been arranged.

mittee of precedents being at length put, was carried without a diviſion. A motion for a ſimilar committee was offered in the houſe of lords on the day following by lord Camden: and in the courſe of the debate, lord Stormont adduced an argument from the act of union concerning the election of a regent, and concluded with recommending an addreſs to the prince of Wales, intreating him to aſſume the exerciſe of the royal authority.

The houſe of commons was to reſolve itſelf into a committee on the ſtate of the nation on the ſixteenth: and on the preceding day an ultimate attempt was made by lord Fitzwilliam and others in the houſe of lords, to deprecate the diſcuſſion of this delicate topic. The duke of York, in particular, expreſſed his wiſhes that the queſtion might be waved. The duke of Glouceſter confirmed the declaration of the duke of York. Lord Thurlow ſpoke with great energy of his ſentiments of affection towards the king, emphatically exclaiming, "If I forget my "king, may God forget me!" This circumſtance, however, was obliquely cenſured by another peer, as having only a perſonal and intereſted tendency. The two leading reſolutions propoſed by Mr. Pitt, in the committee upon the ſtate of the nation, were entirely of a declaratory nature, the firſt affirming that the perſonal exerciſe of the royal authority was interrupted, and the ſecond, that it was the duty of the two houſes of parliament to provide the means of ſupplying that defect. At length, after vehement debates, the houſe divided, when the numbers appeared, ayes two hundred and ſixty-eight, and noes two hundred and four. The third reſolution, which was intended by Mr. Pitt to complete the preſent proceeding, was ſtated to the houſe on the ſame day, but was not regularly debated till the twenty-ſecond. Its tenor was to declare that it was not neceſſary, for the purpoſe of ſupplying the preſent defect, that the two houſes ſhould determine on the means by which the royal aſſent might be given to the bill, which they might adopt for conſtituting a regency. The object of this propoſition was ſufficiently obvious. Adminiſtration had determined not to confide the regency to the prince of Wales but with certain limitations and reſtrictions; and they conceived it incumbent upon them to fix thoſe reſtrictions in the preſent maimed and defective ſtate of the legiſlature.

All parties were agreed, that the prince of Wales was the proper perſon to be nominated ſole regent, and that, if parliament poſſeſſed a diſcretion, it would be unwiſe for them to exerciſe it for any other than this individual purpoſe. After ſome debates, when the reſolution paſſed for the ſecond time under the reviſion of the houſe, an amendment upon the ſecond of them was moved by Mr. Dempſter, declaring, that it was the duty of the two houſes to provide the means of ſupplying the preſent defect, by preſenting an addreſs to the prince of Wales, heir apparent, and of full age, requeſting him to take upon himſelf the adminiſtration of the civil and military government during the royal incapacity. The houſe divided upon this amendment, ayes one hundred and ſeventy-eight, noes two hundred and fifty-one. The reſolutions which had thus been paſſed were communicated to the houſe of lords on the following day, and were taken into conſideration on the twenty-ſixth.

Lord Rawdon made a ſimilar motion to that of Mr. Dempſter in the other houſe, and this amendment was ſupported by lord viſcount Stormont and lord Loughborough. When the houſe divided upon the amendment of lord Rawdon, the contents were ſixty-ſix, non contents ninety-nine. A proteſt was entered, ſigned by the duke of York, the duke of Cumberland, and forty-ſix other peers*.

Mr. Pitt had fixed upon the ſixth of January as the day for explaining to the houſe of commons the reſtrictions, which he ſhould propoſe as neceſſary to accompany the declaration of a regent. This topic was however procraſtinated, in conſequence of the motion of Mr. Loveden for the appointment of a freſh committee to enquire into the ſtate of the health of the king; as the royal indiſpoſition was at this time an object of conſiderable curioſity, and that of conſequence various and contradictory rumours would be propagated upon the ſubject. The degree of uncertainty was increaſed by the oppoſition and rivalſhip that had broken out between doctor Richard Warren, one of the principal phyſicians in ordinary to the king, and doctor Francis Willis, whoſe original profeſſion had been that of a clergyman, but had very frequently and ſucceſsfully attended perſons afflicted with the royal malady. Doctor Warren was particularly cautious of

* In this ſtage of the buſineſs, an incident occurred, that was calculated to render the ſingular ſituation of the two houſes of parliament more palpable and conſpicuous. Mr. Cornwall, ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, died after a few days indiſpoſition, on the ſecond of January, 1789. This was a caſe within the uſual ſphere of the royal prerogative, it being requiſite to proceed to the immediate election of a new ſpeaker, and the perſon elected not being accuſtomed to take upon himſelf the duties of his office, till his appointment had received the approbation of the king. This form it was neceſſary to diſpenſe with in the preſent inſtance, and on the fifth of January it was moved by lord Euſton and Mr. Pulteney, that Mr. Grenville, brother to the marquis of Buckingham, be choſen to ſupply the preſent vacancy. By Mr. Welbore Ellis, and Mr. Frederic Montagu, in the name of the other party in the houſe of commons, it was moved, that the ſpeaker to be elected ſhould be ſir Gilbert Elliot, who had lately diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the propoſed impeachment of ſir Elijah Impey. Upon this queſtion the houſe divided, for Mr. Grenville two hundred and ſixteen, for ſir Gilbert Elliot one hundred and forty-four.

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delivering any prognoſtics upon the ſubject, not chooſing to flatter the public with any deluſory expectations; while doctor Willis conceived from the firſt the moſt ſanguine hopes of his patient's recovery, and declared his opinions with a confidence which was ultimately juſtified by the event. Doctor Willis, therefore, became exceedingly acceptable to the queen; and doctor Warren, by her majeſty's interference, was in one inſtance prevailed on to ſign a report of the ſovereign's health ſomewhat more favourable than he thought in ſtrictneſs it ought to have been. At length, Mr. Sheridan moved an amendment upon the propoſition for a committee of enquiry, authoriſing the members not merely to receive the evidence of the royal phyſicians, but to enquire generally into the ſtate of the king's malady, and the probability of his ſpeedy recovery, and to ſend for ſuch perſons and papers as might conduce to their information. The houſe divided upon the amendment, ayes one hundred and forty-one, noes two hundred and twenty-one. The report of the committee which was thus inſtituted, inſtead of being prepared, as was predicted, in a few hours, occupied a period of ſeven days. The report was voluminous, and the phyſicians underwent the moſt accurate and ſevere examination. But though a conſiderable degree of intelligence was thus obtained reſpecting the preciſe nature and ſymptoms of the royal indiſpoſition, and the treatment the king had received, there did not appear, upon the face of the report, any ſatisfactory materials, out of which to have formed a judgment reſpecting the duration of his malady.

The miniſter's project reſpecting the form of government to be inſtituted, was ſuch, as ſeemed to render it neceſſary for them to confider the prince of Wales in no other light in the commencement of the buſineſs, than a privy counſellor and a prince of the blood; and ſuch had been the principle upon which they acted, till their propoſitions reſpecting the deciſion of the queſtion of right, had been ultimately adopted by the two houſes of parliament. The next meaſure it became them to take, was the proceeding by bill, or by reſolutions to be made the ground-work of a bill, to provide for the adminiſtration of the executive government during the period of the royal incapacity. In this ſituation they conceived themſelves at liberty, and of conſequence regarded it as an act of deference and reſpect, to communicate to the prince of Wales the propoſitions they intended to offer to parliament upon this intereſting ſubject. A letter was addreſſed to him by Mr. Pitt on the thirtieth of December, informing him that it was the opinion of the king's confidential ſervants, that he ſhould be empowered to exerciſe the royal authority during the illneſs and in the name of his father; providing nevertheleſs, that the care of the king's perſon, and the diſpoſition of his houſehold ſhould be committed to the queen; and that the power to be exerciſed by the prince ſhould not extend to the perſonal property of his father; to the granting any office, reverſion, or penſion, except where the law abſolutely required it, as in the caſe of the judges, for any other term than during the king's pleaſure; nor to the conferring any peerage, unleſs upon ſuch perſons of the royal iſſue as ſhould have attained the age of twenty-one years. Mr. Pitt added, that the ideas he had ſuggeſted, were founded upon the ſuppoſition that the royal malady was only temporary, and might be of ſhort duration. It would be difficult to fix the preciſe period of which theſe proviſions ought to endure, but it would be open hereafter to the wiſdom of parliament to conſider them, whenever circumſtances might appear to render it eligible.

The anſwer of the prince of Wales is dated on the ſecond of January *, and expreſſes with conſiderable force the ſentiments which he might have been expected to feel upon ſuch an occaſion. Reſpecting the ſteps already taken he was ſilent; but it was with deep regret that the prince perceived, in the propoſitions of adminiſtration, a project for introducing weakneſs, diſorder, and inſecurity into every branch of political buſineſs; a project for dividing the royal family from each other, for ſeparating the court from the ſtate, and depriving government of its natural and accuſtomed ſupport; a ſcheme for diſconnecting the authority to command ſervice from the power of animating it by reward, and for allotting to him all the invidious duties of the king by ſtation, without the means of ſoftening them to the public by any one act of grace, favour, or benignity.

On the ſixteenth of January, Mr. Pitt opened his propoſitions to the houſe of commons. He declared, that the report which had juſt been prepared abundantly confirmed the ſentiments he had before entertained upon the ſubject. He ſaid, that the king's recovery was more probable than the contrary, and that the greateſt length to which the malady was ordinarily known to extend, was a year and a half or two years, the ſhorteſt three months, and the average five or ſix. Such was the deciſive opinion of Dr. Willis, who of all the king's phyſicians was moſt entitled to credit. Mr. Pitt adverted to the regency bills of queen Anne, of king George the Firſt, and king George the Second, where the circumſtance in contemplation being a minority, the proſpect of a more certain and longer delegation of power was afforded than might be expected in the preſent inſtance. In each of theſe caſes, the powers of the crown had been lodged not in one ſingle hand, but in a great variety of perſons. He had himſelf conſiderable doubts whether theſe bills were well adapted to the circumſtances of the times in which they had paſſed, and was firmly of opinion that the political

* A. D. 1789.

political power ſhould be entruſted by parliament to one individual. But as the delegated authority had in former inſtances been reſtricted by the mode in which it was diſtributed, ſo he deemed it more eſpecially right in the preſent, that he ſhould have certain limitations. He reaſoned particularly upon the limitation reſpecting the peerage, and obſerved, that it could ſcarcely be maintained, that the want of ſuch an incentive for a few months, was likely to deprive the country of the ſervice of its meritorious citizens. Mr. Grenville diſcuſſed the ſubject at conſiderable length. Lord North having taken up the argument upon this occaſion, retorted upon miniſters what they had employed in a former debate. The meaſure which parliament was now called upon to adopt, contradicted that wiſe maxim of our conſtitution, that the king could never die. The king, it was true, in his individual and natural capacity, ſuffered a demiſe, but the political capacity of the crown was whole and entire, and the reaſon of this maxim was obviouſly to guard againſt and prevent an interregnum of imperial power. Mr. Pitt's project conſiſted of five propoſitions. To the firſt of theſe, veſting the prince of Wales with the royal authority, ſubject to ſuch limitations as the parliament ſhould provide, an amendment was moved by Mr. Powys; the object of which was to confer the exerciſe of the royal authority, unaccompanied by any limitations. This amendment was rejected with the uſual majority. Upon the ſecond reſolution, relative to the creation of peers, the houſe divided, ayes two hundred and ſixteen, noes one hundred and fifty-nine. The reſolutions that reſpected the granting offices for life, and the reſervation of the king's real and perſonal property, were then carried without a diviſion. The conſideration of the fifth reſolution, reſpecting the guardianſhip of the royal perſon, was adjourned to the nineteenth, and was attended with ſome degree of debate; when an amendment was moved by Mr. Bouverie, to ſeparate that part of the reſolution which related to the houſehold; and his motion was rejected upon a diviſion, ayes one hundred and ſixty-five, noes two hundred and twenty-nine.

The reſolutions on the ſubject of the regency having undergone ſo conſiderable a degree of diſcuſſion, the bill which was brought in to carry them into effect, was attended with no remarkable debate, till the ſeventh of the month, when the clauſes came to be ſeparately diſcuſſed. In the courſe of the debate, Mr. Pitt brought up certain clauſes, enabling parliament in its preſent ſeſſion to grant a penſion of permanent office to any perſon filling the ſituation of lord chancellor, or to any perſon reſigning the ſituation of one of the twelve judges. Mr. Pulteney did not think proper to offer his clauſe for limiting the duration of the regency, but preſented an amendment which was accepted, limiting the duration of the peerage reſtriction to three years. The bill paſſed the houſe of commons on the twelfth of February, and was carried up to the houſe of lords on the following day. The particular clauſes of which bill came under the conſideration of the houſe of lords, on the ſeventeenth and eighteenth of February, and a few amendments were introduced in this ſtage of the buſineſs. The power of the regent was limited in reſpect to the peerages to be conferred upon the members of the royal family, to ſuch of them as ſhould be reſident in Great Britain, and a clauſe was introduced for veſting in the queen the guardianſhip of ſuch of the royal children as had not attained the age of twenty years.

Such was the progreſs which had been made in this intereſting and extraordinary tranſaction, when its further proceedings were ſuddenly ſuſpended by the ſymptoms which now manifeſted themſelves of the king's recovery. On the twelfth of February, he was declared by his phyſicians to be in a ſtate of progreſſive amendment; and on the ſeventeenth, in order to expreſs ſtill more ſtrongly the favourable ſymptoms which daily appeared, they declared his majeſty to be in a ſtate of convaleſcence. Accordingly the lord chancellor, on the third day of the intended committee of the houſe of lords upon the regency bill, moved an adjournment of all farther proceedings upon the ſubject. On the twenty-fifth, the king was declared by his phyſicians free from complaint, and on the twenty-ſeventh, the reports of his health, which had been daily iſſued, were diſcontinued by the royal command. The two houſes of parliament continued to ſit by various adjournments, till the tenth of March, when the lord chancellor, commiſſioned by the ſovereign, addreſſed them in a ſpeech, and the ordinary buſineſs of the ſeſſion regularly commenced. Addreſſes of congratulation were preſented; illuminations demonſtrated the joy of the people in every part of the kingdom; and a general thankſgiving was ſolemnized on the feſtival of St. George; the lords and commons attending their ſovereign and his family, on this extraordinary occaſion, to the cathedral of Saint Paul. The guns in the Tower and in the Park were fired three times; firſt, upon the king's ſetting out; ſecondly, at the ſinging of *Te Deum*; and thirdly, upon his majeſty's return: after which, the brigade of foot guards fired a *feu-de-joie* in St. James's Park, being drawn up in the front of the queen's palace.

In the ſpeech delivered by the chancellor, in the name of his majeſty, to the two houſes of parliament, the king conveyed to them his warmeſt acknowledgments for the additional proofs they had given of their attachment to his perſon, their concern for the honour and intereſts of his crown, and the ſecurity and good government of his dominions. He communicated to them the treaty of alliance which he had concluded with the king of Pruſſia, and mentioned the endeavours he had employed to prevent

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as far as poſſible the extenſion of hoſtilities in the North, and to manifeſt his deſire of a general pacification. In the converſation that took place upon the motion of addreſs, in return for the ſpeech that had been delivered, earl Stanhope expreſſed a doubt as to the propriety of the preſent proceeding. He had no heſitation in giving a full confidence to the fact of the king's recovery, but was the preſent meaſure ſtrictly parliamentary? The two houſes had determined that the king was rendered incapable by illneſs of executing the duties of his office, and they had juſt declared their opinion, in the proviſions of the regency bill, reſpecting the manner in which it was proper he ſhould reſume the royal authority. If the king could of himſelf declare his recovery, ſuch proviſions had been ſuperfluous and nugatory. Lord Thurlow replied, that no declaration of the two houſes, on account of the king's illneſs, could take from him the right of governing, nor any clauſe in ſuch a bill interrupt the reſumption of his powers upon the reſtoration of his health. With reſpect to himſelf, he wiſhed the regency bill and all its paſſages to be buried in everlaſting oblivion, and he truſted, that there would never be any provocation to recollect it. It was accordingly on the ſame day moved by lord Hawkeſbury, that the bill be rejected. The two houſes accompanied their addreſs to the king, with an addreſs of congratulation to the queen, upon the fortunate termination of her late calamity.

One of the earlieſt topics of revenue that engaged the attention of parliament, after the king's reſtoration to health, was Mr. Fox's annual motion for a repeal of the ſhop-tax. Whether he was convinced of the inexpediency of the tax, or from gratitude for the extraordinary popularity he enjoyed, Mr. Pitt was at length induced to conſent to a meaſure, ſo earneſtly and unremittingly demanded by the perſons immediately affected by the tax.

A bill now paſſed for an extenſion of the laws of exciſe, for the purpoſe of preventing an evaſion of the duties on tobacco. Though ſome of its reſtrictions appeared rigorous, if not unjuſt, it was not ſtrongly oppoſed.

Mr. Beaufoy, on the eighth of May, introduced the motion, which he had two years before ſubmitted to the houſe of commons, for the repeal of the corporation and teſt acts. The motion which had been made upon this occaſion, was oppoſed by lord North and Mr. Pitt, and upon a diviſion the numbers appeared, ayes one hundred and two, noes one hundred and twenty-two.

Mr. Beaufoy alſo introduced a bill for the purpoſe of inſtituting a feſtival for the commemoration of the Revolution. The bill had originated in the circumſtance of the preceding year, being the laſt in completing a century from that important event. The period had been celebrated in many parts of the kingdom with great zeal and ſolemnity, and a project had been formed, at the head of which were Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan, for the purpoſe of erecting a column in memory of this illuſtrious æra, which was to be ſeated upon the plains of Runnemede, the ſcene where the barons of old had extorted from king John the confirmation of Magna Charta. The bill was ſupported by Mr. Sheridan, but met with more oppoſition than might have been expected. It paſſed the houſe of commons, but was rejected upon the firſt reading in the houſe of lords, upon the motion of lord Thurlow, and Dr. Warren, biſhop of Bangor.

The ſubject of the ſlave trade, which had been ſuggeſted to the conſideration of parliament, in the preceding ſeſſion, was not regularly reſumed till the twelfth of May. In the interval, various petitions had been preſented in the laſt and preſent ſeſſion from perſons principally intereſted, the object of which was to demand that ſo fatal a meaſure as the abolition of the African trade might not be adopted. In the mean time, the report of the committee of privy council, of which Mr. Pitt had given notice in the preceding ſeſſion, was laid upon the table of the houſe of commons, on the twenty-fifth of April, and the regular diſcuſſion of the buſineſs was at length opened by Mr. Wilberforce, in an elegant and energetic ſpeech*. After the debate, the houſe of commons proceeded to the hearing of witneſſes upon

* In the courſe of this ſpeech, Mr. Wilberforce noticed the evidence of Mr. Norris from Liverpool, which he obſerved was delivered in a manner that fully demonſtrated that intereſt could draw a film over the eyes ſo thick, that total blindneſs could do no more. "Their apartments," ſaid the evidence, "are fitted up as much for their advantage as circumſtances will admit. They have ſeveral meals a day, ſome of their own country proviſions, with the beſt ſauces of African cookery, and by way of variety another meal of pulſe, &c. according to European taſte. After breakfaſt, they have water to waſh themſelves, while their apartments are perfumed with frankincenſe and lime juice. Before dinner, they are amuſed after the manner of their country; the ſong and the dance are promoted, and games of chance are furniſhed. The men play and ſing, while the women and girls make fanciful ornaments with beads, with which they are plentifully ſupplied." Such was the ſtrain, ſaid Mr. Wilberforce, in which the Liverpool delegates gave their evidence before the privy council. What would the houſe think, when by the concurring teſtimony of other witneſſes, the true hiſtory was laid open? The ſlaves who were ſometimes deſcribed as rejoicing in their captivity, were ſo wrung with miſery at leaving their country, that it was the conſtant practice to ſet fail in the night, leſt they ſhould be ſenſible of their departure. Their accommodations, it ſeemed, were convenient. The right ancle of one indeed was connected with the left ancle of the other, by a ſmall iron fetter, and if they were turbulent, by another on the wriſts.

upon this important ſubject; at the ſame time that ſeveral attempts were made on the part of the Weſt India proprietors, to procraſtinate and interrupt the progreſs of the buſineſs. A motion was twice made for a call of the houſe, to attain a full attendance at the period of the ultimate deciſion, and, at length, on the twenty-third of June, Mr. alderman Newnham, with the conſent of Mr. Wilberforce, moved that the farther conſideration of the ſubject ſhould be deferred to the next ſeſſion; and the queſtion was carried without a diviſion.

The office of ſpeaker of the houſe of commons became vacant in June, by the promotion of Mr. Grenville to the ſituation of one of the principal ſecretaries of ſtate, on the reſignation of lord Sydney. On this occaſion it was moved by the marquis of Graham and Mr. Groſvenor, that Mr. Henry Addington, the perſonal friend of Mr. Pitt, and the ſon of Dr. Stephen Addington, phyſician to Mr. Pitt's family, ſhould be appointed to the chair. Sir Gilbert Elliot was propoſed on the part of oppoſition, and Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke, in ſupport of this amendment, did not fail to mention the youth and inexperience of his competitor. At length the houſe divided, and the numbers appeared, in favour of Mr. Addington, two hundred and fifteen, and of ſir Gilbert Elliot, one hundred and forty-two.

A diſcuſſion occurred in the houſe of commons on the ſixth of July, relative to an application that had been made to miniſters, by the French government, to permit the exportation of twenty thouſand ſacks of flour, for the relief of the inhabitants of that country, in the extreme ſcarcity under which they laboured. Mr. Pulteney having propoſed a queſtion to the miniſter, upon the ſubject, Mr. Pitt replied, that the application was ſuch, as, upon a curſory view, ſeemed improper to be complied with; but that government had not yet ſufficiently digeſted their enquiries upon the ſubject, and that, when they had, they would ſtate the reſult to the conſideration of the houſe. Mr. Orde and Mr. Windham lamented that the topic had even been mentioned in that public manner. It might lead to very great inconvenience, and the price of corn might riſe ſo ſuddenly, as to produce all the ill effects of a ſcarcity at home. They wiſhed government had done whatever to them appeared proper, and had afterwards applied to parliament for a bill of indemnity. As the ſubject appeared to be of ſuch a nature as by no means to admit of ſuſpence, Mr. Pitt, on the following day, preſented the minutes of the examination taken by the privy council, and named a committee of fifteen perſons to take the queſtion into conſideration. The committee, after retiring, came to a reſolution, that from a comparative view of the prices of wheat and flour in France and England, twenty thouſand ſacks of flour ought not to be exported.

On the eleventh of Auguſt, the ſeſſion of parliament was concluded by a ſpeech delivered from the lord chancellor, in the name of the ſovereign, in which it was obſerved, that, though the good offices of himſelf and his allies had not been effectual for reſtoring the general tranquillity of Europe, the king had the ſatisfaction of perceiving that the farther extenſion of hoſtilities had been prevented, and that the aſpect of affairs continued to promiſe to this country the uninterrupted enjoyment of the bleſſings of peace *.

wriſts. The pulſe which Mr. Norris mentioned, were horſe-beans. He alſo talked of frankincenſe and lime-juice, while the ſurgeons deſcribed the ſlaves as ſo cloſely ſtowed, that there was not room to tread among them; and while it was proved in evidence by ſir George Yonge, that even in a ſhip that wanted two hundred of her complement, the ſtench was intolerable. The ſong and the dance, ſaid Mr. Norris, are promoted. The real truth was, that for the ſake of exerciſe, thoſe miſerable wretches, loaded with chains, and oppreſſed with diſeaſe, were forced to dance by the terror of the laſh, and ſometimes by the actual uſe of it. "I," ſaid one of the witneſſes, "was employed to dance the men, while another perſon danced the women." And it might alſo be obſerved with reſpect to food, that inſtruments were ſometimes carried out in order to force them to eat, which was the ſame ſort of proof how much they enjoyed themſelves in this inſtance alſo. With reſpect to their ſinging, it conſiſted of ſongs of lamentation on their departure, which, while they ſung, they were always in tears. That he might not truſt, however, too much to any ſort of deſcription, Mr. Wilberforce called the attention of the houſe to one ſpecies of evidence, which was infallible. Death was a witneſs that could not deceive them. It would be found upon an average of all the ſhips upon which evidence had been given, that, excluſively of ſuch as periſhed before they ſailed, not leſs than twelve and a half *per cent.* died in the paſſage. Beſides theſe, the Jamaica reports ſtated, that four and a half *per cent.* expired upon ſhore before the day of ſale, which was only a week or two from the time of their landing; one third more died in the ſeaſoning, and this in a climate exactly ſimilar to their own, and where, as ſome of the witneſſes pretended, they were healthy and happy. The diſeaſes, however, that they contracted on ſhip-board, the aſtringents and waſhes that were employed to hide the wounds, and make them up for ſale, were a principal cauſe of this mortality. The negroes were not purchaſed at firſt except in perfect health, and the ſum of the different caſualties taken together, produced a mortality of above fifty *per cent.*

* The nineteenth of November announced the completion of the greateſt object of internal navigation in this kingdom. The Severn was united to the Thames by an intermediate canal aſcending by Stroud, through the vale of Chalford, to the height of three hundred and forty-three feet, by forty-locks; there entering a funnel through the hill of Sapertra, for the length of two miles and three furlongs, and deſcending by twenty-two locks, it joined the Thames near Lechlade.

By intelligence from the Eaſt, it appeared that lord Cornwallis had totally aboliſhed the ſlave trade in Bengal, and had iſſued a proclamation declaring, "That all perſons who may hereafter be found either directly or indirectly concerned therein, ſhall be proſecuted in the ſupreme court; and, if a Britiſh ſubject, ſhall, on conviction, be diſpatched to Europe. A reward of one hundred rupees is offered for diſcovering any offender againſt the proclamation, and fifty rupees more for every perſon, who is delivered from ſlavery, or illegal confinement, in conſequence of ſuch diſcovery."

The parliament which had been elected in 1784, met for its laſt ſeſſion on the twenty-firſt of January, 1790. In the ſpeech from the throne, his majeſty informed them, that ſince the laſt meeting, the continuance of the war upon the continent and the internal ſituation of different parts of Europe, had produced events which had engag his moſt ſerious attention. That he received conti ed aſſurances of the pacific diſpoſition of foreign ers towards this country; and experienced great c olation in reflecting on the happineſs we enjoyed the increaſing advantages of peace, and the uninterrupted poſſeſſion of thoſe invaluable bleſſings, which we derived from our excellent conſtitution. Towards the concluſion, he mentioned the order of council which had been iſſued with a view to the apprehended ſcarcity of corn, which meaſure, as it exceeded the legal authority veſted in the executive power, was taken into the early conſideration of parliament, and provided for by an act of indemnity paſſed for that purpoſe.

The next object of diſcuſſion which engaged the houſe this ſeſſion, was the augmentation of the income of the ſpeaker. His ſalary, excluſive of ſervices of plate, and other incidental advantages, amounted to three thouſand pounds *per annum*. Mr. Huſſey oppoſed this augmentation as tending to increaſe the influence of the crown; and he particularly complained of that part of the motion, by which it was ſuppoſed the additional ſalary would be taken out of the ſinking fund, and not out of the civil liſt. It was intended to raiſe the income of the ſpeaker's office to the annual amount of five thouſand pounds, which ſum Mr. Burke ſtated as being even then inſufficient; and in this opinion the houſe ſo completely coincided, that an amendment for increaſing the ſpecific ſum to ſix thouſand pounds, was carried by a majority of more than five to one.

A topic which called forth an effort of ability, was the motion of Mr. Sheridan for a repeal of the act of the preceding year, ſubjecting the manufacture of tobacco to the ſurvey of the exciſe. The manufacturers were heard by their counſel, and a conſiderable body of evidence was adduced, to prove the allegation which had been ſtated while the act itſelf was in progreſs, that the ſurvey of the exciſe was inapplicable to the manufacture of tobacco. Mr. Sheridan introduced his motion on the ſixteenth of April, and in a train of the moſt forcible evidence endeavoured to ſet forth all the enormities with which the collection of the exciſe was attended *. Mr. Sheridan's motion was, however, negatived; ayes one hundred and forty-ſeven, noes one hundred and ninety-one. The object of the petitioners being thus diſpoſed of, Mr. Pitt introduced, as he had promiſed, a bill to explain and amend the exceptionable clauſes of the bill of the preceding year.

One of the financial meaſures of the preceding ſeſſion had been the introduction of a tontine, or ſcheme of annuity with benefit of ſurvivorſhip. This meaſure had failed in the execution, the numbers of ſubſcribers being extremely few; and Mr. Pitt accordingly found it neceſſary at this time to amend his original propoſition, by granting to the ſubſcribers an option of exchanging the ſhares of their tontine, for an equivalent amount of long annuity for the term of ſixty-nine years.

This ſeſſion came on again the motion for the repeal of the Corporation and Teſt acts. The efforts upon the preſent occaſion were more animated than thoſe which had been made upon the two former; the diſſenters had prevailed upon Mr. Fox to undertake the introduction of the intended motion; and the clergy of the church of England, alarmed perhaps at the rapid downfall of the pecuniary and territorial eminence of the Gallican church, ſtrenuouſly exerted themſelves to keep alive and diffuſe a ſpirit of oppoſition,

* While Mr. Sheridan was ſpeaking on this ſubject, he held in his hand a book, which contained only ten acts of parliament for enforcing the collection of the revenue by exciſe; and he would venture to declare, he ſaid, that in no age or country had the blackeſt deſpotiſm purſued meaſures more tyrannical, cruel, and oppreſſive, than were to be found in that book. He further obſerved, that in the reign of Charles II. when the ſyſtem began to appear, an exciſe officer could not break into a houſe, without an information upon oath, without a warrant from a juſtice of peace, and the preſence of a conſtable; and no houſe, even with all theſe precautions, could be entered by an exciſeman in the night. But by degrees all theſe barriers, erected for the protection of liberty, were beaten down. There were certain caſes in which the trader was admitted to appeal to trial by jury; but even here the tradeſman and the exciſeman did not go into court upon equal terms. If goods were ſeized, the owner was obliged to prove that they had paid the duty; but the officer was not alſo obliged to prove that they were ſeizable. The officer could bring his action within three *years*, the trader within three *months*. The latter was compelled to give notice in writing of the grounds on which he intended to proceed. He was reſtrained at the time of trial from entering into any freſh evidence; and after all, though the jury, on finding the conduct of the officer to be vexatious, malicious, and oppreſſive, ſhould give the trader five thouſand pounds damages, yet if the judge ſhould certify that there was probable ground for the ſeizure, theſe damages might not amount to two pence.

ſition, againſt the encroachment that they imagined was intended upon their excluſive privileges. The queſtion was regularly diſcuſſed in the houſe of commons on the ſecond of March. When the houſe divided upon the queſtion there appeared, ayes one hundred and five, noes two hundred and ninety-four.

A few days after the deciſion of this buſineſs, a motion was made by Mr. Flood for leave to bring in a bill, on the ſubject of the equal repreſentation of the people in parliament. This topic had met with a conſiderable degree of attention from the people towards the cloſe of the American war. Aſſociations had been formed, and petitions originated, for the ſole purpoſe of obtaining an amendment of the conſtitution; but, as the immediate cauſe of the diſcontent was removed, the ſpirit of reform ſubſided, and the laſt attempt that was made upon the ſubject, with infinitely leſs hope of ſucceſs than in the inſtances that had preceded, was upon the motion of Mr. Pitt in 1785. The queſtion had been forgotten by the nation at large; and men of extenſive property and hereditary wealth conceived themſelves to have too obvious an intereſt, in preſerving the inequality, not anxiouſly to exert themſelves to ſtifle ſo dangerous a ſpirit. Mr. Flood began with informing the houſe of commons of a truth, which but from a confidence in their virtue, as he ſaid, he ſhould not have dared to have uttered; that they were not the adequate repreſentatives of the people. That they were the legal repreſentatives he freely admitted: nay, he would go farther, and ſay, that they were a highly uſeful and honourable council, a council which in any other government of Europe, would be a great acquiſition. But, to the honour of our country be it ſpoken, the Britiſh conſtitution entitled us to ſomething better. Repreſentation, Mr. Flood ſaid, was the great arcanum and wiſe myſtery of our government, by which it excelled all the ſtates of antiquity *. Mr. Flood's propoſition was, that one hundred members ſhould be added to the preſent houſe of commons, to be elected by a new and numerous body of electors, the reſident freeholders in every county. It was on all hands admitted, that every individual in this country paid upon an average fifty ſhillings *per annum* to the revenue. The maſter or father of a family contributed in proportion for himſelf and all its members. Who ſhould ſay, that this claſs of men ought to be confounded with the rabble. Who ſhould dare to ſay, that they ought to be proſcribed from franchiſe? They maintained the affluence of the rich, the dignity of the noble, and the majeſty of the crown; they ſupported our fleets and our armies. Could we deny them the right to protect their liberty? But ſo great was the clamour againſt Mr. Flood's hypotheſis, that, borne down by a torrent of miniſterialiſts, he at length conſented to withdraw his propoſition.

The propriety of continuing the ſlave trade was again diſcuſſed in this ſeſſion. Early in the year 1790, Mr. Wilberforce revived his propoſition, and exerted his eloquence with conſiderable weight againſt this degrading ſpecies of commerce, which was, however, defended by Mr. Jenkinſon, col. Tarleton, and ſeveral other ſpeakers. The evidence of the planters not being completed, he moved, that the remainder of the witneſſes ſhould be examined by a ſelect committee, and not by the houſe at large. This propoſition, the deciſion upon which, in the opinions of Mr. Fox and others, amounted to a deciſion whether the conſideration of the ſlave trade ſhould be continued or annihilated, was oppoſed by the majority of the perſons intereſted, upon the ground that there was no precedent for referring ſo important a queſtion to a ſelect committee. The motion, however, was voted without a diviſion, and the examination of witneſſes proceeded. The evidence on the part of the trade concluded about the twenty-third of April. Mr. Wilberforce now moved, that evidence ſhould be heard on the part of the abolition. But, upon this occaſion, the partizans of the trade changed their ground; and as eagerly called for an immediate deciſion, as they had before avoided it. It was ſaid, that during the two laſt years, the enthuſiaſm upon the preſent queſtion both in and out of the houſe had greatly abated.

The planters were probably influenced by the canvaſs they had made of the ſentiments of the houſe of commons, and the aſſurance they had obtained of having the trade ſupported by a great majority. The two members for Liverpool differed in ſome degree in their ſentiments upon the preſent queſtion. Lord Penrhyn was for preſſing the ſubject to an immediate deciſion, while Mr. Gaſcoyne was willing to allow three weeks to the friends of the abolition, to collect their witneſſes: their impatience, however, was overruled by the ſenſe of the houſe. In the mean time the reinforcements they had gained, encouraged them to become more adventurous; and upon the reviſal of ſir William Dolben's bill, for limiting the number of ſlaves to be tranſported in each ſlave ſhip, they propoſed an amendment to increaſe the number in proportion to the tonnage of the ſhips, without aſcertaining, as had hitherto been done, the extent of theſe ſuperfices. This amendment was carried in a thin houſe on the twenty-ſixth of May; ayes twenty-three, noes eighteen. But the planters were

* In the courſe of his ſpeech Mr. Flood obſerved, that the freeholders, who originally included the whole property of the country, now conſtituted only a ſmall part of it. What was worſe, the majority of the repreſentatives, who decided for the whole, and acted for millions of people, were choſen by a number of not exceeding ſix or eight

not

not suffered to retain their advantage; and on the next day the amendment was rejected upon the report; ayes ninety-five, noes sixty-nine.

Mr. Fox, in the course of the session, recalled the attention of the house, to a pledge voted in the year 1788, that "they would early in the next session take into consideration the government proper to be established in Canada." The next session, as he observed, had not properly commenced till March, and it was owing to that circumstance that the business had been suffered to pass at that time without discussion. But he conceived that it was incumbent upon ministers, after so long a delay, to proceed to something decisive in the present year. Mr. Grenville, secretary of state, undertook to shew that the delay was not ascribable to any negligence in him. He had not been appointed to his present office till July 1789. With great application, he had been able, in about three months from that time, to study the subject, to digest his own opinions respecting it, to compare them with the opinions of the other members of the cabinet, and to mature the whole into the form of a bill, such as he thought proper to be submitted to the consideration of parliament. This business being completed, he had sent out his draught to lord Dorchester, governor of Canada, for his judgment. Unfortunately, the packet in which it was conveyed, did not perform its voyage in the usual time, in consequence of which lord Dorchester's answer was not yet received. It was impossible, therefore, to proceed farther in the business in the present session.

The business of the session was approaching to a conclusion, when, on the fifth of May, a new and unexpected transaction was submitted to the consideration of parliament. It consisted in certain hostilities committed by the Spaniards upon the north-western coast of America, for which satisfaction had been demanded and refused; and which of consequence, were considered as rendering an armament necessary, to induce the Spaniards to make a compensation for the injury they had committed. A small association of British merchants resident in the East Indies, had early in 1786, formed the project of opening a trade to this part of the world, for the purpose of supplying the Chinese market with furs. The principal point towards which these expeditions were directed, was port Nootka, or King George's Sound; and the adventurers, finding their traffic advantageous, endeavoured in the year 1788, to secure to themselves a permanent settlement; at the same time that the shipping employed in this expedition, was only from two to four small vessels. The Spaniards jealous of the intrusion of the English into a part of the world, which they seemed to regard as their exclusive property; dispatched a Spanish frigate of twenty-six guns, from the province of Mexico, for the purpose of annihilating this commerce. The Spanish frigate arrived in May, 1789, and captured two English vessels in the following July, at the same time taking possession of the little settlement and fort, which had been formed upon the coast. This transaction was first notified to the government by the Spanish ambassador, resident at the court of London, who at the same time demanded, that measures should be taken by the English government, to prevent the inhabitants from frequenting these coasts, which were alledged to have been previously occupied by the subjects of Spain.

In their remonstrance they even pretended that the whole coast from Cape Horn to the sixtieth degree of northern latitude, belonged to their sovereign. Complaints were made by the British court against this outrageous conduct, and ample satisfaction required; and, to enforce a demand in which the king of Spain was not inclined to acquiesce, naval preparations were expedited. Both houses spontaneously offered to support his majesty on the occasion; and, though many were of opinion that the object was too trivial for a cause of war, the majority of the public were advocates for vigorous proceedings.

By the answer from the court of Spain, it appeared that the captured vessels and their crews had been set at liberty by the viceroy of Mexico, on the supposition, as he declared, that nothing but an ignorance of the rights of Spain, could have encouraged the individuals of other nations to attempt establishments upon that coast, and in conformity to his previous instructions to shew all possible regard to the British flag. No farther satisfaction was either made or afforded, and a direct claim was set up by the court of Spain to the exclusive rights of sovereignty, navigation, and commerce in the territories and coasts of that part of the world.

Whether Spain was seeking a pretence for hostilities, by this unexpected transaction, we cannot pretend to determine. Charles the Third, their late sovereign, died in December 1788 *; and consequently before we can impute a premeditated intention of hostility, we must suppose an absolute coincidence of views between him and Charles the Fourth, his successor.

The claim of the court of Spain was certainly the most absurd and exorbitant that could be imagined; it originated in no treaty, and was indefinite in its extent. If we submitted to it, we must expect to be deprived of our South-sea fishery, a commerce which promised to afford us the most considerable advantages. Mr. Fox in a debate on this subject, declared, that no man felt a warmer resentment at the unprovoked aggression of the court of Spain, or was more fully persuaded of the necessity of an immediate and vigorous armament than he was. Another circumstance was entitled to attention. It was now hardly

* Charles IV. the present king of Spain, ascended the throne near the close of the year 1788.

a fortnight ſince the miniſter had expatiated on the flouriſhing ſtate of the finances, and in no part of his argument did he ſeem more confident, than in the aſſurance he had given the houſe of the probable continuance of peace. At firſt ſight this had ſtruck Mr. Fox as an inſtance of the uncertainty of human wiſdom, and the mutability of ſublunary affairs. Viewed in another light, it gave riſe to various ſuggeſtions. At the moment that Mr. Pitt was vaunting of the reſources of the country, he muſt have known that Spain had ſeized upon Britiſh ſhips, made priſoners of the crews, and confiſcated the property they contained. Under theſe circumſtances, he did not ſee the neceſſity for the miniſter to introduce aſſurances of the continuance of peace. Had ſuch fallacious hopes not been excited, the public would not have experienced the ſurpriſe and diſappointment of ſuch occurences.

Mr. Fox then moved, that there ſhould be laid before the houſe, the intelligence which had been obtained concerning the captured ſhips, and ſuch information as had been received concerning the armament in the Spaniſh ports, together with the dates of that information. The firſt of theſe motions was carried, and the ſecond paſſed in the negative, it being alledged that the publication of ſuch an account was calculated to betray the channel through which the intelligence had been obtained. On the tenth, Mr. Pitt moved for a vote of credit to the amount of one million ſterling. In the mean time oppoſition obtained information which they deemed credible, that the firſt notification of the Spaniſh ambaſſador had paſſed as long ago as the tenth of the preceding February; and this circumſtance they were deſirous to aſcertain in an authentic form, as it appeared to them materially to criminate the conduct of adminiſtration. In the mean time, Mr. Pitt obſerved that he had not underſtood the communication of the Spaniſh ambaſſador as included in the intelligence moved for, by Mr. Fox, or he ſhould certainly have oppoſed the granting that intelligence; of conſequence the other ſide of the houſe had no reaſon to flatter themſelves, that this communication would be produced together with the other papers. Accordingly, a diſtinct motion was ſhortly after brought forward by Mr. Grey, for the purpoſe of obtaining it. It was neceſſary, Mr. Grey ſaid, to obtain the information for which he moved, that it might be ſeen, whether we had been hurried on to the eve of war by the raſhneſs, the credulity, and the inattention of miniſters, or whether it had ariſen from unavoidable circumſtances; and ſuch as no human foreſight could have prevented. Mr. Pitt had been acquainted with the unjuſt and inſulting conduct of Spain for no leſs than three months. His conduct had therefore been unwarrantable, in holding out to the public the ideas which had accompanied his opening of the budget; and he ought to aſk pardon of the parliament and of the nation. Mr. Lambton ſeconded the motion, and deprecated the wantonly precipitating the nation in hoſtilities. The houſe divided upon the queſtion, ayes one hundred and twenty-one, noes two hundred and thirteen. A motion was then made for the date of the paper only, and likewiſe rejected.

On the tenth of June the king terminated the ſeſſion by a ſpeech from the throne. He ſaid, that he had not hitherto received the anſwer of the court of Madrid. He entertained the ſtrongeſt deſire for the maintenance of peace, upon juſt and honourable grounds; but under the preſent circumſtances he felt it indiſpenſably neceſſary to proceed with vigour in the armament. He had received the moſt unequivocal aſſurances of the ſupport of his allies on this intereſting occaſion; and he truſted their mutual good underſtanding would be productive of the happieſt effects. The king proceeded to acquaint parliament of his intention immediately to diſſolve them, at the ſame time expreſſing a deep and grateful ſenſe of their loyalty and conſtitutional principles.

On the thirteenth, the court of Spain delivered a memorial to Mr. Fitzherbert, his Britannic majeſty's ambaſſador at Madrid, in which the Spaniſh court endeavoured to juſtify their proceedings at Nootka. To this memorial Mr. Fitzherbert delivered a ſpirited anſwer, which drew a reply from the Count de Florida Blanca on the eighteenth. However, this affair was brought to a concluſion on the twenty-fourth of July; when a declaration * and counter-declaration were ſigned at Madrid between the Spaniſh miniſter and the Britiſh ambaſſador †.

The

* Beſides the particulars which we have already mentioned, the declaration provided, that the Engliſh ſhould not fail or carry on their fiſheries, either in the north or ſouth Pacific, within the ſpace of ten leagues from the coaſts occupied by the ſubjects of Spain, and ſhould not form any ſettlements to the ſouthward of the eaſtern and weſtern coaſts of South America, which were already in Spaniſh occupancy; but might land in thoſe ſouthern diſtricts, and erect temporary huts for their fiſheries. Reſpecting the territory of Nootka, and other parts ſituated to the northward of the diſtricts occupied by the Spaniards, it was ſtipulated, that if individuals of either nation ſhould have formed ſettlements ſince April 1789, or ſhould hereafter form ſuch colonial arrangements, the ſubjects of both nations ſhould have free acceſs, and might trade without any kind of moleſtation.

† On the ſame day the following authentic paper appeared in the London Gazette:

DECLARATION.

"His Britannic majeſty having complained of the capture of certain veſſels belonging to his ſubjects in the port of Nootka, ſituated on the north-weſt coaſt of America, by an officer in the ſervice of the king; the under-ſigned counſellor and principal ſecretary of ſtate to his majeſty, being

The new parliament aſſembled on the twenty-fifth of November, and on the following day his majeſty opened the ſeſſion by a ſpeech from the throne. He began with teſtifying his ſatisfaction that the differences with the court of Spain had been amicably terminated. He informed the parliament, that ſince the laſt ſeſſion, a foundation had been laid for pacification between Auſtria and the Porte, and for adjuſting the diſſentions in the Netherlands. He remarked, that a ſeparate peace had taken place between Ruſſia and Sweden; but as the war ſtill continued between the former of theſe powers and the Porte, he intimated an intention of exerting the influence of Great Britain in reſtoring the general tranquillity.

On the thirtieth, an addreſs was moved and carried without a diviſion.

About this period a very important buſineſs engaged the attention of the Britiſh legiſlature; it was reſpecting a continuation of the war which had for ſome time been carried on, between the ſubjects of his Britannic majeſty in the Eaſt Indies, and Tippoo Sultan. The origin of the war may be thus briefly ſtated. The rajah of Travancour having purchaſed of the Dutch the ports of Cranganour and Jacottah, refuſed to comply with the demand of the ſultan Tippoo, who, declaring himſelf the feudal ſovereign of that part of the coaſt, had inſiſted on the renunciation of the agreement †.

being thereto duly authorized, declares, in the name and by the order of his ſaid majeſty, that he is willing to give ſatisfaction to his Britannic majeſty for the injury of which he has complained; fully perſuaded that his ſaid Britannic majeſty would act in the ſame manner towards the king, under ſimilar circumſtances; and his majeſty further engages to make full reſtitution of all the Britiſh veſſels which were captured at Nootka, and to indemnify the parties intereſted in thoſe veſſels, for the loſſes which they ſhall have ſuſtained, as ſoon as the amount thereof ſhall have been aſcertained.

"It being underſtood that this declaration is not to preclude or prejudice the ulterior diſcuſſion of any right which his majeſty may claim to form an excluſive eſtabliſhment at the port of Nootka.

Signed (L. S.) "LE COMPTE DE FLORIDA BLANCA."

N. B. The counter-declaration, ſigned by Alleyne Fitzherbert, would be ſuperfluous here.

In March accounts were received at the admiralty of a mutiny on board the Bounty armed ſhip, captain Bligh, in the South ſea. The ſhip ſailed from England in the autumn of 1787, on a voyage to the Society Iſlands, for bread fruit-trees. The Bounty had made good the object of her voyage, ſo far as to have received on board a great number of trees; and there was every proſpect of their being capable of preſervation. The ſhip thus laden, quitted Otaheite on the fourth of April, 1789, and every thing like good order was ſuppoſed to prevail on board. Even the mid-watch was relieved, without the leaſt apparent diſorder; but, at day-break, on the twenty-eighth, the cabin of captain Bligh was forcibly entered by the officer of the watch, aſſiſted by three others, who dragged him inſtantly on the deck, menacing his life if he attempted to ſpeak. His endeavours to bring back the conſpirators to their duty proved of no avail. Each of the deſperadoes was armed with a drawn cutlaſs, or fixed bayonet, and all their muſquets were avowed to be charged. Captain Bligh ſaw, when he came upon deck, ſeveral of the crew, and moſt of the officers pinioned; the ſhip's boat was let over her ſide, and all who were not on the part of the conſpirators, to the number of eighteen, beſides the captain, were committed to the boat, with an inconſiderable quantity of proviſions and water. One of the victims ſecured a compaſs and quadrant, as they were ſtepping into the boat; and the mutineers, after giving them a cheer, ſtood away, as they pretended for Otaheite.

The captain in this dreadful ſituation, found his boat-ſwain, carpenter, gunner, ſurgeon's mate, two midſhipmen, and one maſter's mate, Mr. Nelſon the botaniſt, and a few inferior officers, among thoſe who were likely to ſhare his fate. After a ſhort conſultation, it was deemed expedient to put back to the Friendly Iſlands; and, accordingly, they landed on one of theſe, in hopes they might improve their ſmall ſtock of proviſions, on the thirtieth of April; but they were driven off by the natives two days after, and purſued with ſuch hoſtility, that one man was killed and ſeveral wounded. It was then deliberated whether they ſhould return to Otaheite, and throw themſelves on the clemency of the natives; but the apprehenſion of falling in with the Bounty determined them, with one aſſent, to make the beſt of their way to Timor. To effect this enterpriſe, aſtoniſhing to relate, they calculated the diſtance near four thouſand miles; and in order that their wretched ſupply of proviſions might endure till they reached the place of deſtination, they agreed to apportion their food to one ounce of bread and one gill of water a day for each man. They received no other nouriſhment till the fifth or ſixth of June, when they made the coaſt of New Holland, and collected a few ſhell-fiſh; and with this ſcanty relief, they held on their courſe to Timor, which they reached on the twelfth, after being forty-ſix days in a crazy open boat, too confined in dimenſions to ſuffer any of them to lie down for repoſe, and without the leaſt awning to protect them from the rain, which almoſt inceſſantly fell for forty days. A heavy ſea and ſqually weather, for great part of their courſe augmented their miſery. The governor of this ſettlement, which belongs to the Dutch, afforded them every ſuccour. They remained here to recruit their ſtrength and ſpirits till the twentieth of Auguſt, when they procured a veſſel to carry them to Batavia, which they reached.

On the ſecond of October, and thence captain Bligh, with two of the crew, embarked for the Cape of Good Hope, and the reſt were preparing to follow as ſoon as a paſſage could be obtained. Captain Bligh reached the Cape about the middle of December; and ſoon after took his paſſage for England, which he reached on the evening of the thirteenth of March, 1790, and on the day following he arrived in London.

† To enforce ſubmiſſion, Tippoo aſſaulted the lines of Travancour; but his troops were repelled with loſs and diſgrace. In the following year he renewed his attack, and diſpoſſeſſed the rajah of his capital, and other parts of his territories.

Mr.

Mr. Hippesley proposed, that copies of the correspondence relative to the attack of Tippoo Sultan on the lines of Travancour, should be laid before the house. Mr. Hippesley supported his motion by a statement of the particulars, and insisted principally on the ancient feudal claim of the Sultans of Mysore to the forts of Cranganour, &c. on the pacific intentions of Tippoo, and on the report of his offer to submit the dispute to an equitable arbitration. He considered the purchase of the fort by the rajah of Travancour as the effect only of unwarrantable ambition, and as a fair cause of uneasiness and complaint to the neighbouring powers. Travancour he admitted to be the ally of Great Britain, who had certainly guarantied all her lawful possessions: but he asserted that it was a most mischievous principle, that we were bound to protect her in every ambitious scheme for the extension of dominion, whether by purchase or otherwise. The native powers, he asserted, neither were, nor could be, radically friendly to the English. Little dependence was to be placed upon the Nizam or the Mahrattas: both these powers were notorious for their perfidy. However flourishing our force in India, there was reason to believe that Tippoo had kept equal pace with our improvement. He had a force of one hundred and fifty thousand men, a large corps of Europeans, well officered, an admirable artillery well served. He had a revenue of five millions sterling, and a treasury of eight or nine millions. To these resources we had to oppose an exhausted treasury, and a tottering credit. Mr. Hippesley deprecated a war in India, and entered into a forcible detail of the difficulties and miseries which would attend it in that part of the world.

Mr. Francis supported Mr. Hippesley's reasoning, by shewing that it had ever been considered by all good statesmen, that to increase our territories in India, was a destructive policy to this country. Between the Nizam and Tippoo there subsisted a mutual jealously, by means of which they might be prevented from employing their power to the prejudice of our settlements. The Mahrattas again were the most formidable power in India; and on this account it would be dangerous to extirpate Tippoo, even were it in our power, as he served particularly to maintain the balance of India. Mr. Fox observed, that the extirpation of Tippoo would not be a politic measure: however he might detest his vices, with the Mysorean country, we ought to be friendly, as it was a strong barrier between the most powerful states of India and our settlements. Mr. Pitt, Mr. D. Scott, and colonel Macleod, supported the necessity of the war, and represented Tippoo as a merciless tyrant. The question was, however, carried in favour of the production of the papers.

On the twenty-eighth of February, Mr. Hippesley renewed his former motion on the Indian war; but his ill state of health only permitted him to move the reading of the acts of parliament and resolutions of the house of commons, which prohibit the British governors in India from entering into offensive war. The reading of these was followed by that of several extracts from the correspondence of the government and council of Fort St. George. After the reading of these papers, Mr. Francis rose at the request of Mr. Hippesley, and in a very able speech explained the causes of the war, which he entirely attributed to the policy of the Dutch, and the ambition and imprudence of the rajah of Travancour. He said it was a mistake to suppose that a war in India did not affect the best interests of Great Britain; for India did not possess the means of supporting the war for a single hour, but by incurring debts which must be paid by England. He censured the appointment of a military officer, over the immense civil as well as military government of Bengal, observing that the preservation of peace could not be the predominant passion of men educated in a camp. From a civil to a military, from a military to an arbitrary government, the gradations are easy, and the progress rapid. The same facts which counteract principles to day, will be precedents to-morrow, and principles the day after. He endeavoured to shew that the rajah was the aggressor, in making what Mr. Francis termed a collusive purchase from the Dutch: the aggressor, he said, should alone be answerable for his aggression: and as to the forts themselves, they were on all hands allowed to be of no use or importance, and ought in fact to be demolished. He pressed the necessity of preserving the balance of power in India, by keeping Tippoo as a counterpoise to the Mahrattas: and quoted in support of his opinion, the authority of Mr. Dupré, Mr. Hastings, lord Clive, and several others. Mr. Francis concluded with a series of motions, the object of which was to censure the origin, and prevent the prosecution of the war.

Mr. Fox reprobated the treaties which had been entered into with the Nizam and the Mahrattas for the extirpation of Tippoo. At a time when the enlightened policy of all Europe led them to renounce their offensive alliances, we were pursuing this disgraceful system in India. The rajah, he asserted, was the aggressor even to us, by purchasing the forts contrary to our advice. But supposing Tippoo to have been the aggressor, what right had we to ask for more than adequate satisfaction? We censured his conduct, but did not look at the injustice of our own. He professed to have a claim upon Cranganour, and aimed at recovering his right. But what do we? We carry the war into the center of his dominions, extirpate him and divide his territories.

Mr. Wilberforce, lord Fielding, and the solicitor general, supported the conduct of administration, and Mr. Francis's motions were negatived. Not satisfied however, with this triumph, Mr. Dundas, on the

the ſecond of March following, moved three reſolutions approving of the Indian war, and of the conduct of lord Cornwallis, which were carried without a diviſion. The expediency of the war was debated upon nearly ſimilar principles in the houſe of lords, on the eleventh of April; but the debate ended only in the triumph of miniſters; as lord Grenville, before the houſe broke up, moved three reſolutions, ſimilar to thoſe which had been moved in the commons, approving of the conduct of lord Cornwallis, &c. which were carried by a great majority.

The cauſe of toleration received an acceſſion this year, which muſt be peculiarly grateful to the friends of freedom. As the Romiſh church was the grand terror in the firſt ages of reformation, we cannot be aſtoniſhed that our ſtatute book ſhould be loaded with the moſt rigorous edicts directed againſt the profeſſors of that noxious faith; and though in 1710 ſome of theſe were removed, yet in 1791, in Burn's Eccleſiaſtical Law, we find not leſs than ſeventy pages entirely occupied with the enumeration of the penal ſtatutes in force againſt the roman catholics. That ſuch laws ſhould have been framed in times of difficulty and danger, in times when the church of Rome flouriſhed in all the vigour of temporal power, and urged her authority by all the rigours of perſecution, is not ſurpriſing; but it is ſupriſing that they ſhould have been ſuffered to remain in force for centuries of peace and tranquillity, when the power of the pope is annihilated even in countries profeſſing his religion, and when all noxious principles of that faith are diſavowed by its profeſſors. A reform in the penal ſtatutes became the more neceſſary, ſince, in the courſe of the year 1790, a large body of catholic diſſenters, had formally proteſted againſt the temporal power of the pope, againſt his aſſumed authority of releaſing men from their civil obligations, or diſpenſing with the ſacredneſs of oaths. It was upon theſe principles, and ſupported by theſe arguments, that Mr. Mitford moved on the twenty-firſt of February, for a committee of the whole houſe, to enable him "to bring in a bill to relieve, upon conditions and under reſtrictions, perſons called proteſting catholic diſſenters, from certain penalties and diſabilities, to which papiſts, or perſons profeſſing the popiſh religion are by law ſubject." This bill, Mr. Mitford added, would be ſimilar to that which had paſſed in Ireland ſome years ſince; and as no ill conſequences had reſulted in a country where the Roman catholics were ſo much more numerous than in this, he ſhould hope the houſe would ſee no impropriety in the propoſition; and the motion paſſed unanimouſly. On the twenty-firſt of March, the houſe reſolved itſelf into a committee on Mr. Mitford's propoſal, and the bill proceeded through its ſeveral ſtages without oppoſition.

Early in the preſent ſeſſion Mr. Wilberforce gave notice of an intended motion for appointing a committee for receiving and examining evidence on the abolition of the ſlave trade, and on the fourth of February he ſubmitted a motion to that effect, which was oppoſed by colonel Tarleton and others, on the frivolous ground that there were many other objects on which we might more properly exerciſe our philanthropy. After a ſhort debate, the motion of Mr. Wilberforce for a committee above ſtairs was put and carried. It was not, however, till the eighteenth of April, that the buſineſs was in ſuch a degree of forwardneſs as to enable Mr. Wilberforce to preſs for the abolition. On that day he opened the debate with a copious diſplay of the leading arguments in favour of that meaſure, and concluded with noticing the beneficial effects that might reſult from a *fair* and *open* commerce with Africa, which was capable of producing the moſt deſirable commodities; the ſlave trade was infinitely beneath the name of commerce. He ſaid, let the fate of his motion be what it might, he was ſatisfied that "the public had already aboliſhed the ſlave trade." Supported by this conſideration he ſhould continue to perſevere, and would never abandon the object till he had accompliſhed it. He concluded with moving, "That the chairman be inſtructed to move for leave to bring in a bill to prevent the further importation of African negroes into the Britiſh colonies."

Mr. Fox in ſpeaking upon this occaſion inſtanced two ſhocking acts of inhumanity. In one of the French iſlands a poor negro having run away; to prevent his repeating the offence, and indeed as a common puniſhment for ſuch offences, the planter ordered the ſurgeon to amputate his leg: The ſurgeon who had more humanity than his maſter, refuſed. "You refuſe," ſaid the planter; "then what you decline as an act of friendſhip to me, I will force you to do as an act of duty;" and inſtantly broke the leg of the poor wretch in a moſt barbarous manner. The other inſtance occurred in an Engliſh iſland. As one of the witneſſes, Mr. Roſs, was walking along, he heard the moſt dreadful ſhrieks proceeding from a barn or outhouſe. On looking in, he ſaw a young female tied up to a beam by her wriſts, entirely naked, writhing and ſwinging about, while the inhuman author of her torture was applying a lighted torch to different parts of her body as they occaſionally approached him! Mr. Wilberforce's motion was, notwithſtanding the cruelties mentioned in the courſe of the debate, negatived by a majority of *ſeventy-five!*

While theſe topics were agitated, before the Britiſh ſenate, the attention of that body was called to another object not leſs important to the intereſts and welfare of the nation. On the twenty-eighth of March, a meſſage was delivered from his majeſty, importing, that his endeavours, in conjunction with thoſe of his allies, to effect a pacification, not having proved ſucceſsful, his majeſty thought it requiſite,

to add weight to his repreſentations, by making ſome further augmentation of his naval force. As ſoon as Mr. Pitt had moved, "That the meſſage be taken into conſideration on the morrow," Mr. Fox roſe, and deplored the circumſtance of their having fallen into a ſituation ſo unfortunate and ſo unexpected. Reſerving himſelf for the conſideration of the meſſage, he aſked the chancellor of the exchequer, whether he meant only to move a ſimple addreſs of thanks to his majeſty for the communication, or whether he meant to include in the vote, an approbation of the meaſure? Mr. Pitt, in reply, ſaid, that it had not been uſual to delay the conſideration of a meſſage from his majeſty longer than a day; and in the preſent caſe, there were many reaſons why the buſineſs ought not to be delayed. He intimated alſo, that a vote of ſupplies would be included in an anſwer on the meſſage. On the day following, the debate came on, when ſeveral weighty arguments were uſed in oppoſition to the armament againſt Ruſſia: the queſtion, however, was carried in favour of the addreſs, by two hundred and twenty-eight votes againſt one hundred and thirty-five.

The attention of the houſe was again demanded to this important ſubject on the eleventh of April, by Mr. Grey, who ſaid, that he had intended to introduce a motion for a committee on the ſtate of the nation; but having underſtood from high authority, that an objection would be taken againſt ſuch a committee, he thought proper to wave that object, and to come before the houſe directly with the following propoſitions. He then brought forward eight reſolutions, which he ſuppoſed might have a tendency to prevent the melancholy events which muſt naturally attend a war, and point out a road to tranquillity among the ſeemingly diſſatisfied parties. Theſe reſolutions were oppoſed by lord Belgrave, Mr. Pybus, Mr. J. T. Stanley, ſir William Young, and Mr. Dundas; and ſupported by major Maitland, lord North, Mr. Powys, Mr. Whitbread, and Mr. Sheridan. On the ſide of the miniſtry a degree of confidence was claimed, on the unequivocal ground of their former merits. Peace, it was admitted, was certainly preferable to war; but even war was preferable to diſhonourable tranquillity. At length, after much debating, Mr. Grey's reſolutions were negatived by a majority of eighty.

The queſtion was agitated a third time on the fifteenth of April, on two motions being made by Mr. Baker, the firſt expreſſing it as the duty of the houſe, before they proceed to any additional burthens on their conſtituents, to enquire into the juſtice and neceſſity of the objects; the ſecond ſtating, that no information had been given to the houſe on the preſent occaſion. Mr. Baker's motions were both negatived by a majority of ninety-two.

The buſineſs of the ſeſſion being concluded, his majeſty proceeded to the houſe on the tenth of June, when he delivered a ſpeech from the throne, expreſſing his ſatisfaction, that a mode had been adopted for defraying the expences of laſt year, without any permanent addition to the public burdens. He expreſſed his regret at being unable to acquaint them with the reſult of the negociation for peace between Ruſſia and the Porte; thanked the commons for the ſupplies, and prorogued the parliament to the ſixteenth of Auguſt.

Shortly after the riſing of the parliament, the nation was diſgraced by a ſeries of outrages, which almoſt exceeded any thing of the kind which had ever been heard of; and which, for the ſpace of four days, ſpread terror and alarm through the large and opulent town of Birmingham, and the adjacent country. A vaſt difference of ſentiment concerning the French revolution prevailed among the higher orders of ſociety in this country; and the ſame difference of ſentiment ſeemed to pervade the inferior claſſes. This difference of opinion at length broke out in a ſettled hatred; and conſiderable pains were taken to excite the paſſions and prejudices of the populace againſt the aſſerters of Gallic liberty. On the other hand, a conſiderable body of the whig party in Great Britain, rejoiced in the emancipation of a neighbouring nation from ſlavery, and flattered themſelves, that they ſaw in the eſtabliſhment of the French conſtitution, not only the annihilation of deſpotiſm in that country, but the commencement of a new ſyſtem of politics in Europe, the baſis of which was peace, happineſs, and mutual concord. In many of the larger towns of Great Britain, aſſociations were formed for the celebration of that event, by the anniverſary dinners on the fourteenth of July; but the oppoſite party were not indifferent ſpectators of theſe proceedings. The populace were inflamed by the moſt injurious inſinuations conveyed in journals and pamphlets: the friends of the French revolution were ſtigmatized as determined republicans; and the act of joining in a convivial meeting on the *odious* fourteenth of July, was repreſented as an attempt to overturn the Britiſh conſtitution in church and ſtate. Notwithſtanding the pains which had been taken to depreciate theſe aſſociations, the meeting in London conſiſted of not leſs than one thouſand five hundred reſpectable gentlemen, many of them literary characters of high reputation and diſtinguiſhed virtue. As rumours, however, had been ſpread to the diſadvantage of the meeting, and the populace appeared to collect in a tumultuous manner, round the Crown and Anchor Tavern, where the meeting was held, the company diſperſed at an early hour.

At Birmingham, the cauſes of diſcord were more numerous than even in London. According to Dr. Prieſtley's ſtatement, a violent animoſity had ſubſiſted for years between the high church party and the diſſenters of that place. The religious contro-

verſies,

verſes, which took place between Dr. Prieſtley and ſome of the clergy of Birmingham, greatly contributed to increaſe this animoſity. From the publication of a pamphlet written by the Doctor on that ſubject, it is ſaid that the profane habit of drinking "damnation and confuſion to the Preſbyterians," at the convivial entertainments in the town, was viſibly increaſed. A feſtive meeting in commemoration of the French revolution, was projected at Birmingham, on Thurſday, the fourteenth of July; and on the preceding Monday, ſix copies of a moſt inflammatory and ſeditious hand-bill, propoſing the French revolution as a model to the Engliſh, and exciting them to rebellion, were left, by ſome perſon unknown, in a public houſe. The views and intention of the meeting having, however, been much miſrepreſented, the majority of the gentlemen who projected it, thought proper to relinquiſh the ſcheme; notice was accordingly given to that effect but at the inſtance of Mr. Ruſſel, as it is ſaid, the intention was revived, and the company met at the appointed time to the number of between eighty and ninety. Mr. Keir, well known for his great attainments in chemiſtry, and other branches of philoſophy, and a member of the eſtabliſhed church, was placed in the chair. The gentlemen had hardly met, before the houſe was ſurrounded by a tumultuous crowd, who teſtified their diſapprobation by hiſſes and groans, and by the ſhout of "Church and King," which became the watch-word on this occaſion. At five o'clock the company diſperſed; and ſoon afterwards, the windows in the front of the hotel were demoliſhed, notwithſtanding the appearance and interference of the magiſtrates. After ſupper, they were alarmed with the intelligence that the mob were aſſembled at the new diſſenting meeting-houſe, (Dr. Prieſtley's,) and were threatening both the doctor and his houſe. The rioters ſoon ſet the meeting on fire, and nothing remained that could be conſumed. The old meeting-houſe ſhared almoſt a ſimilar fate, being nearly levelled with the ground. Many other ſcandalous outrages were committed.

The day broke on the ſucceeding morning, only to diſcover the ruins which this infatuated multitude had made, and to enable them to continue their depredations. Early in the morning, they were met by a party of gentlemen, who perſuaded them to deſiſt from their outrages, and even to aſſiſt in their endeavours to preſerve tranquillity. About noon, however, a freſh party demoliſhed the elegant manſion of Mr. Ryland, formerly Mr. Baſkerville's, at Eaſy Hill. Here, as they found a profuſion of liquor, a dreadful ſcene of intoxication enſued; and ſeveral of the wretched rioters periſhed in the cellars by ſuffocation, or by the falling in of the roof. Six, terribly bruiſed, were dug out of the ruins, and committed to the hoſpital; ten dead bodies were found, and one man remained alive in one of the vaults till the Monday following, when he worked his way out with but little injury *. Many other elegant ſeats and houſes were likewiſe deſtroyed, till, at length, by the arrival of the military, a period was put to their exceſſes. A great number of perſons were taken in the act of rioting; of whom five were tried at Worceſter; one of whom was found guilty and executed. At Warwick, twelve were tried, but only four received ſentence of death, viz. Francis Field, for ſetting fire to Mr. Taylor's houſe; John Green and Bartholomew Fiſher, for demoliſhing the houſe of Dr. Prieſtley; and William Hands, for deſtroying the houſe of John Ryland, eſq. Upon an application from the magiſtrates, and ſome other reſpectable inhabitants, Fiſher (one of the convicts) was afterwards reprieved †.

Intelligence was received, that miniſterial notes had been delivered at St. Peterſburgh, by William Whitworth, Mr. Fawkener, and count Goltze, on the part of his Britannic majeſty and of the king of Pruſſia, and by count Oſterman on the part of the empreſs of Ruſſia, relative to the terms of pacification between Ruſſia and the Porte. In theſe notes, the miniſters of his majeſty and the king of Pruſſia agree, on the part of their reſpective ſovereigns, that their majeſties will propoſe to the Porte to con-

* Among the articles conſumed at Mr. Ryland's, was the body of the late Mr. Baſkerville, who by will ordered he ſhould be buried in his own houſe, and he was accordingly interred there. A ſtone cloſet was erected in it, where he was depoſited in a ſtanding poſture. The houſe was afterwards ſold with this expreſs condition, that it ſhould remain there.

† In the afternoon of the ſecond of February this year, the higheſt flood-tide appeared in the Thames that had been known for ſeveral years. Above Weſtminſter-bridge, it overflowed the banks of the river on both ſides. In Palace Yard, it was near two feet deep; it alſo ran into Weſtminſter Hall, and hindered people from paſſing for two hours. Boats came through the paſſage of Old Palace Yard, from the Thames, and rowed up to Weſtminſter Hall Gate. The inhabitants in Milbank Street, were obliged to paſs to and from their houſes in boats. The two Scotland Yards and Privy Gardens, Whitehall, were entirely under water, and many parts rendered impaſſable for two hours. Several poor people who kept ſmall ſhops near the barracks in Scotland Yard, had four feet water in their ſhops, and their beds floating in their rooms. Weſtminſter Hall ſuffered much; the water ran in at the great door for upwards of an hour, and was up to the ſecond ſtair, leading to the court of king's bench. Moſt of the gardens and fields between Black-friars Road and Weſtminſter Bridge were overflowed.

About this time a meeting of the people took place in the *Champ de Mars*, in France, to frame a petition for dethroning the king. *Robeſpierre* was at the head of the party. Four thouſand armed men were brought againſt the multitude, who, without orders from the general, fired on them; many hundreds were killed and wounded.

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le a peace with Ruſſia, on the terms of the ceſſion of the diſtrict of Oczakoff, from the Bog to the Dnieſter; her Imperial majeſty engaging not to diſturb the free navigation of the latter river, but to favour and protect it, (to which condition the Porte is to be equally and reciprocally bound,) and her imperial majeſty being alſo to reſtore to the Porte at the concluſion of the peace, all other conqueſts whatever. The miniſter of her imperial majeſty agrees, on the part of his ſovereign, to make peace on theſe terms; and the miniſters of his majeſty and the king of Pruſſia agree, on the part of their reſpective ſovereigns, that if the Porte ſhould decline to enter into negociation on this baſis, their majeſties ſtill leave the termination of the war to the courſe of thoſe event to which it may lead. The preliminaries were ſigned at Peterſburgh, on the fourth inſtant, by the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, Pruſſia, Holland, and Ruſſia.

On the twenty-third of November, were married at St. James's, the duke and ducheſs of York. The ceremony was performed by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, aſſiſted by the biſhop of London: his majeſty ſtanding at one end of the altar, and her majeſty at the other extremity; the duke and ducheſs of York in the center; the archbiſhop oppoſite to them, and the lord chancellor ſtanding behind them; the prince of Wales next to the ducheſs of York, and the duke of Clarence next to the duke of York.

On the thirty-firſt of January*, the king repaired to the houſe, and opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne, in which he informed them of the marriage of the duke of York with the eldeſt daughter of the king of Pruſſia: he alſo acquainted them with the concluſion of peace between the emperor of Germany and the Porte, and between the empreſs of Ruſſia and the Porte, through the mediation of the court of Great Britain. An addreſs being moved in the houſe of commons, violent debates enſued, in the courſe of which Mr. Grey moved an amendment, "That the houſe, fully ſenſible of the evils of a procraſtinated war, which muſt be ruinous to the finances of the company, cannot help expreſſing their regret that the proſpects held out in the ſpeech from the throne at the commencement of the laſt ſeſſion have not been realized; nevertheleſs, that their attachment to his majeſty, and their deſire to ſupport the honour of his crown, are undiminiſhed." The debates were again renewed, and, after ſome altercation, the houſe divided on the queſtion of amendment; ayes eighty-five, noes two hundred and nine. The original addreſs was then moved and carried without a diviſion †.

On the ſeventeenth of February, the chancellor of the exchequer preſented a copy of the treaty, entered into between his Britannic majeſty and the king of Pruſſia, dated the twenty-ſixth of January, on the marriage of the duke of York with the princeſs of Pruſſia. It was afterwards paſſed into a law. On the ſeventh of March, Mr. Pitt moved, "That his majeſty be enabled to ſettle eighteen thouſand pounds *per annum* upon his royal highneſs the duke of York." He further ſtated, that it was his majeſty's intention to ſettle an additional ſum of ſeven thouſand pounds *per annum* upon his royal highneſs out of his Iriſh revenue; the additional revenue to commence July, 1791. He then moved, "That a ſum of eight thouſand pounds *per annum*, be ſettled upon her royal highneſs the ducheſs of York, in caſe ſhe ſhould ſurvive." Both motions were put and carried unanimouſly.

On the ſecond of April, the order of the day was read, for the houſe going into a committee on the African ſlave trade, Mr. Hobart in the chair. Mr. Wilberforce, after a conſiderable portion of introductory matter, took a review of the manner in which negroes were procured in Africa; enlarged upon the diſgrace which he thought the trade brought upon our national character, from the conduct of thoſe who were engaged in it. He then proceeded to ſtate, that the trade, inſtead of being a nurſery, was the grave of our ſeamen; and, having ſpoke for upwards of three hours, he concluded with moving, "That it is the opinion of this committee, that the trade, carried on by Britiſh ſubjects, for the purpoſe of obtaining ſlaves on the coaſt of Africa, ought to be aboliſhed." And, "That the chairman be directed to move the houſe for leave to bring in a bill for the abolition of the ſlave trade."

A long debate afterwards followed, in which Mr. Bayley, Mr. Vaughan, colonel Tarleton, and others, bore a part. Mr. Dundas conceived that an immediate abolition would not be expedient, as it might excite the clamours of the Weſt Indian planters, and other intereſted individuals, he was therefore for a gradual amendment. Mr. Fox rejected all terms of compromiſe in a caſe of flagrant injuſtice. Mr. Pitt expreſſed a wiſh that the trade might inſtantly be aboliſhed. The majority for the gradual abolition amounted to one hundred and forty-five. Mr. Windham contended for the moſt ſpeedy ſuppreſſion that could be effected. After various debates and diviſions, the term was limited to the firſt day of the year 1796. Theſe reſolutions, however, were not approved by the peers: the duke of Clarence, in particular, was zealous for the indefinite continuance of a trade which he pronounced juſtifiable and politic.

* A. D. 1792

† About this time the Britiſh miniſtry iſſued a proclamation, under the ſignature of the king, againſt the printing, publiſhing, and diſperſing of wicked and ſeditious writings. The very rapid circulation of *Thomas Payne's* Rights of Man, Common Senſe, &c. were ſuppoſed to have occaſioned this proclamation.

Mr.

His Royal Highness Frederick
DUKE OF YORK,
Field Marshall Commander in Chief of the

Mr. Fox moved on the eleventh of May, for the repeal of certain penal ſtatutes, paſſed in the reign of king William. He began by ſtating his opinions of toleration; and enforced, by a variety of arguments, the juſtice of the cauſe in which he now came forward. After enumerating a variety of acts which he meant ſhould be included in the principle of his motion, he moved, "That the ninth and tenth of William III. be repealed, and that the ſaid motion be referred to a committee of the whole houſe." Mr. Burke ſaid, no man could be a greater advocate for proper toleration than he was; but then the ſacredneſs of the church eſtabliſhment ſhould be the firſt object; and which he aſſerted, was one and the ſame thing with the ſtate. The claims of the preſent petitioners were of ſo queſtionable a ſhape as to require much conſideration. He then took a full view of thoſe perſons and their profeſſions; he aſſerted, that they were a ſet of *Propagandiſts*, with Dr. Prieſtley at their head, who, not ſatisfied with the quiet enjoyment of their own opinions, ſought induſtriouſly to make proſelytes of the world, and ſo to ſap the very foundation of the moſt ſacred of all religions, and ſubvert all order in ſociety. He read various extracts from ſeveral books, written by members of the ſociety, which, he ſaid, indicated their projects to overturn the conſtitution as well as the eſtabliſhed church; and their correſpondence with the licentious clubs of France, he particularly condemned. The houſe divided; for Mr. Fox's motion ſixty-three; againſt it one hundred and forty-two.

On the fifteenth of June, the king went to the houſe of lords, and after a ſpeech, as uſual, from the throne, he prorogued the parliament to the thirtieth of Auguſt *.

A large body of the lower claſs of people aſſembled in the market place at Coventry, in the month of May, and after manifeſting ſymptoms of riot, by loud huzzas and much diſturbance, entered the ſhambles, which, in a ſhort time, they cleared of all the meat, as well as all the utenſils belonging to the butchers. The doors, ſhutters, fire-places, &c. were alſo broken down, and the remnants of wood collected to make a fire in the market-place; but the mayor, calling in ſome troops of the ſixth regiment of dragoons lying then in the town, and prudently addreſſing the mob, he prevailed upon them to depart. On the following morning a great number of people aſſembled again, and ſeemed to threaten a further riot: the mayor himſelf went among them, endeavouring to diſſuade them from any more diſorders; and one or two butchers ſetting up a ſtall in the market-place, and offering their meat at reduced prices, the peace of the town was reſtored. On the afternoon of the following day, the people aſſembled again, and their threats ſeemed chiefly againſt the maſter ſhoemakers. However, through the vigilance of the magiſtrates, aſſiſted by the military, the mob were diſperſed, without any material damage.

As we are profeſſedly furniſhing our readers with a hiſtory of England, a diſtinct relation of merely French occurrences cannot poſſibly be expected; but as we are ſeparated from France only by a *narrow* channel (though infinitely too wide for the premier conſul's vaſt projects) a little digreſſion and deviation may be excuſed, to relate one of the moſt extraordinary revolutions that ever occurred. Brief let us be.——A ſtrict adherence to chronology muſt not be expected, as this account conciſely connects the whole ſtrange narrative.

In July, 1789, one of the moſt extraordinary revolutions occurred in France that ever happened in the political world. The monarchy was overturned, and the king, being diveſted of his abſolute authority, became one of the moſt limited ſovereigns. He was afterwards, by a decree of the national convention, denominated king of the French. But as ſo great a change in the internal policy of France could not be ſuppoſed to have been effected in a ſhort period of time, the nation, as might naturally be imagined, experienced various commotions, jealouſies, and diſſentions, till the king's acceptance of the new conſtitution in the beginning of September, 1791. We ſhall, however, begin our detail of the moſt material circumſtances, with the eſcape of the royal family from Paris. And, accordingly, in the night between the twentieth and twenty-firſt of June, 1791, the king and queen eſcaped from the palace of the Thuilleries in Paris, and took the route towards

* At Kettering, in Northamptonſhire, on the ſecond of March, 1792, about a quarter before nine in the evening, an earthquake was felt, and at ſeveral of the neighbouring towns, which continued near thirty ſeconds. It was attended with no perceptibly pernicious effects, other than cauſing a general alarm. The ſhock was ſenſibly felt throughout the counties of Bedford, Leiceſter, Nottingham, Rutland, and Lincoln.

On the twenty-ninth of March, 1792, died Guſtavus III. of Holſtein Gottorp, king of Sweden, aſſaſſinated by Ankerſtrom, at the opera houſe, on the ſixteenth. He veſted the whole of his authority in his brother, the duke of Sudermania, during the minority of his ſon. The aſſaſſin was put to the torture: after being three times expoſed and flogged, having his right hand cut off, and being about to receive the fatal blow, he addreſſed himſelf to the ſurrounding multitude in the following words — "I now reach the minute of deliverance, and everlaſting reward. I rejoice in my deed. I have reſcued my country from a tyrant, by the only means left to a ſlave: I know that you will bleſs me for the act, and my memory will be ſacred in Sweden: let your gratitude to me be ſhewn in friendſhip to my children" His head was then ſeparated from his body, which being quartered, was expoſed to public view.

tions. On the twenty-firſt, it was decreed, that all perſons ſhould be ſtopped from paſſing out of the kingdom. The king and queen were arreſted at Varennes. June twenty-fifth, it was decreed, among other things, that the king ſhould return to the Thuilleries, under the guard of the commandant-general; and that the king and queen ſhould be heard in their own defence. July ſeventh, it was decreed, that all the people o France ſhould have a right to travel out of the kingdom, and return at their pleaſure. September firſt, the king, attended by a deputation of ſixty members, went to the national aſſembly, and, amidſt the applauſes of thoſe auguſt ſenators, ſolemnly conſecrated the aſſent which he had given the preceding day, to the conſtitutional act. On the thirtieth of the ſame month, he iſſued a proclamation, in which he declared, "that he had accepted the conſtitution, and, that the revolution was completed." In December following, the emperor of Germany publiſhed a manifeſto, wherein he declared againſt France. To this manifeſto, the king of the French returned a ſpirited anſwer. April nineteenth, 1792, the national aſſembly declared war againſt the king of Hungary. On the twelfth of May, it was decreed, "That the immenſe heap of papers and parchments, which relate to the late nobility, and were collected from various monaſteries, &c. and depoſited in the church *des Grandes Auguſtins*, ſhall be burned." Six hundred volumes were accordingly burned on the nineteenth of June. On Sunday, the ſixth of Auguſt, the city of Paris was alarmed early in the morning, by an attempt made by the king to eſcape from the Thuilleries. Upon being recognized by a centinel, he ſent for the mayor of Paris, and informed him, that he had gone out ſolely to take the air. The king was in the habit of a peaſant. On the following day, a petition, ſigned by ſeveral thouſand perſons, in the Champ de Mars, and requeſting the depoſition of the king, was preſented to the national aſſembly. Long and intereſting debates ſucceeded this important circumſtance, and on Sunday, Auguſt the twelfth, the aſſembly paſſed the following decree: "Firſt, the hotel of the miniſter of juſtice ſhall be inhabited by the king. Second, he ſhall be furniſhed with a guard, ſubordinate to the mayor of Paris, and to the commandant of the national guard, who ſhall be anſwerable for his ſafety, and that of his family. Third, there ſhall be a ſum of five hundred thouſand livres allowed to pay his expences, until the moment of the national convention meeting." The hotel of the miniſter of juſtice not being deemed a ſafe place, the Temple was afterwards choſen, and the aſſembly paſſed a decree for conducting the royal family to that place. It being ſuſpected that ſeveral perſons of rank had been concerned in the robbery of the jewel office, the convention, September twenty-fourth, decreed, "1. The French republic no longer acknowledges princes; 2. The national convention, in conſequence, ſuppreſſes all appanages." In the beginning of September, dreadful commotions took place in the metropolis of France, on receiving intelligence of the ſiege of Verdun. The populace were irritated to that degree, that they forcibly entered ſeveral priſons, and ſlew a vaſt number of perſons whom they ſuſpected; among whom were the princeſs Lamballe, M. Montmorin, and about three hundred eccleſiaſtics who refuſed to take the oaths preſcribed by the legiſlature. A few days after the above horrid maſſacre, fifty-two ſtate priſoners, who had been confined at Orleans, were conveyed to Paris, and inſtantly put to death. About the cloſe of the ſame month, the French opened the navigation of the Scheldt. On the eleventh of December, the *ci-devant* king was carried to the bar of the national convention; when the reading of the act of accuſation againſt him by Barbaroux, was followed by a long diſcuſſion, wherein much calumny was uſed. After he was ſeated, the inſtrument of accuſation and the interrogatories were read by M. Maille; to all of which the king returned ſpirited and determined anſwers. On the twenty-ſixth, he was again brought to the bar with his counſel, when he was informed by the preſident, that the convention had decreed, "That he ſhould be heard definitively that day." M. Romaine Deſeze, one of the king's counſel, read his defence; which being concluded, the king addreſſed the convention in a ſhort but animated ſpeech. After long and violent debates it was decreed, "That the further diſcuſſion of the proceedings againſt Lewis XVI. is open, and ſhall be continued without any other buſineſs interfering, till judgment be pronounced upon him. On the fifteenth of January, 1793, a profound ſilence having taken place, and the appeal nominal being finiſhed, the preſident examined the regiſter, and made the following report: "Of *ſeven hundred and forty-five* members that form the convention, *ſix hundred and ninety-three* have voted for the affirmative, [DEATH,] twenty-ſix are abſent upon public buſineſs, twenty-ſix have made different declarations; but not a ſingle perſon has voted for the negative." A ſcrutiny, however, among the votes took place, and on the ſeventeenth, the preſident made the following declaration: "That out of *ſeven hundred and twenty-one* votes, *three hundred and ſixty-ſix* were for death, *three hundred and nineteen for impriſonment, eight* for a ſuſpenſion of the execution of the ſentence of death, till after the expulſion of the family of the Bourbons; *twenty-three* were for not putting him to death, unleſs the French territory was invaded by any foreign power, and *one* was for death, but with commutation of puniſhment." After this enumeration, the preſident took off his hat, and lowering his voice, ſaid: "In conſequence of this, I declare, that the puniſhment pronounced by the national convention

tion againſt Lewis Capet, is DEATH!" On the nineteenth, it was decreed by the national convention, that the ſentence paſſed upon Lewis XVI. ſhould be put in execution within twenty-four hours. Three hundred and eighty voted for immediate death, and three hundred and ten for a ſuſpenſion of the ſentence. On the twenty-firſt, the French king was executed in the Place de Revolution, in the thirty-eighth year of his age. Lewis XVI. was beheaded by an inſtrument now too well known to require a deſcription. On the thirtieth of March, a decree of accuſation was paſſed againſt general Dumourier, (one of the moſt ſkilful officers that ever took upon himſelf the command of an army,) and four commiſſioners, with Bournonville, the miniſter at war, were ſent to arreſt him. Having founded the diſpoſitions of his army, and declared his intentions, he arreſted the commiſſioners, whom he ſent priſoners to general Clairfayt, and made a temporary truce with the Auſtrians. Let us now reſume our general narrative.

In December, 1791, the miniſtry began to be alarmed at the growth of republicaniſm, from its rapid progreſs in France; and, to prevent any diſorders, the Tower was put in a poſture of defence, the Bank double guarded, the environs of the capital billeted with ſoldiery, and ſeveral regiments of cavalry ordered into the neighbourhood of London. On the thirteenth of the ſame month, his majeſty repaired to the houſe of peers, and opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne, breathing hoſtilities againſt France, and propoſing an augmentation of the army and navy to check their proceedings, as well as to curb that ſpirit of tumult in this kingdom, which began to be truly alarming. A meſſage to this effect, from his majeſty, delivered to the ſpeaker by Mr. Dundas, was read from the chair, the members being uncovered. After a debate on the ſubject of his majeſty's meſſage, the chancellor of the exchequer moved, "That an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, thanking him for his moſt gracious communications to the houſe, and aſſuring him of their zeal and readineſs to furniſh that augmentation of forces required by his majeſty for the purpoſe ſtated in the meſſage."

In debating on this motion, Mr. Fox declared that he ſhould ſhrink from his duty to his conſtituents, and to the people at large, if he did not deprecate a war with France as the greateſt calamity in which this nation could be involved. The death of the French king, he conſidered as an event as diſgraceful as the page of hiſtory could furniſh; notwithſtanding which, he did not ſee the propriety of the parliament of Great Britain expreſſing any opinion on this public act, unleſs it was alledged as a ground affecting this country.

About this time, the king ordered a circular letter to be ſent to the biſhops, commanding them to cauſe collections to be made in every pariſh throughout England, for the relief of the French emigrant clergy; when ſuch a vaſt ſum of money was collected as to furniſh an additional proof of the generoſity and liberality of the Engliſh. A convention was alſo ſigned in April, between the kings of England and Sardinia, wherein his Britannic majeſty engaged to pay two hundred thouſand pounds *per annum*, during the continuance of the war, to the king of Sardinia.

The buſineſs of the ſeſſion being cloſed, the king addreſſed the houſe of peers on the twenty-firſt of June, mentioning his having concerted with other powers for the effectual proſecution of the war, and flattering himſelf with the beſt proſpect of a happy iſſue to the important conteſt in which we were engaged; recommending perſeverance in vigorous exertion, for the reſtoration of peace on ſuch terms as might be conſiſtent with our permanent ſecurity, and with the general tranquillity of Europe. The parliament was then prorogued to the thirteenth of Auguſt next enſuing.

On the firſt of the enſuing February, war againſt Great Britain and Holland was decreed in the French national convention; ſoon after which the duke of York proceeded to Holland to take the command of the Britiſh forces, deſtined to ſerve in the enſuing campaign on the continent, in conjunction with the allies againſt the French. After engaging in ſeveral hazardous enterprizes, the ſtrong and important town of Valenciennes became an object of his attention, the ſiege of which commenced on the fourteenth of June.

The iſland of Tobago, in the Weſt Indies, which had been ceded to Great Britain at the peace of 1763, and returned to the French by the treaty of peace in 1783, was ſucceſsfully attacked by a ſmall detachment of Britiſh forces under the command of major-general Cuyler, in April this year. The whole of the Britiſh force, deſtined for the reduction of this important iſland, conſiſted of about five hundred men. In this expedition, the Engliſh had three men killed, and twenty-five wounded, and the French had fifteen killed and wounded. On the fourteenth of May, the ſmall iſlands of St. Pierre and Miquelon were alſo taken by the Engliſh under brigadier-general Ogilvy and captain Affleck. Theſe iſlands had been ceded to the French by Great Britain, at the peace of 1763, for the purpoſes of curing and drying their fiſh.

The Nymph frigate, captain Pellew, of thirty-ſix guns, arrived at Portſmouth, on the twentieth of June, with the Cleopatra French frigate, of the ſame force, which ſhe captured on the morning of the preceding day, off the Start, after a moſt ſevere action of fifty minutes. The Cleopatra was a commodore of five other frigates, ſent to protect the trade of France, which had ſeparated from the fleet, and, on coming within hail of the Nymph, gave

her three cheers, coming fairly and by conſent into action. The firſt broadſide from the French frigate cleared captain Pellew's foreca ſtle, and towards the cloſe of the action, the Cleopatra's wheel was ſhot away, and ſhe fell on the Nymph's quarter: when the Engliſh, with infinite gallantry and reſolution, boarded the enemy, and cut every thing before them. Upwards of ſeventy of the French fell in boarding, and the killed or mortally wounded in the French ſhip amounted to ninety. The chief captain of the Cleopatra was fatally wounded early in the action, and did not live to ſee his colours ſtruck: the ſecond captain alſo died of his wounds. The Nymph alſo ſuffered ſeverely, having the boatſwain, four midſhipmen, and twenty-two ſeamen killed; and the ſecond lieutenant, the lieutenant of marines, and twenty-two ſeamen and marines wounded. The Cleopatra's mizenmaſt was carried away about twelve feet from the deck; her jib-boom, with part of her bowſprit and head, went into the water, and her ſails and rigging were ſhot to pieces. The Nymph was alſo wounded in her hull and maſts, but captain Pellew's judicious management prevented her from being ſeverely injured.

Hoſtilities were preparing on the part of Auſtria, Pruſſia, Sardinia, &c. and France manifeſted a determination to oppoſe the united attacks of all deſpotic ſovereigns. War and deſolation now commenced their ravages, and ſuch enterprizes have been achieved as have thrown all Europe into a conſternation.

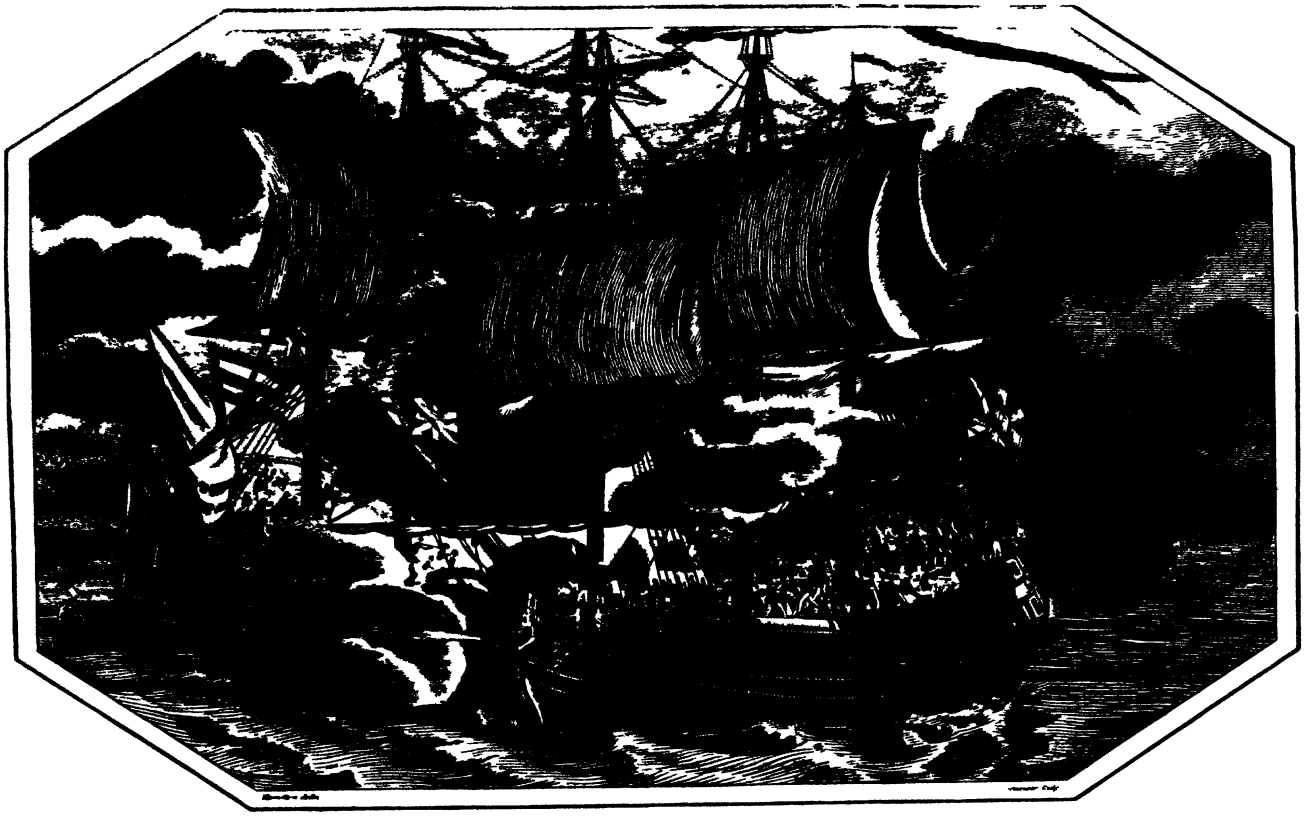
Dumourier, who ſucceeded to Favette's command, had the reputation of being intrepid, cool, and ſenſible, and an officer of great military talents. Meanwhile the advance of the combined armies through the deſerts of Champagne, demanded every precaution. A camp was formed at Chalons, whence Luckner was to ſupply the armies of Dumourier, Kellerman, and Bournonville, with reinforcements, and ſupport them in caſe of a defeat. Yet it was computed, at this critical time, that theſe three armies did not exceed forty thouſand men, of whom Dumourier had ſeventeen thouſand. Dumourier and Kellerman were ſeparately attacked by the enemy: the aſſault of the latter at Dampiere, on the twentieth of September, was formidable, and repelled with great ſkull and courage. The former ordered Chalons to be evacuated, and ſeized a ſtrong poſition at St. Menehoud, between Chalons and Verdun: the Pruſſians advanced to Flans; a deciſive engagement was daily expected; and the deſtruction of the French armies was conſidered as inevitable.

Such was the ſituation of affairs when the national convention aſſembled at Paris, on the twenty-firſt of September. The aſſembly voluntarily reſigned the ſuperintendence of public buſineſs, which had exceeded its capacity and powers, into new hands. On the firſt day of the meeting of the national convention, the *Abolition of Royalty in France* was decreed by acclamation: and on the following day, it was ordered that all public acts ſhould be dated *The Firſt Year, &c. of the French Republic.* No ſooner was the democracy declared, than the genuine republican ſpirit ſhone forth, in the anſwer given by the French to the Pruſſian king, refuſing to treat, till the enemy had evacuated the territories of the republic. A report was circulated through Europe, that the French general had laid down his arms, either from treachery, or deſpair; and that the Pruſſians had advanced within ten leagues of Paris, when they ſuddenly adopted the reſolution of an inglorious retreat. Pruſſia offered to withdraw her armies, and enter into an alliance with France, on condition that due regard was ſhewn to the French king in the new order of affairs. This was refuſed: the Pruſſians and Auſtrians retreated; and France immediately commenced her career of, at leaſt, temporary ſucceſs.

The retreat of the Pruſſians and Auſtrians was followed by the re-capture of Verdun and Longwy, and the raiſing of the ſieges of Thionville and Liſle, after a fourth part of the latter city had been deſtroyed by the Auſtrians. The invaſion of Savoy was now projected. On the twenty-firſt of September, general Monteſquieu entered the Savoyard territories, ſeized on the frontier poſts and caſtles without reſiſtance, and two days after took Montmelian and Chamberry; and all Savoy ſoon followed; but no military glory could be acquired, as there was no reſiſtance. After frequent declarations that the French would in future enter into no war, with any view to conqueſt, their conduct in this reſpect was abſurd and impolitic; it ſubjected them to the merited reproach, that, under the pretence of liberty, they maintained the deſtructive maxims of their ancient government. Any further tranſactions in the ſouth are hardly entitled to narration. Admiral Truguet, commanding a ſquadron in the Mediterranean, captured Nice, Villa Franca, and the fortreſs of Montalban, belonging to the Sardinian king.

Having thus conciſely mentioned the progreſs of the arms of France in the ſouth, their more ſurprizing ſucceſs in Italy, Germany, and the Netherlands, demands attention. The king of Sardinia, having entered into the confederacy, was puniſhed with the loſs of the duchy of Savoy. The conqueſt of Savoy was not much regarded; but when general Cuſtine began his acquiſitions in Germany, every eye was turned to the rapidity and importance of his progreſs, till diverted by the wonders of Dumourier. Spires yielded to the French arms on the thirteenth of September, and Worms ſoon followed. Cuſtine, purſuing his courſe along the left ſhore of the Rhine, next captured Mentz, and afterwards Frankfort; but the latter was ſpeedily retaken.

The



The Attacking of the Cleopatra, French Brigade, by Captain Edward Pellew

The conqueſt of the Auſtrian Netherlands forms another grand object. Towards the concluſion of October, Dumourier publiſhed his manifeſto to the inhabitants of the Netherlands, declaring his intention of entering their territories to erect the tree of liberty, and deliver them from the Auſtrian yoke; and promiſing that, if they would eſtabliſh the ſovereignty of the people, and renounce the yoke of deſpots, the French would become their brethren, friends, and ſupporters. This general had vauntingly propoſed to paſs his Chriſtmas at Bruſſels; but he was afterwards found to have been in earneſt, for that city was actually in his hands by the fourteenth of November. Having entered the Netherlands on the firſt or ſecond of that month, with an army of forty thouſand men, and with a moſt formidable train of artillery, repeated engagements with the Auſtrian army, commanded by the duke of Saxe-Teſchen, and by general Beaulieu, took place on the firſt five days. At length, on the ſixth of November, a deciſive battle was fought at Jemappes, or Genappe, which decided the fate of the Netherlands. After an obſtinate defence, the Auſtrians retired at two o'clock in the utmoſt diſorder: their loſs in the various engagements, amounted to about four thouſand killed and wounded, beſides about fifteen hundred priſoners and deſerters. The killed and wounded among the French did not exceed one thouſand.

Dumourier advancing, took poſſeſſion of the neighbouring town of Mons. Tournay ſurrendered to a detachment, on the eighth of November. Dumourier proceeded to Bruſſels, where, after an indeciſive engagement between his van and the Auſtrian rear, he was received with acclamations on the fourteenth of that month. Ghent, Charleroi, Antwerp, Malines or Mechlin, Louvain, Oſtend, Namur; and in ſhort, all the Auſtrian Netherlands, except Luxemburgh, ſucceſſively followed the example of the capital. Ruremond, the principal city of Auſtrian Guelderland, ſubmitted to Miranda on the eleventh of December.

Antwerp having yielded to the French arms, then, in order to conciliate the Belgians, the opening of the navigation of the Scheldt, ſhut up by the treaty of Munſter, in 1648, was projected and ordered. The Dutch conſidered this meaſure as injurious to their trade, becauſe Antwerp might prove a dangerous rival to Amſterdam. The firſt inclination manifeſted by Great Britain to break with France, regarded the navigation of the Scheldt. The court of St. James's declared an alliance with the Dutch, and the French formally iſſued a declaration of war againſt Great Britain.

Before we narrate the reverſe of fortune reſpecting Dumourier, we ſhall notice the bombardment of Cagliari, the capital of Sardinia, under the command of admiral Truquet, but the admiral failed in his attempt. This diſaſter, however, was trivial, compared with the haſty retreat and final defection of general Dumourier in the Netherlands. Soon after that general quitted Holland, and aſſumed the command of the diſconcerted armies of Valence and , the forces of the prince of Cobourg and general Clairfait attacked him with a vigour which aſtoniſhed him, he having but a few months before, driven the ſame troops out of France, and through the Netherlands into Germany. He beheld, with diſmay, the laurels of Jemappe wither on the plains of Tirlemont.

On the fourteenth of March *, the Imperialiſts advanced towards [illegible] ont, and were attacked by general Dumourier, on the fifteenth and the following days: the firſt attempts were ſucceſsful, the Auſtrians' advanced poſts were obliged to retire to St. Tron through Tirlemont, which they had already paſſed. On the eighteenth, a general engagement enſued, the French army being covered by Dormael, and on the right by Landen: the action continued with great obſtinacy, from ſeven in the morning till five in the evening, when the French were obliged to fall back, and the Auſtrian cavalry coming up, put them entirely to flight: the loſs on both ſides was conſiderable. About this time, Dumourier deſcribed the army as in a ſtate of the utmoſt diſorder, and having proviſions only for ten days: he ſaid, it was impoſſible for him to ſtop the progreſs of the enemy, who, without amuſing themſelves with ſieges, might, with an army of twenty thouſand cavalry, lay waſte and reduce to aſhes all that part of the country, which lies in the vicinity of the metropolis. Such is the outline of affairs preceding the defection of that celebrated general from the republicans of France, whoſe *conduct* and not their *cauſe*, he ſeems to have diſapproved.

Convinced that no reliance was to be placed upon the majority of his army, Dumourier, with two regiments of horſe, and accompanied by young Egalité, and ſome other officers, determined to repair to the enemy at Mons. His conduct has created many conjectures and ſuſpicions: he has ſince appeared in Switzerland, England, &c. but hardly any country ſeems inclinable to encourage him.

Amidſt the accumulation of external misfortunes, France was at this period internally agitated by the moſt formidable inſurrections in different parts; a great number of royaliſts aſſembled on the banks of the Loire, and threatened the reduction of Nantz. In the department of Vendee, they aſſumed the denomination of the Chriſtian army; many ſkirmiſhes took place between theſe and the republican troops, in which both parties were occaſionally victorious. Robeſpierre and Marat were now accuſed, in the convention, of having excited the people to murder, with an intention of aſpiring to a dictatorſhip or triumvirate. They both anſwered very equivocally.

* A D. 1793.

General Cuftine, finding Mentz clofely befieged by the forces of the king of Pruffia, attempted to fuccour it on the nineteenth of May, and fucceeded beyond his expectation. He advanced at the head of a very numerous army, and attacked general Wurmfer, whom, after a vigorous refiftance, he obliged to retire beyond Queich. He afterwards, with part of his forces, attacked the Pruffian corps, commanded by the hereditary prince of Hohenloe, at Carlfberg, to the duchy of Deux Ponts, when the latter, after a brave refiftance, was obliged to yield to fuperior numbers, and abandon that important poft *.

A particular enumeration of the actions which followed, between the combined armies and the French republic, would be unintereffing. Many of them were trifling and indecifive, and the defeats and victories were fo nearly equal on each fide, that it could not with certainty be pronounced on which fide the advantages predominated; till on the tenth of July, the governor of Condé conſented to furrender that place to the Imperial forces, under the command of the prince of Wirtemberg, by whom it had been long blockaded. This was deemed a conqueft of the utmoft importance, Condé being one of the ſtrongeſt places of the frontier, requiring only a ſmall garriſon for its defence, commanding the navigation of the Scheldt, and facilitating any future operation. This acquiſition was ſucceeded by another of very great importance: on the twenty-eighth of the ſame month, the town and caſtle of Valenciennes ſurrendered to the combined army, under the command of his royal highneſs the duke of York †.

His royal highneſs, after ſeveral leſs important exploits, intended on the twenty-fourth of Auguſt to attack the enemy, who were then poſted at ſome diſtance from Dunkirk, in order to obtain poſſeſſion of the ground which it was neceſſary to occupy, previous to the ſiege of that place. The enemy haſtened the execution of his deſign, by attacking the outpoſts between the canal of Furnes and the ſea. Lieutenant-general Dalton advanced with the reſerve, which was encamped on that ſide, to their ſupport; the enemy were repulſed, and driven with loſs into the town; one piece of cannon, and a few priſoners were taken. The ardour of the troops carried them farther in the purſuit than was intended, in conſequence of which they came under the cannon of the place, and ſuſtained a conſiderable loſs. Lieutenant-general Dalton, was killed with a cannon ſhot, towards the concluſion of the attack. The duke had alſo to lament the loſs of lieutenant-colonel Eld, of the Coldſtream regiment, and of other valuable men.

The poſition afterwards taken by the duke of York, was judicious and favourable to the beſiegers. It was between the canal leading from Dunkirk to Furneſe, and the ſea-coaſt.

An unfortunate event took place on the eighth of September. The Hanoverian general Freytag was fiercely attacked by the French army in the neighbourhood, and compelled to retreat with great loſs. He, and prince Adolphus, the younger ſon of George III. were made priſoners in their retreat, but were opportunely reſcued by a detachment. The duke of York's right wing was harraſſed by a ſally; but, on this, and ſome other occaſions, he drove the enemy back into the town. A deſpair of ſucceſs, however, induced them to deſiſt from the ſiege; and his artillery and ammunition fell into the hands of the enemy. The loſs ſuſtained was about fifteen hundred in killed and wounded, among whom were many gallant officers. The enemy, however, was ſuppoſed to have ſuffered in a greater degree. His royal highneſs ſent two battalions of Heſſians to general Walmoden's ſupport; but, finding that aid to be ineffectual, he was reduced to the neceſſity of collecting his whole force, by abandoning the poſition he had taken near Dunkirk. Thirty-two of the heavy guns, and part of the ſtores provided for the ſiege, were left behind, there being no poſſibility of carrying them off. The French were commanded by general Houchard. And it is a fact, well eſtabliſhed, that Houchard, for ſuffering the beſieged force to eſcape deſtruction, was put to death by the tyranny of the convention.

Intelligence was about this time received from admiral lord Hood, commander of his majeſty's ſhips in the Mediterranean, that an intercourſe had taken place between his lordſhip and the commiſſioners from Toulon and Marſeilles; and by ſubſequent accounts it appeared, that the treaty relative to Toulon was brought to a concluſion; and on the twenty-eighth of Auguſt, lord Hood's fleet landed fifteen hundred men, and took poſſeſſion of the batteries at the mouth of the harbour. The French fleet hauled into the inner road; and on the twenty-ninth the Britiſh fleet and the fleet of Spain, which joined the ſame day, anchored in the outer road of Toulon. Several declarations and proclamations were iſſued by lord Hood on this occaſion, which are too unintereſting to obtain a place in our hiſtory ‡.

Towards

* The States General, about this time, preſented a reply to a memorial of lord Auckland, of the eighteenth, expreſſive of their moſt grateful remembrance of the earneſtneſs and promptitude of the duke of York and his troops in their cauſe. Their high mightineſſes gave the moſt ſolemn aſſurances, that they would exert all their efforts to combat an enemy, which they regarded not only as the enemy of Holland, but of the human race; as having formed the project of deſtroying the happineſs of civil ſociety, by the annihilation of all the principles of religion, juſtice, and humanity.

† The delay of naval preparations for the ſiege, and the neceſſity of waiting for heavy artillery, enabled the enemy to make ample proviſion for the defence of the town.

‡ On the ſixteenth of October, 1793, was guillotined at Paris, in her thirty-eighth year, (having been born November

Towards the close of November, the French opened a considerable battery on the heights of Arenes, against Toulon; and the allied troops, by misunderstanding their movements, were obliged to quit a post they had acquired in great disorder, and with considerable loss. Lieutenant-general O'Hara, who was involved in the consequence of this mistake, was wounded in the arm and taken prisoner, and in this and other conflicts, no small loss was sustained by the allies. Many gallant officers suffered upon this occasion. After several other disasters here, lord Hood sent intelligence to England, dated Victory, Hieres bay, December twentieth, 1793, that he had been obliged to evacuate Toulon, and to retire from the harbour to that anchorage. But as they conceived themselves authorised by the laws of war, to inflict on the enemy all the mischief in their power, they distinguished their retreat by conflagration and havoc. Sir Sidney Smith engaged in the arduous task of burning the store-houses and ships, amidst an unceasing firing from the approaching foe. Three ships of the line, four frigates, and many sloops were added to the British fleet *. Ten of the enemy's ships of the line in the arsenal, with the mast-house, great store-house, hemp-house, and other buildings, were, however, first totally destroyed; and, before daylight, all his majesty's ships, with those of Spain and the two Sicilies, were out of the reach of the enemy's shot and shells, except the Robuste, which was to receive captain Elphinstone, and she followed soon after without a shot striking her.

In opening a new session of parliament on the twenty-first of January †, his majesty made favourable mention of the advantages gained upon the whole, by the allied armies; and that even the temporary possession of the town and port of Toulon, had greatly distressed the operations of the enemy. He recommended a steady perseverance in so just and necessary a war on our part, till it shall be terminated by an honourable and permanent peace. "It only "remains for us (said he) to persevere in our united "exertions: their discontinuance or relaxation "could hardly procure even a short interval of de-"lusive repose, and could never terminate in secu-"rity or peace." He farther said, "Although I "cannot but regret the necessary continuance of the "war, I should ill consult the essential interest of my "people, if I were desirous of peace on any grounds "exclusive of a due provision for their permanent "safety, and for the independence and security of "Europe."

An address of thanks to his majesty for his most gracious speech, was moved by the earl of Stair in the house of lords, and lord Clifden in the house of commons. The earl of Guildford proposed an amendment to the former, and wished for a speedy negotiation, as we had rushed into the war without necessity; and Mr. Fox to the latter; but on a division, the address was carried by ninety-seven against twelve in the upper house, and by two hundred and seventy-seven against fifty-nine in the house of commons.

The West Indies now claims our attention; by a letter from sir Charles Grey to the right hon. Henry Dundas, dated Fort Royal, Martinico, March 25, 1794, intelligence was received at the court of St. James's, that a complete conquest had been made of the island of Martinico; the last and most important fortress of Fort Bourbon having surrendered to his majesty's arms, at four o'clock in the afternoon of the twenty-third of the same month. Sir Charles Grey landed with a respectable force on the island of Martinique, while sir John Jervis superintended the naval operations. Several strong posts were soon seized, and the reduction of Pigeon isle opened the bay and harbour of Fort Royal to the shipping. Very few men were killed or wounded in this enterprize. The garrison of Fort Bourbon, amounting to nine hundred men, marched out prisoners of war, laying down their arms on the parade of Fort Royal, and were embarked for France immediately. His ma-

vember second, 1755,) Maria Antoinette, the beautiful widow of the late French king Lewis XVI. She was archduchess of Austria, and sister of Leopold II. emperor of Germany, and was married to the king of France in 1770. This unfortunate princess had been condemned on the preceding day, by the revolutionary tribunal, as "Guilty of having been accessary to, and having co-ope-"rated in, different manœuvres against the liberty of "France, of having entertained a correspondence with "the enemies of the republic; of having participated in "a plot tending to kindle civil war in the interior of the "republic, by arming citizens against each other," and of other crimes too horrid and ill-founded to be here mentioned. When the sentence of the tribunal was read, the queen cast down her eyes, and did not afterwards lift them up. "Have you nothing to reply, upon "the determination of the law?" said the president to her. "Nothing," she replied. "Nor you her official defend-"er?" "Our mission, (said they) is fulfilled, with re-"spect to the widow Capet." The execution took place at half after eleven o'clock in the forenoon. As soon as the queen left the Conciergerie, to ascend the scaffold, the multitude assembled in the courts and streets, cried out Bravo! Maria Antoinette was clad in a white loose dress, and her hands were tied behind her back. She looked firmly round on all sides. She was accompanied by the deposed curate of St. Landry, a constitutional priest; and on the scaffold preserved her natural dignity of mind.

About this time John Frost was indicted and tried for uttering the following seditious words at the Percy Coffee-house. "I am for equality: I see no reason why one "man should be greater than another. I would have no "king, and the constitution of this country is a *bad one*." He was found guilty in the court of King's Bench before lord Kenyon.

* It afterwards appeared in the London Gazette that some of the ships asserted to have been burned, formed a part of the French navy in 1795.

† A. D. 1794.

jeſty's troops having marched in, ſtruck the French and hoiſted the Britiſh colours, and changed the name from Fort Bourbon to that of Fort George. Major-general Dundas and prince Edward landed in St. Lucia without any loſs, and proceeded to the inveſtment of La Morne Fortunee; Lieutenant-colonel Coote ſtormed a redoubt and two batteries; and the dread of an aſſault on the fort accelerated a ſurrender.

The armies of the combined powers, commanded by the duke of York, obtained a conſiderable advantage near Cateau on the ſixteenth of the following month; and on the twenty-ſecond, the hereditary prince of Orange made a general attack upon the poſts which the enemy occupied in the front of Landrecy, and ſucceeded in getting poſſeſſion of them all; and in taking by ſtorm their intrenched camp, and a very ſtrong redoubt which they had thrown up at the village of Eloques, within ſix hundred yards of the place.

The duke of York, in a letter to the right hon. Henry Dundas, dated April 26, Heights above Cateau, ſays, "It is from the field of battle that I have "the ſatisfaction to acquaint you with the glorious "ſucceſs, which the army under my command have "had this day. At day-break, this morning, the "enemy attacked me on all ſides. After a ſhort but "ſevere conflict, we ſucceeded, in repulſing them, "with conſiderable ſlaughter. The enemy's general "Chapuy, is taken priſoner, and we are maſters of "thirty-five pieces of the enemy's cannon. The be-"haviour of the Britiſh cavalry has been beyond all "praiſe!"

About the ſame time general count Kinkſly, and major-general Bellegarde, after driving the enemy with great ſlaughter from Priſches, purſued them as far as day-light would permit, and took from them twenty-two pieces of cannon.

General Clairfait received a check from the enemy at Moncron, and was forced to retire with the loſs of ſome cannon and tumbrils; but to atone for this diſaſter, Landrecy ſurrendered to the duke of York on the thirtieth of April. His royal highneſs ſoon after repulſed twenty thouſand of the enemy near Tournay, taking from them thirteen pieces of cannon and four hundred priſoners. A few days after, the iſland of St. Lucie ſurrendered to his majeſty's forces, under the command of ſir John Jervis, K. B. Guadaloupe and its dependencies ſoon followed the example, and ſurrendered to the Britiſh arms.

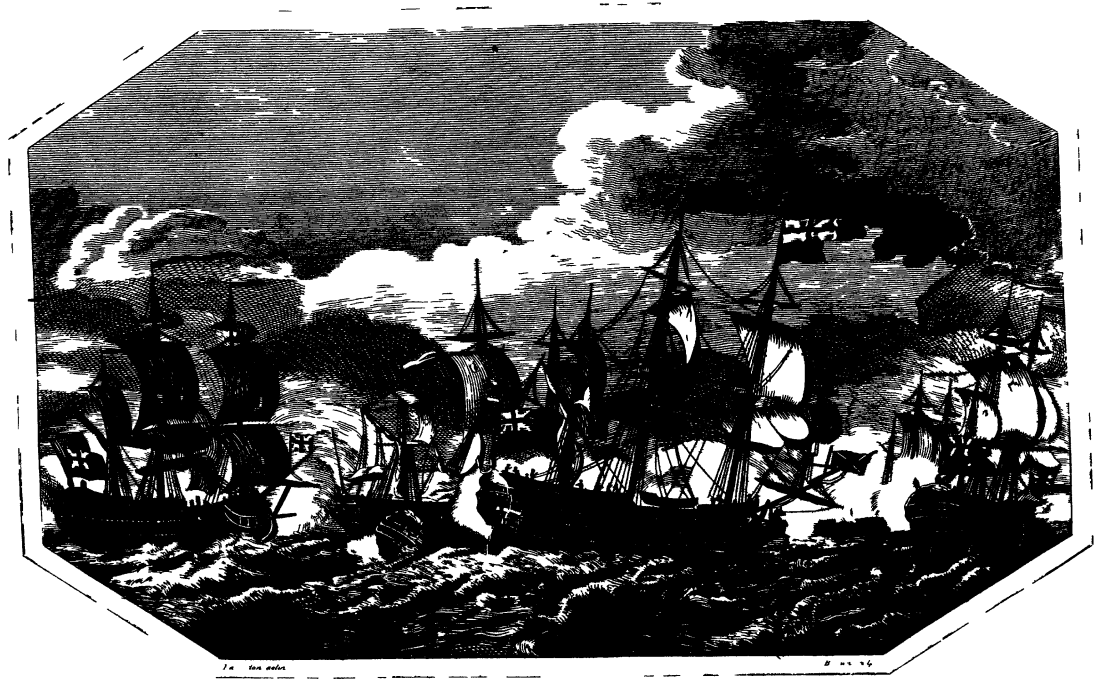
To retaliate for this, however, the republican troops gained a conſiderable advantage over the duke of York near Tournay in the beginning of May, and the duke eſcaped with extreme difficulty; but towards the concluſion of the month, general count Kaunitz attacked the French army which had paſſed the Sambre, defeated them, and obliged them to paſs in great confuſion over the river. The enemy loſt near fifty pieces of cannon, and above five thouſand men, three thouſand of whom were taken priſoners; the loſs of the Auſtrians was inconſiderable.

Madame Elizabeth, the ill-fated ſiſter of Lewis XVI. fell a victim to the ſanguinary ſyſtem of republicaniſm on the tenth of May. She was followed to the ſcaffold by twenty-five perſons, condemned at the ſame time; but was not ſuffered to fall under the edge of the fatal axe, till the heads of all her fellow-ſufferers had been ſevered from their bodies. That amiable princeſs did not ſuffer for any crimes of her own, for the offences of others, which were falſely to her. Having aſcended the ſcaffold, ſ continued in prayer till the moment when the wa mit her head to the enſanguined inſtrument, ſhe advanced with perfect reſignation, with a kind of heroiſm, inſpired by religion, and perfectly ſubmiſſive to the decree of providence. Thus died the amiable Elizabeth Philippina Maria of France, after having lived, with an unſullied reputation, thirty years and ſeven days.

Marſhal Mollendorf, on the fourteenth of May, ſurpriſed the French in their entrenchments near Mayence, and defeated them with great ſlaughter. The French ſuſta ned a loſs of one thouſand killed, two thouſand taken priſoners, eighteen pieces of cannon, and two howitzers.

The glorious firſt of June firmly eſtabliſhed the laurels on the brow of admiral earl Howe. He was cruizing off the coaſt of Bretagne, when he was informed that the French admiral, Villaret Joyeuſe, had ſailed from the harbour of Breſt. Having approached the enemy to the weſtward of Uſhant, rear-admiral Paiſley briſkly attacked the rear, and a ſpirited engagement enſued on the following day, the nautical ſkill of the veteran Howe having obtained the weather-gage. Three days afterwards the French were brought to a cloſe action. The enemy's force, conſiſting of twenty-ſix ſhips of the line, oppoſed his majeſty's fleet of twenty-five. The admiral, in the Queen Charlotte, diſplayed great ſkill and intrepidity in breaking the enemy's line. Captain Berkeley, in the Marlborough, after ſuſtaining a dangerous conflict with two ſhips, diſabled one and repelled the other. Captain Hervey, in the Brunſwick, engaged ſeveral ſhips with undaunted valour, and had a violent conteſt with the Vengeur, whoſe crew vociferated for mercy; but the Britiſh captain could not prevent her ſinking. Many of the French were, however, ſaved by the humanity of their adverſaries, but about three hundred of them periſhed in the ocean.

Captain Montague was the only officer of rank who fell in this action; but admiral Graves received a wound in the arm; and the rear-admirals Bowyer and Paiſley, and captain Hutt of the Queen, had each a leg taken off. The names and forces of the French ſhips captured by lord Howe, are La Juſte, eighty guns; Sans Pareille, eighty; l'Amerique, ſeventy-four; l'Achylle, ſeventy-four; Northumberland,



berland, ſeventy-four; l'Impetueux, ſeventy-four; the Vengeur, ſeventy-four, in which ſix hundred and ninety were killed, and five hundred and eighty wounded. This ſplendid victory added to the renown of our naval countrymen, and ſwelled the hearts of our people with joy and ſatisfaction.

An account of the ſurrender of the town and forts of Baſtia, and conſequently of the whole iſland of Corſica, was received from lord Hood during the time of the general joy for lord Howe's ſucceſs upon the ocean. General Paoli, having exerciſed his influence over his countrymen, the ſovereignty of the iſland was voted, in a regular aſſembly, to be transferred to the king of Great Britain. Sir Gilbert Elliot, in the royal name, accepted the offer; but the ſucceſs of lord Howe's fleet excited ſtronger emotions of joy than the addition of Corſica to the territories of the Britiſh ſovereign.

The fall of Roberſpierre was now determined in the National Convention. Billaud Varennes delivered a ſpeech in the Tribune, replete with invective, denouncing Roberſpierre as aſpiring at the dictatorſhip, and endeavouring to deſtroy many members of the convention. "I, therefore," ſaid he, "proclaim the tyranny of Roberſpierre." Loud and repeated burſts of applauſe reſounded in the hall. Roberſpierre attempted to ſpeak, but in vain, in conſequence of the vociferous exclamations from every quarter, of "Down with the tyrant! Down with the tyrant!" Tallien, in a ſpeech of conſiderable length, followed Billaud Verennes; and the arreſt of Roberſpierre, the elder, Roberſpierre, the younger, and ſeveral others, was immediately decreed. A decree of arreſt was alſo paſſed againſt Henriot, commandant of the armed force at Paris, and others of the creatures of Roberſpierre. Roberſpierre was then ſent priſoner to the Luxembourg. A decree of outlawry was alſo paſſed againſt him. Leonard Bourdon, having ſhortly after aſcended the Tribune, informed the convention of Roberſpierre's being ſeized in the hall of the commune, by a *gens d'arme*, then at his ſide: Roberſpierre had been armed with a knife, which the gens d'arme immediately wreſted from him. So great was the abhorrence of the convention to the tyrant, that they would not ſuffer him or his accomplices to appear at the bar, but, in obedience to their decree of outlawry, immediately ordered him to the place of execution, where, in conjunction with twenty others, he fell a victim to his own cruelty and ambition.

To ſignal victories, a remarkable change took place in the ſtate of affairs in the Weſt Indies. The force originally ſent out under ſir Charles Grey, and ſir John Jervis, was comparatively ſmall, conſidering the magnitude of the undertaking; and the yellow fever, with other diſeaſes ſo fatal to European conſtitutions in that climate, made dreadful havoc among the ſoldiers, in the courſe of the ſummer.

On the third of June, a French ſquadron of ſhips appeared off the iſland of Guadaloupe, and manifeſted an intention of attacking fort Fleur d'Epee. Accordingly on the fifth, they loaded thirteen boats with men, and on the following day, attacked the fort, which they carried by ſtorm, when the Engliſh garriſon retreated with conſiderable loſs to fort Louis, and afterwards retired to Baſſeterre. The fort being no longer tenable, they found it expedient to retire in the night. The French commiſſioner Victor Hughes, a man of uncommon enterprize and daring courage, made every neceſſary arrangement both for defence and attack. Sir Charles Grey, on the other hand, was equally active; he ſailed from St. Kitt's with all the troops he could collect, on a ſhort notice, and landed on the nineteenth at Guadaloupe, under cover of the Engliſh fleet.

On the twenty-ninth of June, the national convention received information, that general Pichegru had puſhed his advanced poſts as far as Ghent, and that he had taken from the enemy ten pieces of cannon, and ſix hundred priſoners. That the enemy, reinforced by twenty thouſand Pruſſians, with an army of one hundred thouſand men, under the prince of Cobourg, had in vain attempted to relieve Charleroi. That victory had remained long ſuſpended, and nothing was to be ſeen but ſlain and combatants, in this memorable battle which was fought in the plains of Flurus: in which about nine thouſand of the allied troops were killed, wounded, and taken priſoners. It alſo facilitated a junction between the French armies of the Moſelle, the Andennes, and the north. This battle began at three o'clock in the morning: thrice was the French army forced, by the numerous artillery of the enemy, to fall back on the entrenchments; but thoſe movements ſerved only to increaſe the ardour of the republicans, who exclaimed aloud throughout the line, *No retreat to-day! No retreat!* For nine hours the victory ſeemed indeciſive, and no one could determine which would be the conqueror. At ſix in the evening, general Jourdan collected the *corps de reſerve*, and the artillery, and charged the whole: their efforts were accompanied by unanimous cries of *Vive la republic!* and at this moment the allied army, no longer able to reſiſt the ſhock, fled on all ſides with the utmoſt precipitation.

On the ſecond of July, ſir Charles Grey diſpatched brigadier Symes, with a ſelect number of ſoldiers and ſeamen, to attack the town of Point a-Petre, and take it by ſurpriſe; but they were repulſed with great loſs, and obliged to retreat. The enemy then attacked Baſſeterre, which after a long and gallant reſiſtance, was compelled to ſurrender. The efforts of the French were then directed againſt the fort of Tiberen, in St. Domingo, which after a ſevere conteſt was evacuated by the Britiſh troops on the twenty-ninth. In addition to theſe mortifications, a French ſquadron of one

ſhip of the line, two frigates, and two ſloops, deſtroyed in the courſe of the winter of this year, all the Britiſh ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa, and took a number of merchant ſhips, with an immenſe quantity of plunder.

On the ſixteenth of June, the hereditary prince of Orange attacked and defeated the French army, which had again paſſed the Sambre, and choſen a poſition near Joſſelies, in order to cover the ſiege of Charleroi, before which they had begun to open trenches. The enemy's loſs was about ſeven thouſand men, twenty-two pieces of cannon, and thirty-five ammunition waggons, beſides horſes and baggage. A ſucceſſion of diſaſtrous events on the part of the combined armies, more than over-balanced theſe diſadvantages; but intelligence of the ſurrender of Port au Prince, in the iſland of St. Domingo, revived the drooping ſpirits of the Britiſh nation.

A treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, between the king of Great Britain and the United States of America, was ſigned on the nineteenth of November by lord Grenville, his majeſty's principal ſecretary of ſtate for foreign affairs, being duly authorized for that purpoſe on his majeſty's part; and the hon. John Jay, envoy extraordinary from the United States of America, having like authority on the part of the ſaid States.

In conſequence of bills found by the grand jury at Hick's Hall, ſeveral perſons were tried, in the courſe of the months of November and December, for high treaſon. Thomas Hardy, ſecretary to the London Correſponding Society, ſtanding foremoſt on the liſt, firſt put himſelf on the juſtice of God and his country; and, after a very long and deliberate inveſtigation, was acquitted on the fifth of November, having been ably defended by Meſſrs. Erſkine and Gibbs: John Horne Tooke, Thomas Holcroft, Thelwall, the political lecturer, the reverend Mr. Joyce, a barriſter of the name of Kyd, and moſt of the others accuſed of ſimilar offences, were alſo ſucceſſively acquitted, and many of them diſcharged from impriſonment.

The court party lamented the eſcape of theſe men, and blamed the forbearance and indulgence of the jury; but there was not evidence ſufficient to juſtify a verdict of guilt. Had they been tried for ſedition, they would probably have been convicted. Edward Watt, who, on a prior charge of High Treaſon, had been convicted, was executed at Edinburgh, on the fifteenth of October proceeding *.

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* Some further particulars relative to the extraordinary trials of theſe gentlemen. On the tenth of September a ſpecial commiſſion of over and terminer was iſſued for the priſoners, confined on a charge of high-treaſon in the Tower of London; and on the ſecond of October it was opened at the ſeſſions-houſe, Clerkenwell, by the lord chief juſtice Eyre, in an elaborate charge to the grand jury; and in the courſe of their proceedings the jury found a bill of indictment againſt Thomas Hardy, John Horne Tooke, and ten others; and on the twenty-eighth of October, Thomas Hardy, ſecretary to the London Correſponding Society, was put on his trial at the Old-Bailey. Mr. Wood opened the pleadings, and ſtated nine overt acts of high-treaſon with which the priſoner was charged. When he had finiſhed, ſir John Scott, the attorney-general, in a ſpeech of nine hours, went into a very minute detail of the ſubject of theſe proſecutions for high-treaſon. The counſel for the proſecution then produced their evidence, which conſiſted of papers that had been found in the cuſtody of different perſons, and ſeized under the warrant of the privy-council. Prior to the court's breaking up, about twelve o'clock, a converſation occurred reſpecting the gentlemen of the jury, who wiſhed to be diſcharged on their honour; to which Mr. Erſkine, on behalf of the priſoner, conſented; but the court were of opinion that the law would not permit the jury to ſeparate after having been once impanelled. The jury were therefore conſigned to the care of the ſheriffs, by whom preparations for their accommodation in the ſeſſions-houſe had been previouſly made; and, the next day, the jury having complained that their accommodations were uncomfortable, and incapable of affording them the neceſſary reſt, they were provided that evening, and all the ſubſequent evenings of the trial, with beds at the Hummums in Covent-garden. The twenty-ninth, thirtieth, and thirty-firſt of October, were employed in the production of evidence for the crown, both documentary and oral, which latter took up great part of the morning of November 1. This being finiſhed, Mr. Erſkine, in behalf of the priſoner, addreſſed the jury for the ſpace of ſix hours. The remainder of the day was occupied in the examination of witneſſes for the priſoner, many of whom gave him an excellent character. The court adjourned at half paſt twelve on Sunday morning, November ſecond, till the Monday following, when the counſel for the priſoner proceeded with their evidence: after which Mr. Gibbs likewiſe addreſſed the court in his favour. He was followed by the ſolicitor-general in reply. The next day the ſolicitor-general concluded his reply, and the lord preſident commenced the ſumming up the evidence; which he reſumed the following day, and finiſhed about noon.—The jury then returned, and after having been abſent two hours and a half, returned and delivered their verdict—Not guilty. On Monday, November ſeventeenth, the court again met, and proceeded on the trial of John Horne Tooke, Eſq on the ſame charge of high-treaſon. This trial was conducted in the ſame manner as the preceding, and ended on the Saturday following about eight in the evening, when the jury retired, and in a few minutes returned with their verdict—Not guilty.

On Monday the ſixth of December, the court again met, and John Auguſtus Bonney, Jeremiah Joyce, Stewart Kyd, and Thomas Holcroft (who, much to his honour, though not in cuſtody, had ſurrendered himſelf as ſoon as the bill was found againſt him by the grand jury), were arraigned, and a jury was ſworn in; when the attorney-general informed the court that he ſhould decline going into the evidence againſt the priſoners, as it was the ſame that had been

Vergadering van de Amsterdamsche Kamer der Geoctroyeerde Westindische Compagnie, 1623

A decree now paſſed in the convention, againſt the uſe of the manufactures of Great Britain or Ireland. The convention alſo decreed, that all the Engliſh, Scotch, Iriſh, and Hanoverians, of either ſex, and all the ſubjects of the king of Great Britain generally, who are at preſent within any part of the territories of the republic, ſhall be put in a ſtate of arreſt in houſes of ſecurity, and ſeals ſhall be put upon their papers; and the effects of thoſe ſubjects of the ſame nation who are abſent, ſhall be ſeized and confiſcated for the benefit of the republic.

The approaching year was preceded by freſh misfortunes, and the fate of Holland was now determined. The French however waited for the ſetting in of the froſt, to complete the total reduction of that country. In ſome of the provinces the diſaffected party were very active, and ſeveral reſolutions hoſtile to the Stadtholder and his government were paſſed. On the fixth of December, the duke of York quitted the command, and returned ſoon after to England.

Pichegru, ſtill mindful of his plan of ſeeming tardineſs and irreſolution, made no advance whatever for ſwards of a month; but a froſt ſetting in about the dle of December, opened a new field to the adventurous ſpirit of the republicans. In the courſe of a week the Maeſe and the Waale were both frozen over, and on the twenty-ſeventh of December, a ſtrong column of French croſſed the Maeſe near the village of Driel, the right wing extending from Nimeguen to fort St. Andre, was employed in watching the movements of the allies, while the centre made themſelves maſters of the Bommel, Waert, and Langſtraale; and the left forced the lines of Breda. On this day they gained one hundred and twenty pieces of artillery, ſixteen hundred priſoners, and three hundred horſes. Notwithſtanding this ſucceſs, the French were driven back acroſs the river, in three days after, with the loſs of a conſiderable body of men, and four pieces of artillery, by an impetuous and well conducted attack of the Britiſh troops, co-operating with a body of Heſſians, and a party of emigrant huſſars.

But, a detachment from Pichegru even on the day he received this laſt check, took poſſeſſion of the fortreſs of Grave, after a long and obſtinate reſiſtance. General Bons defended it, according to his declaration, till his laſt ſhot was expended. The whole town was reduced to a heap of aſhes: the garriſon were made priſoners of war: the terms granted were very honourable to the humanity of the conquerors. Soon after the main body of the French army, to the amount of ſixty or ſeventy thouſand men, croſſed the Waale at different points, and made a general attack on Walmoden's poſition, between Nimeguen and Arnheim. The allies were defeated in every quarter; and before they had time to rally, or even to make any neceſſary preparations for flight, their remaining poſts between the Waale and the Rhine were attacked with irreſiſtible fury.

After this deciſive blow, neither the troops nor the inhabitants of the United Provinces made any attempt to ſtop the progreſs of the victorious army. The tricoloured flag was ſoon diſplayed, and the tree of liberty was planted in every province. Thus terminated this eventful campaign.

A general attack was made on the French on the ſeventeenth of May at Turcoing, with intent to force them to evacuate Weſt Flanders. The action was long and obſtinate, and terminated in favour of the French, who were ſucceſsful at all points. During the conteſt, the duke of York was cut off from every part of his own corps, and obliged to repair to that of general Otto, to concert meaſures with him, to extricate it from the critical ſituation in which it ſtood. This was at laſt effected, and the Britiſh troops retired to Templeuve, after having ſuſtained a conſiderable loſs, and fought their way through the enemy. The French ſay they took ſixty pieces of cannon, and two thouſand priſoners, Heſſians, Hanoverians, and Engliſh.

A meeting of the Parliament took place on the thirtieth of December, when his majeſty in the ſpeech from the throne, urged the neceſſity of perſiſting in the war, however unfortunate it had been. The Dutch had, he obſerved, from a ſenſe of preſent difficulties, entered into a negociation for peace with the prevailing party in France, but no eſtabliſhed government could derive ſecurity from ſuch a negociation. The moſt effectual means had therefore been adopted for the further augmentation of the forces, on whoſe valour, his majeſty profeſſed he had the utmoſt reliance. He alſo mentioned the acceſſion of the ſovereignty of Corſica to the Britiſh dominions, and the concluſion of a treaty of marriage between the prince of Wales and the princeſs Caroline of Bruniwick, for whoſe proviſion his majeſty expected the concurrence and ſupport of both houſes.

The king exhorted the houſe of commons to make ample proviſion for the public ſervice; lamented the neceſſity of impoſing additional burdens on the ſubject; but obſerved with ſatisfaction the ſtate of credit, commerce, and reſources in this country.

The addreſs in the houſe of lords was moved by

been adduced on the two late trials, and on which, after the moſt mature conſideration, a verdict of acquittal had been given. The priſoners were of courſe acquitted and diſcharged. Mr. Thelwall was then put to the bar, and, after a trial of five days, acquitted.

Thus ended theſe memorable trials, the iſſue of which the country awaited with the utmoſt agitation and anxious ſuſpenſe, until the juſt and temperate verdict of an honeſt jury had defended the law of the land, againſt the dangerous innovation of conſtructive treaſons.

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earl Camden, ſeconded by the earl of Beſborough, and ſupported by the earls of Morton and Kinnoul, lords Mulgrave, Grenville, and Darnley. It was oppoſed by the marquis of Lanſdowne, and earls Stanhope and Derby. On the queſtion for the amendments propoſed by the oppoſition, it was rejected by a majority of one hundred and ſeven againſt twelve.

In the houſe of commons the addreſs was moved by ſir Edward Knatchbull, and ſeconded by Mr. Canning, on the leading grounds, that a peace with France at preſent muſt be ſo inſecure as to incur all the inconveniences and expence of a war eſtabliſhment. Mr. Wilberforce objected to the addreſs, as pledging the houſe to proſecute the war till there was a counter-revolution in France; for there was nothing in his majeſty's ſpeech in the leaſt pacificatory. After maturely conſidering the matter, his opinion was, that government ought to endeavour to negociate a peace in an open and manly manner. England was now reduced to that ſtate, when neceſſity required her to endeavour to bring back the country to the bleſſings of a fair and honourable peace. He did not think that the country would be at all debaſed by a declaration for peace. Mr. Wilberforce moved an amendment to the addreſs, containing the ſubſtance of the arguments he had advanced, which was ſeconded by Mr. Duncombe.

The motion for the amendment was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by Mr. Pitt, who cenſured with much aſperity the members of the houſe, that after agreeing to the war, now wiſhed for peace. Mr. Fox replied with great energy. The amendment was negatived by a majority of two hundred and forty-ſix againſt ſeventy-three, and the motion for the addreſs was put carried.

The fifth of January *, Mr. Sheridan introduced his propoſed motion, relative to the ſuſpenſion of the habeas corpus act. He ſtrenuouſly argued againſt the ſuſpenſion of the habeas corpus act, as ſuſpending the whole Britiſh conſtitution, and urged the authorities of ſir Edward Coke, and judge Blackſtone. Such a meaſure could only be juſtified by an emergency, when a traitorous conſpiracy was apprehended, which, he contended did not exiſt. He denied the reality of the plot, on which the ſuſpenſion was profeſſedly founded; and mentioned the encouragement given to ſpies and informers, as diſgraceful to any government. The motion was ſupported by Mr. Erſkine, Mr. Fox, Mr. Milbank, and Mr. Thompſon, and oppoſed by Mr. Serjeant Adair, Mr. Windham, the ſecretary at war, the maſter of the rolls, and Mr. Pitt, who in his ſpeech intimated a renewal of the bill. There were forty-one members for the repeal, and one hundred and eighty-five againſt it.

On the fifteenth of January, the attorney-general moved for leave to bring in a bill to continue the ſuſpenſion of the habeas corpus act for a limited time. A debate enſued, in which the motion was oppoſed by Mr. Sheridan, lord William Ruſſel, Mr. Lambton, Mr. Francis, Mr. Grey, and Mr. Whitbread, and ſupported by the attorney and ſolicitor-generals, Mr. Anſtruther, and Mr. ſerjeant Watſon, after which there appeared for the motion ſeventy-one, againſt it thirteen. The ſecond reading of the bill was oppoſed by Mr. Lambton, and ſeveral other members in the oppoſition, who denied the exiſtence of a conſpiracy in the country to ſubvert the conſtitution, which was as peremptorily affirmed by the advocates for adminiſtration, who ſtrongly contended for the adoption of the meaſure, as eſſential to its preſervation. The motion was carried by a majority of two hundred and thirty againſt fifty-three. The bill was then read a ſecond time, and the miniſters were earneſt to go inſtantly into a committee upon it, though it was then three o'clock in the morning. This was, however, ſtrongly oppoſed by Mr. Erſkine, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Sheridan, and deferred to the twenty-eighth. It was then again oppoſed by Mr. Fox, but was carried by a conſiderable majority.

On the third reading of this bill in the houſe of lords, the earl of Lauderdale moved an amendment, limiting the operation of it to the firſt of July, though, by the words of the bill, the crown, by the power of not proroguing parliament, was veſted with the privilege of continuing the ſuſpenſion for an indefinite time. This he forcibly urged on the ground of preventing a dangerous precedent on future occaſions. This amendment was agreed to, and the bill read a third time; after which, lord Grenville moved that it ſhould paſs. His lordſhip entered at large into the proceedings of the ſocieties, to prove the exiſtence of the conſpiracy, inſiſting that the late verdicts did not negative that, but only conſidered whether the perſons put upon their defence, were guilty to the extent charged in the indictments. The earl of Guildford replied to his lordſhip in a pointed ſpeech; and a ſpirited debate enſued, in which the ſuſpenſion was ſupported by the dukes of Leeds and Portland, lord Carliſle, and ſeveral other peers; and oppoſed by the duke of Bedford, the marquis of Landſdowne, and the earl of Lauderdale. The queſtion was then propoſed, and carried without a diviſion. A proteſt was, however, entered againſt the bill, ſigned by the dukes of Bedford and Norfolk, and the earls of Lauderdale and Guildford.

Strenuous endeavours were exerted in both houſes by the oppoſition members, during the courſe of this month, for the attainment of peace. In the upper houſe motions were made to that effect by earl Stanhope, the duke of Bedford, and the earl of Guildford. In the lower houſe by Mr. Grey and Mr. Fox; the ſubject excited much warmth and energy of debate, and much ingenuity was diſplayed in ſupport of their reſpective opinions. But the event terminated in

* A. D. 1795.

favour of adminiſtration, who carried their point when the ſeveral motions were introduced, by very conſiderable majorities.

During the courſe of this and the two following months, the affairs of Ireland occupied much of the public attention in both kingdoms. The coalition between a certain portion of the party called whigs, and an adminiſtration whom they had ſo frequently and ſo pointedly reviled, and whoſe appointment to office they had repreſented as an inſult on the people, was not likely to be productive of the happieſt effects; and it is ſingular, that the man who was the principal agent, and the moſt active in negociating the coalition, ſhould be the firſt victim of miniſterial intrigue.

In the beginning of the year, earl Fitzwilliam, whoſe zeal for the war had recommended him to the miniſtry, was appointed to the office of lord lieutenant of Ireland. It may be proper to obſerve, that though the Roman catholics had been reſtored in ſome degree to their civil right, by the elective franchiſe; it does not appear, that either their own leaders, or their parliamentary adherents, were ſatisfied with what had been granted, or would probably be ſatisfied with leſs than a total repeal of all remaining diſqualifications. The temporiſing ſpirit ſo characteriſtic of the adminiſtration of the day, had made them receive, with ſome degree of ſurpriſe, the former conceſſions; but as the Portland party had acceded to office, the hopes of the catholics revived, and in that party they expected confidently to find firmer friend, and more ſtrenuous ſupporters; and even before the appointment of earl Fitzwilliam, they had taken the moſt effectual means for preſſing their claims on the firſt favourable opportunity.

It clearly appears, that not only the new-appointed viceroy, previous to his acceptance of the office, ſatisfied himſelf that the catholics ought to be relieved from every remaining diſqualification, but that the duke of Portland uniformly concurred with him in this opinion. When the queſtion came under diſcuſſion, previous to his departure for Ireland, he found miniſters ſtrongly impreſſed with the ſame conviction, and his lordſhip adds, in his own ſtatement of the caſe to a noble friend, "had I found it otherwiſe, I never would have undertaken the government."

Lord Fitzwilliam certainly appears to have proceeded with proper caution in the buſineſs. It was his intention when he aſſumed the government, not to preſs the queſtion forward; but rather to endeavour to protract it to a period of more general tranquillity; but, as the principle was agreed upon by all parties, he determined, if the catholics ſhould ſeem reſolved in the buſineſs, to bring it before parliament, and give it ſupport on the part of government.

Perhaps no adminiſtration was ever more popular in Ireland than that of earl Fitzwilliam. All parties ſeemed united, and all differences of ſentiment reconciled. The Iriſh parliament aſſembled on the twenty-ſecond of January. The addreſs, in the lords, was voted unanimouſly; that in the commons with only three diſſentient voices. On the ninth of February the houſe of commons agreed to the moſt liberal ſupplies, almoſt without a debate. On the twelfth Mr. Grattan moved for leave to bring in a bill for the further relief of his majeſty's ſubjects profeſſing the Roman catholic religion, and, after a feeble oppoſition, leave was given to bring in the ſame, and Mr. Grattan with three members were appointed to prepare it.

Though earl Fitzwilliam had been enjoined by the cabinet not to bring forward the bill of farther relief for the catholics, he was inſtructed not to oppoſe it, ſhould it be introduced by any member who did not act in any official character. Yet, when the meaſure had been propoſed by the houſe of commons, who ſhewed no diſapprobation of it, he was ſuddenly recalled, at the inſtigation of that party who had long poſſeſſed and exerciſed a dangerous influence in Ireland.

Earl Camden, ſon of the celebrated chancellor, was at the ſame time appointed to ſucceed earl Fitzwilliam in the government of Ireland, and the bill was then rejected by the influence of the reigning faction.

The rumour of this recal was like a volcanic convulſion, which ſhook the whole iſland from the center to its remoteſt ſhores. It excited the utmoſt diſcontent both in and out of parliament. In the houſe of commons, ſir Laurence Parſons propoſed an addreſs to the lord lieutenant, ſtating that he poſſeſſed the confidence of the people and of the houſe, and expreſſing the ſtrongeſt apprehenſions if his excellency ſhould be prematurely removed. The addreſs was ſeconded with great warmth, and ſome expreſſions of indignation were uttered againſt the conduct of the Britiſh miniſtry. It was however withdrawn on the perſuaſion of Mr. Ponſonby.

On the ſecond of March ſir Laurence Parſons moved for the limitation of the money-bill to the twenty-fifth of May, which was negatived; but a reſolution, highly approving the conduct of lord Fitzwilliam, was paſſed on the motion of Mr. Connolly, with the ſingle diſſentient vote of Mr. Bereſford. The kingdom continued for ſome time in a violent ferment, not without ſerious conflicts between the military and the people. Addreſſes poured in from all quarters to the diſgraced viceroy; and the diſcontent occaſioned by this unpopular meaſure univerſally prevailed. On the twenty-fifth of March, earl Fitzwilliam took his departure for England. The day was obſerved as a day of general mourning; the ſhops were ſhut: no buſineſs was tranſacted; and the citizens were clad in black. In college-green,

a number of reſpectable gentlemen, dreſſed in ſable, took the horſes from his excellency's carriage, and drew it to the water-ſide. His lordſhip wiſhed, as uſual, on ſuch occaſions, to diſtribute money to the populace; but the offer was rejected even by the people. The military had been ordered out, in expectation of ſome diſturbance; yet nothing was diſplayed but the ſerious emotions of ſorrow, and the utmoſt order and decorum.

On the return of the late viceroy to England, the duke of Norfolk condemned, in pointed terms, the diſmiſſion of that nobleman, and moved for an enquiry into the ſubject, as it involved the honour and character of a very reſpectable peer, and diſturbed the tranquillity of the country which he had been deputed to govern; but after a debate, in which the earls of Caernarvon, Guildford, Moira, and lord Grenville took a part, a majority of ſeventy-five voted againſt it.

Earl Camden arrived in Dublin on the thirty-firſt of March to aſſume the government. Some diſturbances aroſe in the evening of his arrival, but they were ſoon quelled by the interpoſition of the military. But ſo unpopular was the diſmiſſal of earl Fitzwilliam from the office of viceroy, that a riot took place in Dublin on the day on which earl Camden was ſworn in lord lieutenant. When the lords were returning from the council after the ceremony, a furious party attacked the lord chancellor's carriage, and diſfigured it with ſtones and brick-bats. His lordſhip received a wound in the head by a ſtone, and probably would have fallen a ſacrifice, had he not been preſerved by the guards. At length, however, the inſurgents were diſperſed, but not till one perſon had loſt his life, and many had been wounded.

On the thirteenth of April the Iriſh parliament met, purſuant to adjournment, and on the twenty-firſt a motion was made by Mr. Grattan for an enquiry into the ſtate of the nation, including the reaſons for the recal of earl Fitzwilliam. This motion was negatived by a large majority of that very parliament, who had almoſt unanimouſly ſupported the meaſures of the preceding adminiſtration. Mr. Grattan preſented the bill for the emancipation of the catholics on the twenty-fourth, but it was rejected on the ſecond reading by a majority of ſeventy-one.

On the twenty-fourth of April, earl Fitzwilliam appeared in his place in the Britiſh houſe of peers, and, in a very ſpirited manner, called upon miniſters to come forward to a full inveſtigation of the buſineſs. They had, he ſaid, inſinuated blame to him; they had thrown down the gauntlet; he accepted the challenge, and wiſhed to try the iſſue.

The duke of Norfolk then moved an addreſs to his majeſty, praying there might be laid before the houſe, ſuch parts of the correſpondence between miniſters and earl Fitzwilliam, while in Ireland, as related to the motives of his recal, at a time when parliament had voted their confidence in him, and granted ſupplies with unexampled munificence. This motion was deferred to the eighth of May, when it was prefaced by the noble duke with whom it originated, by a variety of remarks in juſtification of the proceeding.

He thought, from a full conſideration of this affair, the time was arrived, when the inquiſitorial power of parliament over the conduct of miniſters ought to be exerted. His grace was warmly thanked by earl Fitzwilliam, who earneſtly urged a full enquiry into the cauſe of his removal. The motion was ſtrenuouſly ſupported by the earl of Guildford, the earl of Lauderdale, the dukes of Bedford and Leeds, and the earl of Moira, who urged the queſtion, as involving the intereſts of both kingdoms.

The motion was oppoſed by the earl of Weſtmoreland, lord Grenville, the earl of Carliſle, the marquiſſes Townſhend and Buckingham, earl Spencer, and the duke of Portland. The earl of Mansfield, in particular, thought the enquiry improper, from the ſecrecy neceſſary to be obſerved in caſes of this nature. The removal of earl Fitzwilliam did not, he contended, imply any charge againſt his character: it only proved ſuch a difference between him and his majeſty's miniſters here, reſpecting Ireland, as rendered it impoſſible for them to act properly together.

Earl Fitzwilliam alledged that the embarraſſments which had ariſen in the affairs of Ireland, proceeded, in a great meaſure, from the arrangements made for this purpoſe by the late lord-lieutenant. In confirmation of this opinion, his lordſhip declared that a very perfect ſyſtem had been formed with miniſters at home for accompliſhing this end. That the whole truth in this buſineſs might be unravelled, his lordſhip earneſtly ſupported the motion, and added, that he aſked for no more than the impartial deciſion of the houſe. On the queſtion being put, the contents were twenty-five. Non-contents, one hundred.

The recal of earl Fitzwilliam underwent a very ſpirited diſcuſſion in the Britiſh houſe of commons, and a motion for inquiry, ſimilar to that introduced by the duke of Norfolk in the upper houſe, was made by Mr. Jekyll, and ſupported by Mr. Fox. It was oppoſed by Mr. Powis, Mr. Paulet, Mr. Douglas, Mr. ſerjeant Adair, and the chancellor of the exchequer. The motion of Mr. Jekyll was loſt by a majority of one hundred and eighty-eight againſt forty-nine. Thus ended this important buſineſs, which had ſo generally engroſſed the public attention, and was eventually productive of the moſt dangerous conſequences, which we ſhall in the progreſs of our hiſtory take occaſion to detail *.

Let

* A decree, about this time, paſſed the national convention, reſpecting the formation of a military ſchool in the plains of Sablons, near Paris. Six young citizens from each diſtrict of the republic, under the name of *Eleves de*

Let us now revert to the affairs of Britain. In the courſe of the preceding year, a treaty of marriage had been negotiated between his royal highneſs the prince of Wales, and the princeſs Caroline of Brunſwick. From the troubled ſtate of affairs on the continent, the arrival of the princeſs in England was delayed till the fifth of April, and, on the eighth of the ſame month, the royal nuptials were celebrated in the chapel at St. James's, with becoming ſolemnity.

A meſſage from his majeſty was delivered to both houſes of parliament, on the twenty-ſeventh of April, mentioning the debts of the prince of Wales. It ſtated the reliance of his majeſty upon their liberality and affection, for enabling him to ſettle an eſtabliſhment on the prince and his auguſt bride, ſuited to their rank and dignity; that the benefit of any ſettlement now to be made could not be effectually ſecured to the prince, till he was relieved from his preſent incumbrances to a large amount; but that his majeſty did not propoſe to his parliament any other means of providing for this object, than the application of a part of the income which may be ſettled on the prince, and the appropriation, for a certain time, of the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall; declaring his readineſs to concur in any plan of eſtabliſhing a proper and regular arrangement in the prince's future expenditure, and of guarding againſt the poſſibility of his being again involved.

After the reading of his majeſty's meſſage, Mr. Pitt moved for a committee to conſider it that day ſe'ennight, upon which colonel Stanhope moved for reading the addreſs to the houſe on the twenty-fourth of May, 1787. On this being complied with, he obſerved that the houſe had already liberally paid the debts of the prince; and he wiſhed for a call of the houſe, that the attendance upon ſuch an affair, might be as full as poſſible. This was oppoſed by Mr. Pitt, who ſtated, that his majeſty did not require a ſpecific ſum for the diſcharge of the principal debts, but to ſet aſide a certain portion of that income which might be granted by parliament, to their gradual diſcharge. An eſtabliſhment for the prince had long been a matter of general expectation. In a proviſion for ſupporting the dignity and ſplendor of the prince of Wales, it was certainly neceſſary to remove from his affairs all embarraſſments. He enlarged upon the neceſſity of ſupporting the dignity and ſplendour of the royal family in every branch; and that, on a ſubject of ſuch general notoriety, there was no neceſſity for a call of the houſe.

A long converſation took place reſpecting this ſecond application of the prince for aſſiſtance; which, with the general exception of general Smith, appeared to be univerſally diſapproved. The extent of the debts was ſtated by Mr. Pitt at between ſix and ſeven hundred thouſand pounds, no part of which could be paid out of the civil liſt, ſo many charges having lately been made upon it. He expatiated upon the intereſt which the houſe had in preſerving the hereditary ſucceſſion, and in ſupporting the character of the houſe of Brunſwick. He recommended to the houſe, before they yielded to heat or reſentment, to conſider, that in the iſſue of the diſcuſſion was involved the credit of the hereditary monarchy, and conſequently the ſafety of this country. To this Mr. Martin ſignificantly replied, that the way which appeared beſt calculated for the preſervation of the hereditary monarchy, was to prevent it from being oppreſſive to the people.

When the conſideration of his royal highneſs's debts was reſumed on the fourteenth of May, various propoſitions were made by Mr. Pitt, after which he moved, that his majeſty be enabled to appropriate ſixty-five thouſand pounds annually as an eſtabliſhment for the prince of Wales. This produced a debate, in which ſome gentlemen contended for an abatement of the ſum ſpecified by Mr. Pitt, others for the exact ſum, and others for an increaſe. Mr. Grey propoſed that the new annual allowance ſhould be only forty thouſand pounds, and he thought the creditors who had encouraged the prince's prodigality, might be ſatisfied with a compoſition. But the original motion was carried by a great majority. A bill for preventing future princes of Wales from incurring debt was afterwards preſented by ſir William Pulteney, and paſſed the houſe, and the jointure of the princeſs was ſettled at fifty thouſand pounds a year.

In the houſe of lords, on the twenty-ſixth of June, the bill for preventing future princes of Wales from contracting debts, for granting an eſtabliſhment to his royal highneſs, and for granting a jointure to the princeſs of Wales, were read and paſſed.

The intricate long-depending cauſe of Mr. Haſtings, which began February twelfth, 1788, terminated during this ſeſſion. The whole of the charges exhibited againſt him, which were compriſed under four heads, were negatived by the committee appointed to examine the articles of impeachment. Theſe conſiſted of twenty-four particulars. After the articles had been ſeverally put to thoſe peers who choſe to vote, the lord chancellor obſerved, that there was a conſiderable majority for the acquittal of Mr. Haſtings, and he declared him acquitted of all the charges alledged againſt him by the commons, and all the matters contained therein. Thus, after a protracted trial of upwards of ſeven years, was termi-

Pecole de Mars.—[*Pupils in the ſchool of Mars*] from the age of ſixteen to ſeventeen, and an half, were to be inſtructed in all the knowledge and habits ſuitable to a republican ſoldier: theſe youths were to be taken from the children of *Sans Culottes*, and clothed, armed, and fed at the expence of the republic.

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nated this celebrated cauſe, ſo highly expenſive to the nation at large, and ruinous to the fortune of the accuſed individual. The high court of parliament ſat, during the interval of its duration, not leſs than one hundred and forty-one days.

The ſeſſion ended on the twenty-ſeventh of June with the uſual formalities. His majeſty, in his ſpeech, noticed the liberal and ſpirited ſupport which he had received from parliament in the proſecution of the war; and thanked the houſe of commons for the ample ſupplies which had been granted both on this account, and in ſettling the eſtabliſhment of the prince and princeſs of Wales, and in extricating the prince from his embarraſſments. The lord chancellor then prorogued the parliament to the nineteenth of Auguſt. The ſupplies granted by parliament for the year 1795, were twenty-nine millions, three hundred and ſeven thouſand, two hundred and ſixty-five pounds.

The peace and unanimity which accelerated the revolution in Holland, reflects great credit on the prudence and humanity of general Pichegru. The terms of capitulation propoſed to the ſeveral provinces were extremely liberal. Perfect liberty of religious worſhip was eſtabliſhed, and perſons and property ſecured. French troops were permitted to be put in garriſons; and aſſignats were prohibited from circulation by forcible means.

While theſe events were agitating, a requiſition was made by the French generals for a ſupply of ſome articles of proviſion and cloathing for the armies. The French republic was pledged for the payment of the amount, and the proclamation iſſued by the French general at the Hague on January twenty-ſeventh *, ſtates, that the demand was made, not as from a conqueror, but an ally in ſupport of the common cauſe. The amount of the requiſition was eſtimated at one million, four hundred and three thouſand, and fifty-four pounds.

In conſequence of the reſiſtleſs power of the French arms in Holland, a royal proclamation was iſſued on the ſixteenth of January, by the Britiſh miniſtry, ordering that all goods, merchandizes, and effects, belonging to the inhabitants of the United Provinces, ſhould be permitted to be landed in any of the ports of Great Britain, and be ſecured in warehouſes under the joint locks of his majeſty and the proprietors, to remain in ſafe cuſtody, till due proviſion ſhould be made by law to enable the proprietor to re-export and diſpoſe of the ſame. The emigrations in conſequence of this proclamation were expected to be numerous, but they happened to be very few; and but little advantage was taken of the meaſure, except by the ſtadtholder himſelf and his family, who repaired to take refuge in England; and, according to general opinion, brought with them a conſiderable portion of their effects †.

The ſucceſs of the invaders induced many of the Dutch to ſeek refuge in Britain, where they were received with politeneſs and hoſpitality. On the twenty-firſt his ſerene highneſs, the prince of Orange, accompanied by the princeſs Frederick Louiſa Wilhelmina his daughter, and prince George Frederick his ſon, arrived at Harwich in a fiſhing boat from Helvoetſluys. To the firmneſs of the Swiſs regiment, and the fidelity of the Dutch horſe guards, they were principally indebted for their eſcape.

The expulſion of the ſtadtholder, finally terminated all friendly diſpoſition on the part of the Britiſh miniſtry, towards the Dutch of every deſcription. Peremptory orders were diſpatched to ſeize, without enquiry or delay, whatever Dutch veſſels might be found in the different ports of Great Britain. In Plymouth Sound, two Dutch ſixty-four's and two ſloops of war, were ſeized by virtue of this authority. Six homeward-bound, and two outward-bound Dutch India ſhips, and about ſixty ſail of other veſſels, were captured in that port at the ſame time. A further proclamation was alſo iſſued, authorizing all ſhips of war, privateers, or letters of marque, to ſeize and bring into port all Dutch veſſels bound either to or from any of the ports of Holland; and alſo all neutral veſſels laden with military ſtores, bound to any part of the United Provinces. This proceeding was conſidered as equivalent to a declaration of war.

The latter end of January, the proviſional repreſentatives of the citizens of Holland aſſembled. Citizen Pierre Paulus (for the Hollanders had already adopted the language of the French their new allies) was unanimouſly choſen preſident. His ſpeech, though not brilliant, was well adapted to the occaſion. It concluded with recommending peace and unanimity. The Dutch now treated our military with contempt and illiberality; and the United Provinces were now revolutionized on the French model, liberty and the rights of man, were every where proclaimed.

After various diſaſters, the total reduction of Holland, and the conſequent abolition of the Stadtholderate, the Britiſh army took the route to Deventer. To

* A. D. 1796.

† The following were the circumſtances and ceremonies which preceded the Stadtholder's departure from Holland:

"On the evening of the ſixteenth of January, the Stadtholder, in the aſſembly of the States General, and in the aſſembly of the States of Holland, requeſted that his two ſons might be permitted to reſign their ſituations in the army of the republic. The requeſt was inſtantly complied with. On the next day he aſſiſted again at the deliberations of the two aſſemblies, and obtained the neceſſary diſpoſitions for abſenting himſelf from the United Provinces. The ſtates-general, however, appointed previouſly a committee to examine the documents and repreſentations laid before them by the ſtadtholder.

general

general Abercrombie, who conducted it during this painful and perilous retreat, every praiſe is due, for his humanity and vigilance. The partial thaw which occaſionally happened, only ſerved to aggravate the miſery of the wretched fugitives. At Deventer, Zool, and Zutphen, great numbers of the ſick were left behind, but the magazines were partially deſtroyed *. Of the loſs of men in this dreadful march no accurate return has been made. Private letters have aſſerted, that the Britiſh army, which amounted to thirteen thouſand men when the retreat commenced, was reduced by the beginning of February to half the number. In the march from Amersfort alone, upwards of three hundred ſoldiers were frozen to death, beſides women and children. The diviſion commanded by lord Cathcart encountered the greateſt difficulties, as his rear was continually haraſſed by the advanced parties of the French. At Groningen they were refuſed admittance into the city, and every where experienced loſs and diſappointment from the prevailing diſaffection to the Orange family.

In March the French were enabled to make ſome advances into the biſhopric of Munſter. Bertheim was taken early in that month, after an obſtinate engagement, and on the thirty-firſt they advanced to Bienen, a league diſtant from Rees, and an engagement commenced at an early hour in the morning. The French were at firſt repulſed, but having brought freſh reinforcements into the field before the cloſe of the day, the tide of ſucceſs was turned, and the Auſtrians were defeated with conſiderable loſs. The republicans immediately took poſſeſſion of Bienen. After this the allied powers appear to have loſt all their energy in the north of Germany, and the conqueſts of the French were only bounded by natural obſtacles and neutral territory.

After ſome preliminary negociations in the beginning of February, Charette and the principal chiefs of his army, in the name of the royaliſts in La Vendee, and another chief of the name of Cromartie, as repreſenting that party which was diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of Chouans, or night-owls, publicly declared their intention to live in future ſubject to the laws of the republic, and to deliver up their arms and magazines. In the mean time conferences were opened at a place about three leagues diſtant from Nantes, between all the chiefs of the chouans and Vendeans, and the repreſentatives of the French people on miſſion in thoſe departments; and on the third of March the treaty was ſolemnly concluded, ſigned, and ratified at Nantes.

The naval war was now carried on as uſual with ſucceſs on the part of Britain, as the maritime force of France was never able, in its moſt flouriſhing periods, to contend with that of our country. Several frigates were taken by the Engliſh in the courſe of the year, moſt of them without reſiſtance, but ſome after a ſerious conflict; one of the moſt remarkable of which happened on the fourth of January, off Martinique, between the French frigate La Pique of thirty-four guns, and the Blanche, commanded by the gallant captain Falkner, of thirty-two guns. The engagement continued five hours of cloſe fighting. The French frigate had all her maſts ſhot away, and had ſeventy-ſix men killed, and one hundred and ten wounded, beſides about thirty who were loſt with their maſts. The loſs of the Engliſh was eight killed and twelve wounded; but among the former we have to lament the loſs of captain Falkner himſelf.

A conſiderable action took place on the fourteenth of March, in the Mediterranean, between the Engliſh fleet, conſiſting of fourteen ſhips of the line and three frigates, under admiral Hotham, and a French fleet of fifteen ſail of the line, having an equal number of frigates with the Britiſh. Admiral Hotham, while in Leghorn road, on the eighth of March, received intelligence that the French fleet had been ſeen off the iſle of St. Marguerite; he therefore ordered the Britiſh fleet to be unmoored, and the following morning put to ſea. Having previouſly received information by the Mozelle, that the fleet ſhe had ſeen was ſteering to the ſouthward, he ſhaped his courſe for Corſica, and diſpatched the Tarleton brig with orders for the Berwick at St. Fiorenza to join him off Cape Corſe; but in the courſe of the night, the Tarleton returned with the unwelcome intelligence, that the Berwick had been captured two days before by the enemy's fleet.

The two ſquadrons were not within ſight of each other till the twelfth. The ſignal was made the following morning (thirteenth) by the Britiſh admiral for a general chaſe; and the wind blowing very freſh, one of the French line of battle ſhips was diſcovered without her top-maſts, which afforded captain Freemantle, in the Inconſtant frigate, a good opportunity to attack, rake, and haraſs her, till the Agamemnon came up, when the French ſhip received ſo much damage, as to be diſabled from putting herſelf to rights. The two Engliſh veſſels were, however, ſo far diſtant from their own fleet, that they were obliged to quit her, as others of the enemy's ſhips were coming up to her aſſiſtance. On the morning of the fourteenth, the enemy's diſabled ſhip was obſerved by admiral Hotham, with one who had her in tow, to be ſo far to leeward, as to afford a probable chance of cutting them off. For this purpoſe, every

* During the two days that the army remained there, it is ſaid that upwards of twelve thouſand ſtand of arms were deſtroyed; fifty thouſand hundred weight of powder; ſome millions of muſket ammunition; one hundred gun carriages; the artillery was in general ſpiked; working implements and other ſtores were loſt, to an incredible amount.

poſſible exertion was made; and the French were obliged to abandon theſe ſhips, or venture a battle. Though the latter did not appear to be their choice, they came down with a view of ſupporting them; but the Captain and Bedford were ſo far advanced, and ſo cloſely ſupported by the other ſhips of the Britiſh van, as effectually to cut them off. The conflict ended in the French abandoning theſe ſhips, which proved to be the Ca-Ira of eighty guns, and the Cenſeur of ſeventy-four. The total of killed on board admiral Hotham's fleet was ſeventy-five, and of wounded two hundred and eighty: The loſs of the French is uncertain.

The Illuſtrious and Courageux which were the van ſhips that engaged the Ca-Ira and the Cenſeur, ſuffered ſo much in the conflict, having each loſt their main and mizen-tops, that the Britiſh admiral was not able to renew the battle. The Illuſtrious, in particular, was ſo much diſabled, that ſhe was taken in tow by a frigate, but was afterwards ſeparated in a gale of wind, and driven on ſhore and loſt near Avenza. It is obſervable, that one or both of the French ſhips that were taken, were among the number of thoſe reported, in the London Gazette, to have been deſtroyed at Toulon.

The judicious retreat of admiral Cornwallis from a ſuperior force in the beginning of June, has been generally celebrated as a naval manœuvre. The ſquadron under his command conſiſted of five line of battle ſhips and two frigates. On the ſeventh of June, as he was cruizing off Belleiſle, he fell in with a fleet of merchant ſhips under convoy of three ſhips of the line and ſix frigates. The men of war eſcaped; but the Britiſh admiral captured eight of the convoy, which were laden with wine and military ſtores. On the ſixteenth, as he was ſtanding in with the land near the Penmarks, the Phaeton frigate made a ſignal for an enemy's fleet, which conſiſted of thirteen ſail of the line, ſeveral frigates, two brigs, and a cutter. The wind now fell very much, and came round to the northward, bringing the enemy's ſhips to the windward; and the next morning they were ſeen moving, before day-light, upon both quarters of the ſquadron. About nine o'clock in the morning of the ſeventeenth, the front ſhips of the French line began to fire upon the Mars, which, as well as the reſt of the Britiſh fleet, kept up a running fire during the whole of the day. It has been ſaid that admiral Cornwallis was relieved from this perilous ſituation, by cauſing the ſignals to be made for a ſuperior Britiſh fleet, which deterred the French admiral from puſhing his advantages, and enabled the Britiſh fleet to effect their eſcape with little loſs.

The period now approached, when the factious commotions which prevailed in France, during the violent paroxyſm of liberty, was about to terminate. Diſtracted as the convention ſtill was by faction and jealouſies, and implicated as many of the leading members were, in the guilt of Robeſpierre's adminiſtration, it was ſome time before it could retrieve its character, and before its proceedings could be directed on principles of juſtice and honour. Several of the accomplices of that execrable tyrant were brought to condign puniſhment, and a committee of general ſecurity was ordered on the motion of Tallien, to frame a report concerning ſeveral perſons that had been impriſoned, in order that thoſe men who had been deluded by their leaders, ſhould be reſtored to liberty, and the ſeverity of juſtice be excluſively confined to their principals. About the ſame time, a decree was iſſued, charging the committee to reviſe the whole code of the laws, and to propoſe the repeal of ſuch as ſhould be found contrary to juſtice and liberality. Some other regulations were adopted, and on the twenty-firſt of February a decree highly honourable to the convention, was unanimouſly paſſed: it was for ſecuring the freedom of religious worſhip and opinions.

The reign of Jacobiniſm was now no more, and it was determined that whatever tended to place an impediment in the way of peace, was contrary to good policy and to the general proſperity: and the power of the committee of public ſafety to negotiate and conclude treaties, ſubject to the ratification of the legiſlative body, was acknowledged.

On the third of April a committee was appointed, to prepare the mode of organizing the laws of the republican conſtitution, and a decree to that effect was unanimouſly paſſed. Strong decrees were paſſed by the convention, to prevent the return of the emigrants, without the conſent of the legiſlature; yet ſaving clauſes were admitted in favour of the creditors and relatives of emigrants; all confiſcation of property was aboliſhed, except in caſes of actual emigration; and the eſtates of thoſe perſons who had been condemned by the revolutionary tribunal, were reſtored to their families.

In the courſe of this month the French republic was publicly acknowledged by the court of Stockholm; and the Swediſh ambaſſador, baron Storel, was received with great form. The addreſs of the king of Sweden to the convention, concludes with theſe remarkable words: "We are making vows for the continual increaſe of your proſperity, and we recommend you with all our heart to the divine protection."

The moderation ſhewn by the French rulers towards the Dutch republic, was the baſis of an advantageous treaty between the two nations.

During the month of May great riots and inſurrections happened in Paris. A ſcarcity of bread was the real or pretended cauſe of the riſing of the jacobin inſurgents; and the emiſſaries of ſedition had little difficulty in perſuading the people of the ſuburbs, that the legiſlature was chargeable with all the public miſeries. For ſeveral days previous to the

the burſting forth of the inſurrection, placards were ſtuck up in various parts of Paris, accuſing the convention of withholding bread from the people. At length, on the evening of the nineteenth, a plan of inſurrection was openly circulated in the different ſections, prefaced with that alarming political principle, "That inſurrection is the moſt ſacred duty of the people"—followed by a determination "that the citizens of Paris, of both ſexes, and of all ages, ſhould, without further delay, proceed in a maſs to the convention, to demand bread—the abolition of the revolutionary government, the immediate eſtabliſhment of the conſtitution of 1793—the diſſolution of the preſent convention, and the eſtabliſhment of another—the arreſt of each of the members who compoſed the preſent convention—the convocation of the primary aſſemblies, in order to renew the conſtitutional authorities, and to replace the national convention by the legiſlative body on a day to be ſpecified. The rallying exclamation was to be "Bread, and the conſtitution of 1793."

Early on the twentieth, the *tocſin* was rung in the Fauxbourgh St. Antoine, and the *générale* beat. On this alarm the convention aſſembled, and a decree was paſſed, ordering all the citizens to their reſpective ſections. The inſurgents, in the mean time, ſurrounded the convention, and the people in the tribunes inſulted the deputies. Several conflicts now took place between the gen d'armes and the inſurgents. A crowd of inſurgents burſt into the tribunes, exclaiming for "Bread and the conſtitution of 1793." Theſe cries were accompanied with actions, menacing the national convention, whoſe deliberations were for ſome time ſuſpended. The preſident, with a becoming energy, commanded ſilence, and, having obtained it, exclaimed—"They demand bread—and to give them bread is the object of our conſtant care. Let the people know that diſorder will only ſtop the ſupplies of proviſions." The preſident then ordered, without effect, the left tribunes to be cleared. General Hoche was appointed commandant of the armed force. The inſurgents at length obtained poſſeſſion of the hall of the convention; but ſome veteran ſoldiers repelled the beſiegers, and there was an interval of tranquillity for about half an hour; after which a cry of "To arms," was heard on all ſides. Bayonets and ſwords clatſhed againſt each other at the door;—a conflict took place—detachments of the armed force traverſed the hall—three guns were fired, which drew a crowd into the hall. A citizen ſnatched off the hat of one of the populace, upon which was written—"Bread and the conſtitution of 1793:" the perſon who had taken off the hat, was immediately aſſailed with ſabres. He flew towards the tribune; but before he had reached it, a muſquet was fired at him, and he fell by the ſide of the preſident. The repreſentative of the people, Feraud, ran to his aſſiſtance; but he fell under repeated ſtrokes of ſabres and pikes. He endeavoured to defend himſelf, but was killed in one of the corridors; and his head was brought into the convention upon a pike.

Boiſſy D'Anglas, who during the tumult had taken the preſident's chair, remained firm and immoveable amidſt the violence and confuſion which ſtill continued to increaſe. A drum was heard, and immediately an immenſe number of armed men appeared, marching in regular order, and filling the whole hall. A petitioner, in the dreſs of a cannoncer, read the paper, which was before agreed upon by the inſurgents;—he was often interrupted by the acclamations of the multitude, which filled and ſurrounded the hall. This was about four o'clock in the afternoon. The greater part of the deputies had departed: thoſe who remained were principally the favorites of the inſurgents, who took advantage of this moment of horror and conſternation, to paſs ſeveral decrees favourable to their faction. Duroi demanded the repeal of the law of the fifth Ventoſe, which ſtruck the patriots under the name of terroriſts: Goujon, Duqueſnoi, and Bourbotte, made ſeveral motions, which equally favoured the fallen party of Roberſpierre and Barrere: their propoſitions were received with the enthuſiaſtic acclamations of the multitude; but this uſurped authority was of ſhort duration; a crowd of citizens made their appearance in company with the military, and entered the hall, exclaiming, "Long live the convention, and down with the factious!" It was inſtantly announced, that if thoſe who prevented all legal deliberations, did not immediately retire, force ſhould compel them to be quiet. The multitude, alarmed by this menace, eſcaped in diſorder by the windows.

The jacobins, though defeated the preceding night, rallied again on the twenty-firſt, and returned to the charge. They had thrown aſide the guiſe of petitioners, and had rouſed themſelves to the execution of the moſt violent acts. The convention, either conſcious of the ſuperior force of the inſurgents, or deſirous of averting this new danger by a ſeeming accommodation, ſent a deputation of ten of its members to fraternize with them. When the deputation was repairing to fraternize, the aſſembly decreed, that bread ſhould become more plenty, and that the conſtitution of Roberſpierre ſhould be put into immediate activity. To complete this ſcene of diſgrace, the preſident was ordered to give the fraternal kiſs to the rebellious mob, and a deputy congratulated the convention on what he called the *holy re-union*.

On the following day, the rebels were alarmed by the arrival of ſome regiments of troops of the line: but when they ſaw the whole of the Fauxbourg ſurrounded by increaſing numbers, and, in addition to famine, were informed that if they did not inſtantly

ſurrender, their houſes ſhould be laid in aſhes by a general bombardment; they ſent a deputation to inform the convention, that as they had repealed the decree reſpecting gold and ſilver, making theſe metals no longer merchandize, they were inclined to hearken to terms.

The convention, treating their offer of capitulation with a proper degree of contempt, ordered their generals to reduce the Fauxbourg to unconditional obedience, which was ſpeedily effected, the inhabitants having forced the rebels to ſurrender; ſince they ſaw the deſtruction which awaited both themſelves and their property, if they joined them, or ſanctioned their reſiſtance.

On the twentieth of May an inſurrection happened at Toulon, in which Brunel, one of the repreſentatives of the people, loſt his life. Niou, who was then on board the fleet, haſtened to oppoſe the deſigns of the inſurgents, but in vain:—they inſiſted on the liberation of the terrorifts. The fleet was on the point of ſailing; but the jacobins ſucceeded in detaining it in the road. The inſurgents took poſſeſſion of the gates of the town, and mounted cannon upon them. They alſo marched from Toulon on their way to Marſeilles, to the amount of three thouſand men, and twelve pieces of cannon, but were ſoon interrupted in their career by the forces under the command of generals Charton and Paſtod, who completely defeated and carried three hundred of them priſoners to Marſeilles. By this event, Toulon was reſtored to the republic and to tranquillity.

The king of Pruſſia might, if he had been ſo diſpoſed, have become the general pacificator of Europe: the proteſtant princes would have accepted his mediation; and if the catholic princes continued obſtinately to proſecute the war, they would by ſo impolitic a proceeding have weakened their force, and conſequently their oppoſition to his views of acquiring that influence, which had hitherto belonged to the houſe of Auſtria as head of the empire.

From whatever cauſe the indeciſion of the court of Pruſſia aroſe, time was given, by its neglect of the favourable moment, for Auſtria and England to regain the aſcendancy; and though Heſſe Caſſel formed a treaty ſoon after, and Saxony and other powers withdrew their contingents from the army of the empire, while the duke of Wirtemburg and others began a negotiation, every thing was broken off; except the treaty of Heſſe Caſſel, and another with the elector of Hanover, by the reverſe of the French on the eaſtern ſide of the Rhine.

The next diſcuſſion agitated in the national convention of France regarded the ſecret articles. After a long debate, in which the propriety of admitting ſecret articles was moſt ably ſupported by Cambaceres, it was agreed "that ſecret articles may be made, provided they do not militate againſt thoſe of the open treaty." When the diſcuſſion was reſumed on the following day, Cambaceres, in the character of reporter from the committee of public ſafety, preſented the plan of a decree upon the ſubject, the articles of which were unanimouſly adopted.

Though the negotiation with the king of Pruſſia had commenced ſome time before, it was not preſented to the convention till the tenth of April. "At length," ſaid Reubell, "you are on the eve of gathering the fruit of your principles. The coaleſced powers, who had ſworn the ruin of the republic, feel compelled to ſue to you for peace, ſince you have proved that juſtice and humanity were really the order of the day.

"Your committee, this day, offers, for your ratification, the peace which it has concluded with the king of Pruſſia. We have not forgotten, that if the wiſhes of the French people are for peace, it is for a glorious peace, and ſuch as can compromiſe neither its dignity nor its intereſts. We thought it our duty to re-eſtabliſh a commercial intercourſe between Pruſſia and the French republic, and even to extend it by removing the theatre of war from the north of Germany. We thought it proper that a power ſo long coaleſced againſt us, and now become our friend, ſhould have a preponderance in the Germanic circles, which may be uſeful to the republic.

"We have obſerved, ſince the commencement of the laſt campaign, that the Pruſſian nation has omitted no opportunity of giving us the teſtimony of their eſteem. We have been ſeconded in this proceeding, by the indefatigable zeal of the citizen Barthelemy, our ambaſſador in Switzerland.

After the Pruſſian negociation, a treaty was entered into between the French republic and Spain. As the king of Pruſſia had departed from the integrality of the coalition by his receſſion, the king of Spain found no difficulty in abandoning it alſo; and ſeeing the French troops marching to his capital, orders were diſpatched to Monſ. D'Yriarte to come to an immediate concluſion. So expeditious were they in this negotiation, that though Monſ. d'Iranada had been ſent to Bayonne by the Spaniſh court at this time, and general Servan was ſent to meet him by the committee of public ſafety, before theſe negotiators had one interview, the peace was concluded at Baſle between Monſ. D'Yriarte and Monſ. Barthelemy. The treaty at Baſle on the twenty-ſecond of July, by Monſ. Barthelemy, on the part of the French republic, and by Don Domingo D'Yriarte, on the part of Spain.

Early in the month of June a court was held at the Eaſt India houſe, to determine by ballot, the following queſtion; "That this court do recommend, that "the court of Directors ſhould apply to Warren "Haſtings, Eſq. for a ſtatement of the legal ex-"pences incurred by him in making his defence; "and that, after having aſcertained the ſame, by a "full and ſatisfactory inveſtigation, they diſcharge the

"the amount thereof, not exceeding the ſum of "ſeventy-one thouſand, and eighty pounds."

On caſting up the votes, after the ballot, there were for the queſtion five hundred and forty-four—againſt it two hundred and forty-four. Majority three hundred. A general court was alſo held the next day, for determining by ballot the following queſtion—"That it is the opinion of this "court, that in conſideration of the long, faithful, "and important ſervices of Warren Haſtings, Eſq. "and to mark the grateful ſenſe entertained by this "company of the extenſive benefits which they have "received from thoſe ſervices, a grant of an annual "ſum of *five thouſand pounds*, from the firſt of Janu-"ary 1795, to iſſue from the territorial revenues, "during the term of the company's preſent exclu-"ſive trade, to Warren Haſtings, Eſq. his execu-"tors, adminiſtrators, and aſſigns, be prepared by "the court of directors, and ſubmitted to the board "of commiſſioners for the affairs of India, for their "approval and confirmation, purſuant to the act of "parliament." On caſting up the votes, the numbers were, for the queſtion five hundred and eight. Majority two hundred and eight. From this liberal proceeding, on the part of the Eaſt India Company, it clearly appears that the directors and proprietors of that opulent trade, entertained very different ideas of the abilities and integrity of that perſecuted governor from thoſe of his calumniators.

The important capture of the Dutch ſettlements of Trincomale and Fort Oſtenburg, in the Eaſt Indies, was effected on the twenty-ſixth and thirty-firſt of Auguſt, 1795, by his majeſty's forces under the command of colonel Stuart, and rear-admiral Rainier. On the eighteenth of Auguſt the Britiſh troops broke ground; on the twenty-third the batteries were opened, and on the twenty-ſixth a practicable breach was made. The garriſon then ſurrendered by capitulation. The capture of Fort Oſtenburg followed the ſurrender of Trincomale. The garriſon, in conſideration of their gallant defence, were allowed to march out of the fort with the honours of war, drums beating, and colours flying to the glacis, where they were to ground their arms, and ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war; the officers keeping their ſwords. Private property was ſecured to them; but all public property, guns, ſtores, and proviſions of every kind, were delivered up by the officers appointed by the Britiſh commanders to receive them.

Louis Capet, ſon of the late unfortunate king of France, died on the ninth of June, during his impriſonment in Paris, aged eleven years. It was at firſt ſuſpected that the youth had been taken off by poiſon; but for ſuch an atrocity there appears to have been no adequate motive; nor indeed will the concluſion be much more favourable to French humanity, if it is imputed to an unjuſt and cruel impriſonment, which, if it did not produce, at leaſt accelerated his untimely fate. For ſome time previous to his death, he had been afflicted with a ſwelling in his knee, and another in his left wriſt; and he was at length attacked with a fever. It does not appear that any attention or medical aid was neglected. He expired in the priſon of the Temple, where he had been confined ever ſince the autumn of 1792.

Penetrated perhaps with this event, or influenced by the general ſympathy of the people of France, the committee of public ſafety, propoſed the exchange of the princeſs, who remained a priſoner in the Temple, for the deputies delivered up to Auſtria, by the treachery of Dumourier; and the two ambaſſadors, Semonvillet and Muret, who had been ſeized contrary to the law of nations, upon neutral territories, by an Auſtrian corps, and who were alſo detained as priſoners in that country. After ſome heſitation, the emperor acceded to the propoſal, and before the concluſion of the year the princeſs was delivered up to the Auſtrian envoy at Baſle in Switzerland, and the captive deputies were at the ſame time reſtored to their country.

On the thirteenth of July the convention iſſued a decree reſpecting the regulation and diſmiſſion of foreigners.

The unſettled ſtate of France, in the convention, and the late diſturbances in Paris, pointed out the neceſſity of giving to France a regular form of government, an executive power, and to ſnatch her out of the military revolutionary vortex in which ſhe had been long involved. While the events, we have been relating, were in agitation, the convention was ſedulouſly employed in diſcuſſing the plan of the new conſtitution. It was preſented by the committee of eleven on the twenty-third of June, and was introduced to the conſideration of the aſſembly by an excellent ſpeech from Boiſſy D'Anglas, the reporter of the committee. Long and intereſting debates ſucceeded. The different articles were ſeparately diſcuſſed, and many of them referred back to the committee of eleven for reviſion. In the courſe of theſe debates, the convention reſtored that uſeful inſtitution which formed a part of the old free conſtitution of France, electoral aſſemblies, and indeed the whole plan was materially altered. On the twenty-third of Auguſt, the conſtitution was declared complete, and was referred to the primary aſſemblies for their confirmation and acceptance.

A treaty of peace and amity was now concluded between the French republic and the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel. By this treaty the landgrave engages neither to prolong nor renew his ſubſidiary treaties with Great Britain, nor to employ his troops in any manner hoſtile to the republic during the war. Peace was alſo concluded with the Elector of Hanover on nearly the ſame terms. Such a circumſtance is a certain demonſtration of the genuine goodneſs of his majeſty's heart, and of his averſion to bloodſhed,

bloodſhed. When we conſider, moreover, the immenſe emoluments which his majeſty, as elector of Hanover, derived from Great Britain, by the employment of his Hanoverian troops in the cauſe of his allies, this ſacrifice to humanity muſt appear the more brilliant and exemplary.

Much antipathy prevailed between the diſcontented ſections and the convention: the former moſt groſsly vilified the latter, and imputed to them all the ills that had deſolated the republic, as well as evinced every diſpoſition to excite inſurrection. On the fourth of October both parties made preparations for acts of hoſtility, and a conteſt enſued, in which the ſectionaries diſplayed much valour, till they were compelled by the military force of Paris, to retreat to the place they had fixed for their head-quarters. After an interruption of two hours, the cannon was heard again, and it only ceaſed firing at midnight, when the conventional troops had full poſſeſſion of the field of battle, having driven the ſectionaries from all their poſts. The number that fell on this fatal day was eight hundred.

While the executive directory were thus employed for the good of the ſtate, hoſtilities were renewed in La Vendee; and the Chouan chiefs, and other royaliſts, were engaged in an active correſpondence with certain emigrants in England, and through them with the Britiſh miniſtry. The correſpondence was detected, and ſeven of the leaders were arreſted, in conſequence of ſome intercepted letters. The royaliſts had aſſembled in a body, and blockaded the Grand Champ; but the republican army came up with them, ſurpriſed the leaders in their beds, and completely defeated the Chouans. While thoſe efforts were making in favour of a counter revolution in the interior of France, preparations were made in England for an invaſion on the coaſt of Britanny. M. De Puiſaye, who was appointed to the command in chief of the catholic royal army of Britanny, publiſhed a proclamation at Carnac, inviting all Frenchmen to rally round the ſtandard of their lawful king, Louis XVIII. for ſo was the count of Provence denominated on the death of the ſon of Louis XVI. With Puiſaye was united in the command, the Count D'Hervilly, a royaliſt of an unimpeached character, and ſome military reputation.

M. D'Hervilly did not ſolicit to be employed in this ſervice, but was ſent for expreſsly by the Britiſh miniſters, as well as a young man of uncommon merit, the count de Sombreuil, who was ſent afterwards with a ſmall reinforcement to join him. This youth, who did not approve of the expedition, was induced to ſacrifice his conviction to a nice point of honour, by which he loſt his life.

This expedition was planned by Mr. Windham, but he did not derive much honour from it, as it was ill-concerted and diſaſtrous.

The ſquadron having reached the bay of Quiberon, landed on the peninſula, and raiſed entrenchments for their defence. It was at length determined to attack the fort of Quiberon, which was ſurrendered to a detachment under Monſ. D'Hervilly, on the third of July, the republican garriſon conſiſting only of about ſix hundred men. The main army of the royaliſts, in conſequence of a determination in a council of war, were removed within the peninſula and fort of Quiberon, where they were ſurpriſed by the enemy on the night of the twenty-firſt. It appears, that owing to the treachery and deſertion of ſome private ſoldiers, belonging to ſome of the regiments of royaliſts, the enemy were enabled to get poſſeſſion of the fort, before any effectual diſpoſition of reſiſtance could be made. A part of the troops who had failed for England, to the amount of about nine hundred, together with near one thouſand five hundred royaliſt inhabitants, who had joined the regiments in the pay of Great Britain, effected their embarkation on board the ſhips. The remainder fell into the hands of the enemy, together with ſuch ſtores and ammunition as had been landed.

The Britiſh miniſtry, notwithſtanding the ill ſucceſs of this expedition, meditated a ſecond attempt on the coaſt of Britanny, but this plan proved as abortive as the former.

The fortreſs of Luxembourg ſurrendered on the ſeventh of June, and the garriſon engaged to take an oath, according to the terms of the capitulation, not to ſerve againſt the republic, or her allies, till they were exchanged. They were to be conducted to the right ſide of the Rhine, and to croſs the river at Coblentz.

As a compenſation for theſe loſſes on the part of the Auſtrians and their Britiſh ally, the republican army under general Jourdan, was obliged to fall back from Mentz, and on its retreat towards the Rhine, experienced ſeveral defeats.

By the reduction of Guadaloupe, the republican forces in the Weſt Indies, acquired emigrants' property to a vaſt amount, and colonial commodities in abundance. A great number of veſſels were taken from the Engliſh, moſt of them ſunk or burned; ſlavery was aboliſhed in the French colonies, which, as a neceſſary conſequence, was attended with the deſtruction of thoſe of the Engliſh. To add to theſe misfortunes, a dreadful fire broke out at Montego Bay, in the iſland of Jamaica, on the fourteenth of June, which deſtroyed an hundred and ten houſes, and an immenſe quantity of property. This was ſucceeded by a more ſerious calamity—a war with the Maroons, who inhabited the mountainous part of the country.

Towards the cloſe of the year, an event occurred in the Eaſt, to compenſate the loſſes the Britiſh nation had ſuſtained in the Weſt. This was the reduction of the Cape of Good Hope, on the ſixteenth of September, by admiral Elphinſtone and general Clarke. An

attempt

attempt to ſurpriſe the moſt conſiderable out-poſts failed; and, though the Engliſh repelled a fierce attack, their adverſaries were not deterred from preparing for a general engagement. At this inſtant, the appearance of a Britiſh reinforcement at ſea, commanded by major-general Clarke, checked the ardour of the enemy. At Wynberg, the Dutch attempted to reſiſt, but were ſoon driven from their poſt. The governor then propoſed a ceſſation of hoſtilities, that terms of capitulation might be adjuſted. It was agreed, September ſixteenth,*, that the troops ſhould be priſoners of war, and that the property of the Dutch Eaſt India Company ſhould be delivered up to the captors of the ſettlement. Private poſſeſſions, and civil rights were, however, left inviolate.

On the twenty-eighth of October, the ratification of the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, between his majeſty and the United States of America, ſigned on the nineteenth of November laſt, was exchanged by lord Grenville, his majeſty's principal ſecretary of ſtate for foreign affairs, with William Allen Dias, Eſq. chargé d'affairs from the United States †.

The naval war was not ſo fortunately concluded as commenced. On the ſeventh of October, the Britiſh Mediterranean fleet, which originally conſiſted of upwards of ſixty merchant ſhips homeward-bound, richly laden, under the convoy of three ſhips of the line and four frigates, were overtaken off Cape St. Vincent, by a French fleet, commanded by admiral Richery, conſiſting of nine ſhips of the line and ſeveral frigates. On diſcovering the French fleet, the Britiſh commodore made the ſignal immediately to wear and ſtand from them. The French frigates were, however, previouſly diſpatched to prevent the eſcape of the merchant ſhips; and admiral Richery, by employing a preſs of ſail, cut off the retreat of one of the Britiſh ſhips of the line, the Cenſeur, of ſeventy-four guns, which had previouſly loſt her main-top-maſt. But the attention of the French being chiefly directed to the capture of the convoy, the Bedford and Formidable, with the other ſhips of war, found means to eſcape, keeping up a ſmart fire from their ſtern chaſes from all the decks. The number of veſſels belonging to this fleet taken by admiral Richery, amounted to thirty-one.

On the nineteenth of October, the London Gazette contained a proclamation of the king of Great Britain, granting general repriſals againſt all ſhips, goods, and ſubjects of the United Provinces.

But let us not paſs over the parliamentary and other domeſtic occurrences at the cloſe of the year. The parliament were ſummoned to meet on the twenty-ninth of October, on which occaſion we lament to relate the daring and deteſtable outrages which were offered to his majeſty, on his paſſage to and from the houſe of lords.

He proceeded from the palace to open the ſeſſion of parliament, at the uſual hour; and the crowd in St. James's Park, which is always conſiderable on theſe occaſions, was at this time much greater than uſual. As the royal carriage paſſed along the park, the predominant exclamations were, "Peace!—Peace!—Give us bread!—No Pitt!—No famine!—No war!"—A few voices were heard to exclaim, "Down with George!" or words to that effect. In the Park, and in the ſtreets adjacent to Weſtminſter Hall, ſome ſtones and other hoſtile ſubſtances were thrown, nine of which, it is aſſerted, ſtruck the ſtate coach; but no bullet was found, nor did any thing diſcharged touch the king's perſon, or the perſons of thoſe noblemen who attended him. On his majeſty's return from the houſe, thoſe execrable outrages were renewed, and after he had alighted at St. James's, the populace attacked the ſtate carriage, and in the way through Pall Mall to the Mews, it was almoſt demoliſhed ‡.

Four witneſſes of what occurred in the courſe of the day were ſeverally examined at the bar of the houſe of lords, on the evening of the twenty-ninth, and a copy of the minutes of the evidence was communicated to the houſe of commons on the following day §. On the thirty-firſt, a proclamation was iſſued offering a reward of a thouſand pounds, to any perſons,

* A. D, 1795.

† Among the naval exploits of the day, that of the honorable captain Cochrane demands our notice. Being ordered by rear-admiral Murray to cruiſe off the Cheſapeak, with his majeſty's ſhip the Thetis, accompanied by the Huſſar, commanded by captain Beresford, an action was commenced and gallantly maintained againſt five ſhips of the enemy, when two of the latter were taken, *viz.* La Prevoyante, pierced for twenty-ſix guns, but mounting only twenty four, and the Raiſon, carrying eighteen guns, though pierced for twenty-four. The Thetis had eight men killed, and two wounded: the Huſſar had only two wounded.

‡ The treatment his majeſty received in paſſing to and from the houſe of lords, was imputed to the intrigues of the ſeditious members of the London Correſponding Society.

§ Among the ſeveral witneſſes examined to theſe facts, were John Walford, of Pall Mall, a conſtable, who depoſed, that on entering Parliament-ſtreet, he obſerved one man in particular among the crowd, very active, running by the ſide of the coach and exclaiming, "No war!—Down with George!" and on their entrance into Palace Yard, he obſerved ſomething come with great velocity from the foot pavement as he thought; on which he obſerved to Mr. Stockdale, his brother conſtable, "Good God! the glaſs is broken!" This man repeated the exclamation of "Down with George!" again; upon which he immediately ſeized him; and under the protection of the horſe guards, conducted him to the court yard of St. James's, where he left him.

On the ſame evening ſome perſons taken into cuſtody upon ſuſpicion of having inſulted his majeſty, were exa-

ſons, other than thoſe actually concerned in doing any act by which his majeſty's royal perſon was immediately endangered, who ſhould give information, ſo that any of the authors or abettors in that outrage might be apprehended and brought to juſtice.

On the thirtieth of October, the minutes of the evidence of the witneſſes examined in the houſe of lords was communicated to the houſe of commons. The reading of this evidence being cloſed, the commons unanimouſly agreed to the addreſs they had received for their concurrence, and a meſſage was ſent to acquaint the lords therewith *.

On the fourth of November, another proclamation was iſſued. It began by announcing, that, immediately before the opening of the preſent ſeſſion of parliament, a number of perſons were collected in the fields in the neighbourhood of the metropolis, by advertiſements and hand-bills, and that many inflammatory diſcourſes were delivered to the perſons ſo collected, tending to create groundleſs jealouſy, and diſcontent, and to endanger the public peace; and that ſuch proceedings were followed, on the day on which the ſeſſion of parliament commenced, by acts of tumult and violence, to the imminent danger of his majeſty's perſon. And further, that uneaſineſs and anxiety had been raiſed in the minds of his majeſty's faithful ſubjects, by rumours and apprehenſions that ſeditious aſſemblies were intended to be held, by evil diſpoſed perſons; that it was therefore thought neceſſary to enjoin and require all juſtices of the peace, ſheriffs, and all well-diſpoſed perſons, to diſcourage and ſuppreſs all ſeditious and unlawful aſſemblies, and the diſtribution of all ſeditious papers and publications.

Notwithſtanding the daring outrages which had taken place, during his majeſty's progreſs to and from the houſe, the ſeſſion of parliament was opened as uſual by a ſpeech from the throne, but the addreſs was ſuſpended, the houſe having reſolved itſelf into a committee of privileges, in conſequence of the atrocious inſults recently offered to his majeſty.

In the houſe of lords, on the ſixth of November, lord Grenville, after ſome prefatory remarks, recapitulating the cauſes which had given riſe to the late proclamation, preſented a bill, entitled, "An Act for the Preſervation of his Majeſty's Perſon againſt

mined at the public-office, Bow-ſtreet. The firſt was Kidd Wake, aged twenty-ſeven, and a journeyman printer.

Lemon Caſeby, a conſtable, depoſed, that he obſerved the priſoner, ſoon after the carriage had entered the park, hiſs, groan, and call out, "No war!" vehemently and repeatedly. The witneſs endeavoured to ſecure him, but fell down in the attempt; when he roſe, he obſerved the priſoner again in the ſame act. After his majeſty alighted at the houſe of lords, a Mr. Walford came up, and obſerved to the witneſs and other peace officers, that he ſhould know the man who broke the glaſs of the coach, deſcribing him to wear a green coat with a black collar.

The priſoner ſaid he was in the ſervice of Mr. Noble, a printer; was a married man; and by hiſſing and groaning at his majeſty, he meant only to let the king ſee "he was diſſatisfied at the war."

On the next morning Kidd Wake was brought before the ſitting magiſtrates for re-examination, when Mr. Walford, above mentioned, came forward, and depoſed, that as ſoon as he joined the proceſſion as a conſtable, he obſerved to Mr. Stockdale, his brother officer, how very particularly active the priſoner was in hiſſing, hooting, and calling out "No war!" As the proceſſion was paſſing from the Horſe Guards, towards Carleton Houſe gates, ſix or ſeven ſtones were thrown at the carriage; and about the time the ſtones were flung, he obſerved the priſoner ſtoop two or three times; but whether he flung any of the ſtones he could not poſitively ſay. The priſoner, Kidd Wake, was re-committed for further examination. He at length was brought to trial, and convicted of hooting, groaning, and hiſſing at the king; for which he was ſentenced to be confined for ſeveral years in the penitentiary houſe at Glouceſter, and to ſtand in the pillory.

* The following are the copies of the addreſs, and anſwer:

Addreſs of both Houſes of Parliament to his Majeſty, on the daring Outrages committed on the thirty-firſt of October, 1795.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

We, your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons in parliament aſſembled, beg leave to approach your majeſty, humbly to expreſs to your majeſty our indignation and abhorrence at the daring outrages offered to your majeſty in your majeſty's paſſage to and from your parliament. We cannot reflect without the utmoſt concern, that there ſhould be found within your majeſty's dominions, any perſon ſo inſenſible of the happineſs which all your majeſty's ſubjects derive from your majeſty's juſt and mild government, and of the virtues which ſo eminently diſtinguiſh your majeſty's character, as to be capable of theſe flagitious acts: and we beg leave humbly to lay before your majeſty, the earneſt wiſhes of your faithful lords and commons, in which we are confident we ſhall be joined by all deſcriptions of your majeſty's ſubjects, that you will be graciouſly pleaſed to direct the moſt effectual meaſures to be taken, without delay, to diſcover the authors and abettors of crimes ſo atrocious.

ANSWER.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I receive, with great pleaſure, this additional proof of your uniform zeal and loyalty. I have too much reaſon to be aſſured of the affectionate and ſteady attachment of my people at large, to have felt any other ſentiment upon this occaſion, than that of concern at ſo high a violation of the laws. I ſhall not fail to give ſuch directions as may tend to bring to juſtice and puniſhment, the perſons concerned in an offence ſo dangerous to the public tranquillity, and ſo injurious to our excellent conſtitution.

treaſonable

treasonable and seditious Practices and Attempts." At the same time he moved for the printing and second reading of the bill.

The bill was opposed in all its stages by the earl of Lauderdale, and the dukes of Bedford and Norfolk in particular. The resolution in opposition expressed their concern for the daring outrages offered to his majesty, but deprecated the evils which would arise from the bill, as tending to effect a total alteration of the laws respecting treason, and a most dangerous innovation upon the constitution.

Lord Grenville, the earl of Mansfield, and the bishop of Rochester, strenuously contended for the propriety of passing the bill, on the ground alledged on presenting and moving for its being taken into consideration, by the noble secretary of state. The learned prelate, in the course of other remarks in support of the bill, adopted an expression which has since been often noticed, that he did not know "what the mass of the people in any country had to do with the laws but to obey them."

The earl of Lauderdale and the duke of Bedford expressed their astonishment at the assertion of the noble prelate: the former observed, that if he had been in Turkey, and heard such a declaration from the mouth of a mufti, he should have attributed it to his ignorance; but to hear it from a British prelate, filled him with indignation.

In its progress through the house, some amendments took place, after some discussion; and on the sixteenth of November, the bill passed the house of lords, but a protest was entered on the journals against it. Notwithstanding the tyrannical complexion of this bill, it baffled every attack, being supported by all the influence of power *.

A message was then sent from the lords to the commons, informing them, that they had passed an act for the preservation of his majesty from treasonable acts, and desiring their concurrence in the same. The bill, after much altercation, passed the house on the tenth of December. It is needless to recapitulate the many arguments adduced upon this occasion, as they were similar in their tendency to those advanced in the house of lords.

Another bill, to almost a similar effect, originated in the house of commons, on the tenth of November. The chancellor of the exchequer, after a prefatory speech, moved, "That leave be given to bring in a bill for the more effectually preventing seditious meetings and assemblies."

The introduction of the bill was warmly opposed by Mr. Fox, Mr. Stanley, Mr. Halhed, Mr. Grey, and Mr. Sheridan. It was contended, that if such alarming proceedings took place, and such seditious meetings were held, the speakers were amenable to law, and, when found guilty, were liable to adequate punishment; that the present bill was a libel on the loyalty of Englishmen; that the interference of a magistrate at a public meeting of peaceable subjects would be an arbitrary measure; and, on the whole, it militated against the liberty of the subject.

Sir William Pulteney, Mr. alderman Lushington,

* *Protest against the Bill entitled, "An Act for the Safety and Preservation of his Majesty's Person and Government, against Treasonable and Seditious Practices and Attempts."*

Dissentient,

1. Because we conceive this bill to be founded on a false pretence. It recites a daring outrage on his majesty's person, (which we feel with the utmost horror) and purports to provide further remedies against such practices, while, in reality, it affords no additional security whatever to his majesty's person, and leaves us to regret a deep and irreparable injury to the laws and constitution of our country, by making the compassing, imagining, inventing, and devising the levying war, a substantive treason; thereby departing, in a most dangerous and unjustifiable manner, from the statute of the twenty-fifth of Edward the Third, the salutary provisions of which we cannot be tempted to abandon, by the example of temporary statutes, whose doubtful policy stands in opposition to a law, in which the wisdom of our ancestors has been so repeatedly recognized by the legislature, and so strongly confirmed by the permanent experience of its benefits.

2. Because the free discussion of the administration of government in all its branches, by writing, speaking, and meeting for the purpose of representing grievances to any of the three branches of the legislature, has afforded the best protection to the liberties of the people, and is the undoubted inherent right of Englishmen. Yet this bill erects into a high misdemeanor, the exercise of this most valuable privilege, and inflicts in certain cases the pains and penalties of transportation, for the offences which it creates; a punishment in the case of misdemeanors, thus generally constituted, as unprecedented in the history of our laws, as it is unnecessary and unconstitutional.

3. Because the extension of the treason laws, and the creating new misdemeanors, is an alarming encroachment on the security of the subject, and affords no additional protection to his majesty's person and government; for the state of every king, ruler, and governor of any realm, dominion, or commonwealth, standeth and consisteth more assured by the love and favour of the subjects toward their sovereign, ruler, and governor, than in the dread and fear of those laws with rigorous pains and extreme punishments, which have at all times disgraced our code. History, however, shews us, that by succeeding legislatures, our statute book has, with every mark of generous indignation, been uniformly cleared of these temporary and unconstitutional excrescences; a circumstance which we now regard as a solemn warning against creating new and unheard of misdemeanors, or altering the treason laws of our country.

Bedford,
Derby,
Lauderdale.

Mr. Wilberforce, and Mr. Windham, ſpoke in favour of the bill. It was averred, on their part, that in ſuch inflammatory aſſemblies as thoſe in queſtion, where ſedition was copiouſly dealt out to the multitude, there ought to be ſomething to ſave the public mind from imbibing the inſidious poiſon; that it was the buſineſs and duty of legiſlators to apply remedies for public evils, as occaſions required; and that, if the magiſtrate exceeded his powers, he might be puniſhed, as there was no fear that liberty would be ſurrendered in a country where the juries were judges.

A very great majority of the houſe decided in favour of the bill, which was accordingly brought in; and, after warm debates, it paſſed into a law, by vote of the uſual majority which ſupported the meaſures of adminiſtration. It was then taken up to the lords, and on the fourteenth of December, paſſed the houſe, though proteſted againſt by ſeveral of the noble members *.

While theſe two bills were under diſcuſſion in the houſes of parliament, the public mind was much agitated, and parties proceeded to very intemperate extremes, in oppoſing and defending the principles on which they were founded, according to the declaration of the partizans of government.

On the eleventh of November, the Whig Club of England met at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, his grace the duke of Bedford in the chair. They reſolved, "that they would give every aid to the civil magiſtrate, in detecting and bringing to puniſhment the perſons concerned in the daring attack made upon his majeſty, in his paſſage to parliament, on the firſt day of the ſeſſion: that, lamenting as they did, this nefarious act, they ſaw with the utmoſt concern, that it had been uſed as a pretext for introducing into parliament a bill ſtriking at the liberty of the preſs, and the freedom of public diſcuſſion. That it was highly expedient, that meetings of the people in their reſpective diſtricts ſhould be immediately called to conſider this important ſubject, and for the purpoſe of petitioning parliament againſt the ſaid bill, or any other meaſure which might tend to infringe the rights of the people of Great Britain."

This meeting was very generally attended. All the members of both houſes of parliament belonging to the club were preſent, to the number of near fifty lords and members of the houſe of commons.

An immenſe number of the members of the correſponding ſociety, and others of the populace aſſembled on the twelfth of November, in a field near Copenhagen Houſe. An addreſs, remonſtrance, and petition to his majeſty, was propoſed, imploring his majeſty to exert his royal authority to maintain and preſerve inviolate the rights and liberties of his ſubjects, then about to be invaded, by the two bills impending in parliament. A petition to the lords ſpiritual and temporal, nearly to the ſame purport, was alſo read; and laſtly, one to the commons of Great Britain, ſtating it to be the petition of nearly four hundred thouſand Britons, inhabitants of London, and its environs, aſſembled together in the open air, to expreſs their free ſentiments, according to the tenure of the bill of rights, on the ſubject of the threatened invaſion of their conſtitutional liberties.

In the mean time, the aſſociation againſt republicans and levellers, well known by the appellation of Mr. Reeves's ſociety, met at the Crown and Anchor, and agreed to an addreſs to his majeſty, highly approving of the meaſures that had then been taken, and of the two bills pending in parliament. The example of the Whig Club was immediately followed by the livery of the city of London, the electors of Weſtminſter, the freeholders of Middleſex; and by ſeveral counties, and almoſt every conſiderable town in the kingdom; wherever a meeting was publicly called, the deciſion was almoſt unanimous.

At a very numerous and reſpectable meeting of merchants, bankers, manufacturers, and other inhabitants of the city of London, conſiſting of upwards of eight hundred perſons, convened by public advertiſement, at the Paul's Head Tavern, Cateaton Street, on Wedneſday, November twenty-five, to take into conſideration, an humble and affectionate petition to the king, moſt ardently beſeeching him to diſmiſs his preſent miniſters from his preſence and councils, and to adopt meaſures for the purpoſe of ſpeedily obtaining for his diſtreſſed ſubjects, the bleſſings of peace. SAMUEL FERRAND WADDINGTON, eſquire, in the chair. It was reſolved (with only twenty-five diſſentient voices) that the critical

* *Proteſt againſt the Bill, entitled, "An Act to prevent ſeditious Meetings and Aſſemblies."*

Diſſentient,

Becauſe, to preſent petitions to the throne and the two houſes of parliament, has at all times been the undoubted right of the ſubjects of this realm; the free and unlimited enjoyment of which was one of the many bleſſings reſtored by the revolution, and invariably continued in its fulleſt extent, as well during times of internal commotion as of external danger; we therefore cannot conſent to a bill which thus fetters the rights of the people, and impoſes reſtraints on that freedom of ſpeech, to the exiſtence of which the preſervation of all our liberties may be aſcribed, and from the full, free, and continued exerciſe of which is derived the manly character that diſtinguiſhes a free people.

Norfolk, *Albemarle,*
Suffolk, *Lauderdale,*
Lanſdowne, *Ponſonby,*
Derby, *Bedford.*
Cheduorth,

and calamitous ſtate of theſe kingdoms demands an immediate peace; and it is the opinion of this meeting, that his majeſty's miniſters have loſt the confidence of the people. That an humble petition be preſented to his majeſty, praying that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to adopt meaſures for immediately procuring to his diſtreſſed ſubjects the bleſſings of peace, and to diſmiſs his preſent miniſters from his preſence and councils.

But, at a meeting held at the *London Tavern*, in Biſhopſgate Street, November the twenty-ſeventh, SAMUEL BOSANQUET, eſquire, in the chair: It was unanimouſly reſolved, that it is expedient in the preſent important criſis, that a meeting ſhould be convened of ſuch merchants, bankers, traders, and other inhabitants of London, as have not joined in the proceedings of ſome meetings, lately held at the Paul's Head Tavern, Cateaton Street, purporting to be meetings of "the merchants, bankers, manufacturers, traders, and other inhabitants of the city of London;" in order to take into conſideration the propriety of making a declaration to the public, that *they have had no concern* in the proceedings and reſolutions of thoſe meetings; but that, on the contrary, they are of opinion it has become neceſſary for parliament to adopt ſome temporary meaſures for the more eſſential ſupport of peace and good order.

Another meeting was afterwards held on the ſecond of December, when SAMUEL BOSANQUET, eſquire, again appeared in the chair; and the ſame deſcription of people, reſolved "to ſupport, by every means in their power, the ancient and moſt excellent conſtitution of Great Britain, and a government by king, lords, and commons, and to exert their beſt endeavours to impreſs on the minds of thoſe connected with them, a reverence for, and a due ſubmiſſion to, the laws of their country, which have hitherto preſerved the liberty, protected the property, and increaſed the enjoyments of a free and proſperous people."

In the ſpeeches for and againſt the uſual addreſſes, on his majeſty's ſpeech to both houſes, on the twenty-ninth of October, nothing remarkable occurred. The neceſſity of a continued war was ſtrongly urged by one party, and by the other a negociation as ſtrongly recommended. Mr. Fox cenſured the king's ſpeech for giving a partial view of the ſituation of affairs, but the miniſter defended its propriety.

The chancellor of the exchequer, on the thirtieth of October, moved in the commons for a committee for the extenſion, during another twelvemonth, of the bill of the laſt ſeſſion, allowing the importation of corn duty free. But upon ſome further converſation upon the ſubject, Mr. Ryder moved for leave to bring in a bill to alter the exiſting laws relative to the price of bread, to prohibit the manufacture of ſtarch from wheat or other articles of proviſion, and to lower the duties upon its importation; for continuing the prohibition of diſtilling from articles of grain; and for removing all obſtructions to the free paſſage of grain within the kingdom, which was carried *nem. con.*

On bringing up the report of the ſelect committee reſpecting the high price of corn by Mr. Ryder, it appeared, from the fulleſt information which the committee had been able to procure, that, except in the article of wheat, the crops had been abundant; ſo that, by the proper mixture of different grains, a conſiderable alleviation of the evils of the preſent ſcarcity might be made; and this was the more neceſſary, as from different cauſes, the price of grain in America, the Mediterranean, and the northern parts of Europe, was exorbitantly dear, and an adequate ſupply could not be depended upon. After full conſideration of the means of obtaining a ſupply, the committee thought it beſt to leave the trade perfectly open, and to grant a bounty upon the importation. This bounty was twenty ſhillings upon every quarter, and fifteen ſhillings upon every barrel, imported from the Mediterranean, till three hundred thouſand quarters ſhould be imported. The bounty upon corn imported from America was fixed at fifteen ſhillings the quarter, and ten ſhillings the barrel, till five hundred thouſand quarters ſhould be imported. A bounty of five ſhillings a quarter, and three ſhillings a barrel, upon Indian corn or meal, till five hundred thouſand quarters ſhould be imported.

The committee to conſider of the high price of corn, in the mean time, entered into an engagement to reduce the conſumption of wheat in their families one third, by every poſſible expedient. This meaſure, which provided no legiſlative remedy for an evil of ſuch magnitude, was pointedly animadverted upon by lords Lauderdale, Lanſdowne, and Thurlow, as "ſilly, futile, and even ridiculous." The engagement was, however, ſigned, not only by the committee, but by ſeveral members of both houſes.

Many important regulations were made by the committee, reſpecting weights and ſcales, the tolls of millers, &c. which formed the baſis of ſucceeding acts of parliament. About the ſame time ſir John Sinclair brought forward a motion, founded upon reſolutions of the board of agriculture, for the cultivation of the waſte lands. In conſequence, therefore, of recommendations from the board, ſeveral incloſure bills paſſed the houſe in the courſe of the ſeſſion.

On the ſeventh of December, the miniſter thought proper to open the budget. He ſaid, upon this occaſion, that he thought it neceſſary to give the general ſtate of receipt and expenditure, as it would tend to prove that the finances of this country were equal to every emergency; and that Great Britain could furniſh the means for carrying on the war for years,

years, if neceſſary, without burthening its people or injuring its trade. He then proceeded to ſtate the particulars, and ſpecify the ways and means for raiſing the ſum adequate to the neceſſary ſupplies*.

The buſineſs of the loan created long and animated debates in the houſe of commons; both as to the manner of its negociation, and the allowance made to the contractors.

Mr Fox and ſeveral members in the oppoſition, reprobated the loan as not only diſgraceful in itſelf, but as it would be a pernicious precedent in future. The houſe, after much oppoſition, agreed to go into a cloſe committee, which all members who pleaſed were allowed to attend. This committee, after ſitting a conſiderable time, and examining ſeveral witneſſes, completed their report, which was brought up by Mr. W. Smith, who moved a ſtring of reſolutions, eſtabliſhing the principle of an open competition—that the loan was bad and improvident—and that the miniſter, in adjuſting the terms, had been guilty of a departure from his own principles, and of a breach of his duty.

Arguments reſpecting the budget, and the diſtribution of the conſequent loans, are generally conſidered as momentary. Calculations, accurate as well as erroneous, are brought forward; and undue influence, or corruption, is always ſure to be alledged, as matters almoſt of courſe. A little irregularity appeared in this buſineſs reſpecting the antedating of ſome bills, and dating them from Hamburg, but no fraud appeared in the tranſaction. Mr. Long, therefore, moved the previous queſtion.

Sir William Pulteney vindicated the whole tranſaction. It had been aſſerted, that the bills had been drawn on unſtamped paper; he obſerved, that, had they been ſtamped, government muſt have been paid. It was only ſaving government the trouble of paying with one hand, and receiving with the other.

The previous queſtion, which had been moved by Mr. Long, was carried by a majority of eighty-five. On the ſecond reſolution, the ayes were eight, noes one hundred and eight.

It is remarkable that, during the diſcuſſion of the two ſeparate bills, each houſe received a meſſage from the [illegible] in which he ſignified his inclination to meet any negociation on the part of the enemy, with a deſire to give it the ſpeedieſt effect in producing a peace.

On the following day, Mr. Pitt moved an addreſs in reply. He obſerved, that the ſentiments expreſſed in the meſſage, were conformable to thoſe delivered from the throne at the commencement of the ſeſſion, with a view to the formation of a government in France, with which a ſecure and honourable peace might be concluded. He renewed thoſe ſentiments as applicable to the preſent French government, the recent ſucceſſes of our allies, and the embarraſſment of the enemy's finances.

Mr. Sheridan, in reply to the obſervations of Mr. Pitt, on the import of his majeſty's meſſage, took occaſion to inſiſt on the propriety and neceſſity of not conſidering any particular form of government in France, as neceſſary for peace. If the preſent circumſtances in France only were admitted as a ground for negotiation, any change might be conſidered as a ground for diſcontinuing any treaty which was begun: he hoped the form of government in France might be no bar to negotiation, whenever a peace could be ſafely effected; and that his majeſty would be pleaſed to order an immediate negotiation to commence.

Mr. Grey ſtated that ſeveral continental powers had concluded treaties with the French, which had

* The following is a ſtatement of the particulars:

		£.	s.	d.
Navy—110,000 ſeamen	5,720,000			
Ordnance £. 624,152 1 8				
Extraordin. 708,400 0 0				
	1,332,552 1 8			
		7,052,552	1	8
Army—guards, garriſons, &c. Chelſea, &c. &c.		6,194,432	14	5
Extraordinaries		2,616,990	19	10
Foreign corps	300,000			
Sardinian ſubſidy	200,000			
Further extraordinaries computed at	350,000			
		850,000	0	0
Ordnance		1,744,671	8	1
Miſcellaneous ſervices, plantation eſtimates, &c &c.		360,616	8	5
Vote of credit		2,500,000	0	0
Exche[illegible]		3,500,000	0	0
Annual [illegible] to ſinking fund		200,000	0	0
Deficiencies of grants		2,333,000	0	0
Ditto land and malt		350,000	0	0
		£. 27,732,083	12	5

The ways and means Mr. Pitt ſtated to be,

		£.
Land tax		2,000,000
Malt		750,000
Growing produce of conſolidated fund, on 5th January, 1796, computed at	2,395,000	
Money ariſing from the ſale of Dutch prizes	1,000,000	
Impreſt	200,000	
	3,595,000	
[illegible] on half year's intereſt on new ſtock	360,000	
		3,235,000
Exchequer bills		3,500,000
Loans		18,000,000
	Total £.	27,485,000

never

ever been violated. Upon the whole, he wiſhed miniſters to be enjoined really to negotiate by the terms of the amendment, which declared the government of France no bar to this buſineſs.

The chancellor of the exchequer contended, that, if the amendment, and the advice of its promoters, was adopted, the diſcretion of government would be entirely taken away, and the reſponſibility doubled.

Mr. Fox in reply, contended that the amendment did not go beyond the extent of the meſſage: it only declared that there were no impediments to treating, in the form of the government in France. In ſupporting the amendment, he was far from arguing againſt the addreſs; he was, in fact, ſupporting it by what gave it meaning and force. On every account, Mr. Fox ſaid, he thought it neceſſary to bind miniſters to make peace. It was a vulgar opinion, that it was conſtantly diſadvantageous to a power at war to be the firſt to offer terms of peace: the experience of hiſtory proved the reverſe; and were peace offered to the French on reaſonable terms, it would not be in the power of the directory, or the council of ancients, nor the two houſes joined together, to refuſe the terms. The people would force them to agree to them. Mr. Fox particularly obſerved, that a better ſeaſon for treating than the preſent, might not occur for a very long period.

Mr. Pitt wiſhed this affair might be left to the diſcretion of the miniſtry; and the allies of Great Britain ought to be conſulted on ſuch a meaſure. Steps had already been taken to aſcertain the diſpoſition of the enemy; and, if there ſhould be a proſpect of an honourable peace, the opportunity would be readily embraced. After a few obſervations from general Smith in favour of the amendment, and a ſhort reply from Mr. Sheridan, the amendment was negatived without a diviſion, and the addreſs carried.

A few days after the addreſs was carried in the houſe of commons, his majeſty's meſſage was brought down to the lords by lord Grenville, who moved the addreſs to the ſame import with that voted by the houſe of commons, and, after a ſhort debate, a great majority determined in its favour, and it was according to the uſual forms preſented to his majeſty.

On the ſeventh of January *, the princeſs of Wales was happily delivered of a princeſs, at Carlton Houſe. The duke of Glouceſter, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, the lord preſident, the duke of Leeds, the duke of Devonſhire, the lord chamberlain, the maſter of the horſe, the prince of Wales, lord Thurlow, and the ladies of her royal highneſs's bed-chamber were preſent. This event was made known by the firing of the Tower guns, and other demonſtrations of joy in London and Weſtminſter †.

On

* A. D. 1796.

† As the following tranſaction reflects honour on the feelings of the prince of Wales, it claims the attention of our readers. On the ſixth of February, at a court of common council of the city of London, the lord mayor roſe to ſtate to the court, a conference he had had with the prince of Wales, on the ſubject of not receiving the congratulatory addreſs of the city on the birth of a princeſs, in the uſual form; obſerving, that in a matter of ſo delicate a nature, he had thought it his duty to commit the purport of this converſation in writing, which, with the leave of the court, he would wiſh to be read. The communication was as follows:—'In conſequence of a 'letter from lord Cholmondeley, dated January 31, 1796, 'ſtating that his royal highneſs the prince of Wales 'wiſhed to ſpeak to me at Carlton Houſe, and to give me 'a private audience, I had the honour of waiting on his 'royal highneſs, who addreſſed me, by ſaying, "that he "had ſeen with concern in the public papers, a ſtate-"ment of what had paſſed in the court of common coun-"cil, on Thurſday laſt, reſpecting a letter written by lord "Cholmondeley, at the command of his royal highneſs, "and ſent to the city remembrancer, conveying his ſen-"timents on the intended addreſs of congratulation to "their royal highneſſes, which ſentiments he conceiv-"ed had been miſtaken or miſunderſtood; or at leaſt "a very different conſtruction had been given to them "than he meant, or was intended to be conveyed by that "letter." His royal highneſs ſaid, "that he thought it "incumbent on him to preſerve a conſiſtent character; "that as his eſtabliſhment, for certain reaſons, had been "reduced, and that the neceſſary ſtate appendages at-"tached to the character and rank of prince of Wales, "did not in conſequence exiſt, his royal highneſs con-"ceived he could not receive an addreſs in ſtate, and "particularly from the corporation of the city of Lon-"don, for which he entertained the higheſt veneration "and reſpect. His royal highneſs therefore thought it "would appear diſreſpectful to the firſt corporate body "in the kingdom, to receive the members of it incon-"ſiſtently with their *character* and *his own dignity*."

The prince of Wales, on the ſeventh of February, received in private the congratulatory compliments of both houſes of parliament, preſented by committees, in conſequence of his royal highneſs, from having reduced his eſtabliſhment, being unable to receive them with the proper dignities of his rank.

Colonel John Fenton Cawthorne, of the royal Weſtminſter regiment of militia, was found guilty (by a court martial aſſembled at the Horſe Guards) on the twenty-fourth of March, 1796, of receiving and applying to his own uſe, the marching guineas allowed by the militia act, and of ſeveral acts of peculation; particularly of receiving money to excuſe perſons from ſerving in the militia, and putting it in his own pocket, without providing ſubſtitutes, &c. On twelve charges he was adjudged to have acted in a *ſcandalous* and *infamous* manner, unbecoming the character of an officer and a gentleman; he was therefore ſentenced to be *caſhiered*, and declared incapable of ever ſerving his majeſty in future. In conſequence of this ſentence, colonel Cawthorne was afterward expelled from the houſe of commons.

On the firſt of February, their majeſties were groſsly inſulted on their way from Drury Lane Theatre to Buckingham Houſe, by a banditti of ruffians. One of theſe miſguided men, in Covent Garden, oppoſite Southampton Street, threw a ſtone, brick, or ſome other hard ſubſtance, which ſtruck, with great violence, one of his majeſty's ſervants ſtanding behind the carriage; and, as it was paſſing along Pall-Mall, a ſecond ſtone was thrown by one of the ruffians, which broke one of the glaſſes, and fell into the lap of lady Harrington, who was then lady in waiting.

The indefatigable Mr. Grey ſpeedily brought forward another debate. He declared, in the houſe of commons, that he thought it his duty to obſerve, that from the meſſage delivered from his majeſty, a general expectation of the return of peace had been excited, and a general deſire of knowing whether that much wiſhed event was ſtill at a diſtance, or whether we were ſtill to proſecute the war? As the chancellor of the exchequer ſaid he did not think it incumbent on him to anſwer ſuch a queſtion at preſent, Mr. Grey proceeded to give notice of his intended motion for peace, which he accordingly brought into the houſe on the fifteenth of February.

Prefatory to his motion, Mr. Grey obſerved, that, contrary to the hopes that had been rationally formed, no negociation for peace had taken place, but that miniſters appeared determined to proſecute the conteſt to extremity: the expedient was now recurred to of deluding the people with the hopes of peace, while they were determined to perſevere in the ſyſtem of warfare. He enumerated the diſaſters which had ariſen in the different campaigns, and the repeated motions which had been ſubmitted to the houſe, for the purpoſe of promoting a negotiation with the enemy. Another campaign was about to take place, and the emperor was to have another loan. He concluded with moving, that an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, ſtating, that it is the wiſh of this houſe, that his majeſty may be graciouſly pleaſed to take ſuch ſteps as to his royal wiſdom ſhall appear moſt proper, for communicating directly to the executive directory of the French republic, his majeſty's readineſs to meet any diſpoſition to negotiation on the part of that government, with an earneſt deſire to give it the fulleſt and ſpeedieſt effect.

The chancellor of the exchequer ſaid, that however he might be diſpoſed to favour the object which the motion appeared to have principally in view, he could not concede to the grounds on which it had been followed up. The ſtate of the country was very different from that held out, and no temporary reverſe in the fortune of the war, no internal preſſure had yet produced that humiliation which he ſuggeſted. He ſaid, the progreſs of meaſures which were neceſſary in the preſent ſituation of affairs, could, however, only be left ſafely to the conduct of the executive government. He farther obſerved, that it was important for the ſupporters of the motion, to conſider, whether the meaſures which they might wiſh to recommend, were ſuch as might oblige the country to give up the chance of a ſucceſsful peace altogether, or to make it on terms inconſiſtent with the honour of the nation. If the motion was adopted, the proſpect of peace muſt either be entirely given up, or peace muſt be made on terms inconſiſtent with our honour. An honourable peace could only be had by perſeverance in the vigorous conduct we had hitherto purſued.

Mr. Fox concluded a very eloquent ſpeech upon this occaſion, in the following emphatic terms: let us manifeſt to the world a ſpirit of moderation, and this night addreſs his majeſty to commence a negotiation with the republic of France. I ſay, republic, for there is more in names than we can imagine. He concluded by declaring, that he wiſhed not for a diſhonourable peace, or peace on any other terms than ſuch as were worthy the character and ſituation of the country, but ſuch it was his decided opinion might be obtained. On the diviſion of the houſe, there appeared for Mr. Grey's motion, fifty; againſt it, one hundred and eighty-nine.

In the courſe of the month of April, the houſe of commons was engaged in a warm debate relative to the expedition in the Weſt Indies. Several motions were made and negatived, and others carried; and thus terminated, for the preſent, after long unintereſting debates, this political conteſt, without effecting the purpoſe for which it was brought on the tapis.

In the beginning of May, the general conduct of adminiſtration came under diſcuſſion in the houſe of lords, on the motion of the marquis of Lanſdowne, reſpecting ſome government papers, for the produc-

His ſentence, by his majeſty's order, was read at the head of every militia regiment in the kingdom.

Intelligence was received in London, on the twenty-eighth of March, that the Dædalus tranſport, from Port Jackſon, in New South Wales, on her paſſage home, touched at Otaheite. There, to the aſtoniſhment of the captain and crew, they found nine of their countrymen married, ſettled, and living in the greateſt eaſe and comfort; who, being aſked how they came there, informed them, that they ſailed from England, in a South Sea whaler, belonging to Meſſieurs Calvert and Co. called the Amelia, which had the misfortune to bulge upon a rock. Finding it impoſſible to ſave the ſhip, or any part of the ſtores, they got into the boat, committed themſelves to the mercy of the waves, and were ſafely wafted to the ſhores of Otaheite. The natives, not unaccuſtomed to the colour of their ſkin, or the ſound of their language, received them with every token of affection and joy; aſſigned them lands, and ſervants to cultivate them; adopted them into the order of nobility, and, as a proof of the inſignia of their elevation, tattowed them from top to bottom.

tion of which he had previouſly moved. His lordſhip reminded the houſe, that ſo long ago as the fifteenth of December, 1779, and the eighth of December, 1780, he had propoſed two motions, in order to ſuggeſt that ſyſtem of public operations with which it was his wiſh that the reſolutions then to be brought forward, ſhould be followed. In this ſyſtem he had been ſupported by many of the preſent adminiſtration, who appeared to have ſince abandoned it. He therefore wiſhed to afford them an opportunity of ſhewing whether they ſtill adhered to their former reſolution, "that the influence of the crown was increaſed, is increaſing, and ought to be diminiſhed;" or, if they had apoſtatized, that the public ſhould be in poſſeſſion of documents upon which to form an impartial eſtimate of their character.

He ſaid he wiſhed to draw the attention of the houſe to ſome very intereſting particulars. Theſe particulars, which, after enumerating, his lordſhip obſerved, that time would fail him in mentioning all the meaſures which had been introduced and ſanctioned by the preſent adminiſtration, and he was tired with inſpecting the red book, that regiſter of corruption. Yet all this had taken place under the conduct of ſome noble lords, who came into office abetting the principle that the influence of the crown had increaſed, was increaſing, and ought to be diminiſhed

The marquis ſaid, that perceiving no effectual ſteps taken to realize thoſe meaſures of reform, for which miniſters at their entrance into office ſtood pledged, or thoſe recommended by commiſſioners appointed by parliament, it was neceſſary to inquire into ſo extraordinary an omiſſion, as well as whether any new offices had been created?—Whether any old ſalaries had been increaſed on ſlight pretences?—Whether any ſalaries had been granted for ſpecial purpoſes, and continued when the reaſon for them ceaſed?—Whether any warrant for beneficial grants had been directed?—And, on the whole, whether the public expences had increaſed beyond the ſupplies annually granted by parliament? His lordſhip proceeded to cenſure the war as bloody and profuſe beyond example, and our ſituation on the whole as calling for the moſt accurate inveſtigation; and concluded with moving for an enquiry into the ſeveral abuſes which he had pointed out.

The arguments and motion of the noble marquis were ſupported by the earls of Lauderdale and Mouna, and oppoſed by lords Auckland, Hawkeſbury, and earl Spencer. Lord Auckland entered into a very elaborate ſtatement of the difference of our proſperity in the years 1783 and 1795, to prove the great advantages on the ſide of the latter. When the houſe divided, there appeared for the motion of the marquis of Lanſdowne twelve, againſt it one hundred and four.

Severe accuſations were brought againſt miniſters in the houſe of commons on the ſixth of May, by Mr. Grey, on which he grounded a motion for impeachment. He obſerved, that the power of the purſe was the beſt ſecurity for the liberty of the people; and this the houſe would not allow to be incroached upon without betraying a moſt ſacred truſt, and violating a moſt valuable privilege. This duty was ſtill more important from the magnitude of expence which they had to ſuperintend. It was, he ſtated, his intention to confine his motion to three plain and ſimple conſiderations; firſt, that miniſters had violated the expreſs ſtipulations of the appropriation act, by applying grants to different ſervices than thoſe to which they were voted; ſecondly, that they had preſented falſe accounts to the houſe to conceal this infraction; and, thirdly, that they had violated another law for regulating the office of paymaſter-general of the army. He deſired the houſe to conſider, that there was an act paſſed every ſeſſions, after the grants for the year were made, appropriating certain ſums to certain purpoſes reſpecting the different articles in the army. By a paper on the table, he would, however, ſhew that this act had in many inſtances been violated. He ſaid, that if a neceſſity for ſuch a violation had exiſted, miniſters were bound to come to parliament for an act of indemnity as ſpeedily as poſſible, and to ſtate the reaſons for ſuch a neceſſity. They, however, had acted on the contrary. They had endeavoured to conceal the infraction of the law from the eye of ſcrutiny by a confuſed account, and thus afforded additional ground for the ſevereſt cenſure. By papers on the table it appeared, that to Auguſt twenty-firſt, 1795, for the quarter preceding, eight millions of the grants of the current year had been expended, and ſtill theſe arrears remained due. The premier acknowledged that ſome irregularities had occurred; but nothing criminal had been wilfully committed. Upon a variety of inſtances which he adduced, Mr. Grey formed fifteen reſolutions, the laſt of which ſtated, that "in the inſtances mentioned, his majeſty's miniſter had been guilty of preſenting falſe accounts, calculated to miſlead the judgment of the houſe, of a flagrant violation of various acts of parliament, and a groſs miſapplication of the public money."

Mr. Pitt replied to the ſeveral allegations of Mr. Grey with great ability, cited many precedents, and enumerated circumſtances in exculpation of miniſters, from the charges exhibited againſt them by their opponents.

Mr. Steele moving the previous queſtion, two hundred and nine votes againſt thirty-eight, appeared for the miniſter.

On the tenth of May an important motion was brought forward in both houſes of parliament, reſpecting a change of meaſures in regard to external politics. That in the houſe of lords was moved for

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by the earl of Guildford, who, after reciting a variety of inſtances to prove the miſconduct of miniſters in carrying on the war, moved for an addreſs at great length, concluding with declaring, that the houſe thought itſelf bound in duty to his majeſty, to profeſs they ſaw no rational hope of redeeming the affairs of the kingdom, but by the adoption of a ſyſtem radically different from that which had produced the preſent calamities.

The ſame motion which had been introduced by the earl of Guildford in the houſe of lords, was brought forward on the ſame day by Mr. Fox in the houſe of commons, and with the ſame effect. He ſatiriſed the raſhneſs which had driven the nation into a war, and the incapacity manifeſted in the progreſs of it. In the former there appeared, upon a diviſion for the queſtion, ten againſt one hundred and ten. In the latter, the ayes for the motion were forty-two, againſt two hundred and ſixteen.

In April, two ſtrange political phœnomena preſented themſelves; theſe were a ſecond budget, and a ſecond loan in the ſame ſeſſion. The ſubject of the ſecond budget produced a long debate, in which Mr. Grey took the lead on the oppoſition ſide of the houſe. Mr. alderman Newnham made ſome pointed obſervations on the partial manner in which the buſineſs of the loan had been conducted; but when the reſolutions were put, they were agreed to without a diviſion; and the new tax-bills which the miniſter brought forward, in conſequence of his ſecond budget, were all paſſed into laws, without any further alteration, a few days before the concluſion of the ſeſſion.

Mr. Wilberforce, according to annual cuſtom, again moved for the abolition of the ſlave trade. He obſerved, that the firſt of January 1796, was the period allotted by the houſe for the abolition of this infamous traffic. The motion was oppoſed by general Tarleton, Mr. Dundas, and a conſiderable number of gentlemen. It was ably ſupported by Mr. Pitt, Mr. ſerjeant Adair, and Mr. Fox. To the regret of the friends of humanity, the narrow views of intereſt and policy prevailed over every conſideration of religion and juſtice. The houſe would not even receive a bill propoſed by Mr. Francis for improving the condition of the ſlaves.

The ſeſſion was cloſed as uſual by a ſpeech from the throne, on the nineteenth of May, in which his majeſty announced his intention of giving immediate directions for calling a new parliament, extolled the regard both houſes had paid to the ſafety and welfare of his people, in the proviſions they had made for ſuppreſſing ſedition and civil tumult, and for reſtraining the progreſs of principles ſubverſive of all eſtabliſhed governments. He ſignified the greateſt ſatisfaction in obſerving the difficulties ariſing to his ſubjects, from the high prices of corn, being in a great degree removed; and thanked the commons for their very liberal ſupplies. On the following day the parliament was diſſolved by proclamation; and thus terminated a parliament, concerning whoſe conduct a more unanimous verdict may be expected from poſterity, than from the preſent age.

While the belligerent powers on the Rhine were collecting their forces to open the campaign of 1796, as ſoon as the time limited for the armiſtice ſhould expire; the civil war in the weſtern departments of France was haſtening to a concluſion: after ſeveral defeats of the various rebel armies, and the capture and death of their leaders, Charette * and Stoſlet, the remainder of the inſurgents, claſſed under the names of Chouans and Vendeans, haraſſed on every ſide, ſubmitted to the forces of the republic, or to the magiſtrates of the different communes, and peace was finally reſtored to that deſolated department.

The campaign in Italy opened this year on the ninth of April. The republican armies had hitherto only ſcaled the vanguard of the Alps, from whence alſo they had been driven, after having viewed in perſpective the immenſe difficulties they had to encounter, before they could ſucceed in achieving the conqueſt of Italy. They had poſſeſſion of the coaſt from Nice to Genoa; but the paſſage into Italy was blockaded by the Auſtrian and Sardinian armies, who had apparently taken the moſt effectual meaſures to prevent the further progreſs of the enemy. The army of Italy, having received conſiderable reinforcements, was entruſted to the command of general Bonaparte, a young Corſican of the moſt daring courage, and the moſt enterpriſing ambition; but an officer of whoſe military ſkill no mention had been hitherto made during the courſe of the revolution †.

The firſt action of the preſent campaign occurred near

* The following account of the Vendean General, Charette, appeared in the Pariſian papers.

"Entirely defeated by the republican army—his troops diſperſed and incapable of being collected again and rallied—himſelf cloſely purſued, Charette aſſumed the dreſs of a peaſant, with the hope of eluding the ſtrict ſearch that was making after him. He wandered for ſome time among the fields alone, and was at length diſcovered and purſued by a republican patrole. His ſtrength being at laſt exhauſted, he ſunk upon the ground, and was taken by two grenadiers, who carried him on their ſhoulders to the next poſt, from whence he was conveyed to Angers. At Angers he was tried and ſentenced to be ſhot. The ſentence was immediately carried into execution."

† It is remarkable, that when this extraordinary man firſt figured in the grand theatre of the world, he called himſelf *Buonaparte*, attending to the Italian orthography; but when he thought he ſaw a diſtant glimpſe of the honours which awaited him, he galliciſed his name, and has ever ſince called himſelf *Bonaparte*, judiciouſly omitting the *(u)*.

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near Savona, on the ſhores of the Mediterranean, where the French general was attacked by the troops under the Auſtrian general Beaulieu, and driven back to the lines near Savona. Preſuming on their ſucceſs, the Auſtrians advanced in hopes of cutting off the retreat of the diviſion which they had repulſed; but Bonaparte who had foreſeen his retreat, had ſtrengthened his poſt on the flanks of the Auſtrians, who were advancing, but who had been held in check by the forces which occupied the poſt of Montenotte, lying between Voltri and Savona. The poſſeſſion of this poſt was abſolutely neceſſary to cutting off the retreat of the diviſion of the French, whom they had previouſly defeated; and as it appeared probable that the Auſtrians would renew the attack, Bonaparte ſent a diviſion, under general Maſſena, to take advantage of the night, and gain the rear of the Auſtrian army.

General Beaulieu, having reinforced his army, began the attack at break of day. The ſucceſs was

The following memoirs of *Buonaparte*, as far as they extend, are averred to be authentic:

"This extraordinary man, born in the town of Ajaccio, in Corſica, in 1767, is the ſon of Charles Buonaparte, and Lætitia Raniolini. His father, who was alſo a native of Ajaccio, was bred to the civil law at Rome, and took part with the celebrated Paoli, in the ever-memorable ſtruggle made by a handful of brave iſlanders, againſt the tyrannical efforts of Louis XV. and the Machiavelian ſchemes of his miniſter, Choiſeul.

"I am aſſured, by a near relation of the family, that he not only laid aſide the gown upon this occaſion, but actually carried a muſquet as a private ſentinel.

"On the conqueſt of the iſland, he wiſhed to retire with the gallant chieftain who had ſo nobly ſtruggled for its independence; but he was prevented by his uncle, a canon, who exerciſed a parental authority over him.

"In 1773, a deputation from the three eſtates was ſent to wait on the king of France; and on this occaſion, Charles Buonaparte was ſelected to repreſent the nobles. He was ſoon after promoted to the office of *procuratore reale* of Ajaccio, where his anceſtors, ſuppoſed to have been originally from Tuſcany, had been ſettled nearly two hundred years.

"The family of the elder Buonaparte was numerous, for he had ſeven children, four ſons and three daughters. It was his good fortune, however, to be cheriſhed by the French; and both he and his family lived in the greateſt intimacy with M. de Marbœuf, the governor, who received a revenue of ſixty thouſand livres a year, on condition of doing nothing! An intendant was paid nearly as much; and a ſwarm of hungry leeches, engendered in the corruption of the court of Verſailles, at one and the ſame time ſucked the blood of the Corſicans, and drained the treaſure of the mother country; in ſhort, like the conqueſts of more recent times, the ſubjugation of that iſland ſeems to have been achieved for no other purpoſe than to gratify avarice, and ſatiate rapacity.

"On the death of his friend Charles Buonaparte, M. de Marbœuf continued to patronize his family, and placed his ſecond ſon Napoleone, the ſubject of theſe memoirs, at the *Ecole Militaire*, or Military Academy. The advantages reſulting from this ſeminary, which has produced more great men than any other in Europe, were not loſt on young Buonaparte; he therefore applied himſelf, with equal aſſiduity and addreſs, to mathematics, and ſtudied the art of war as a regular ſcience. Born in the midſt of a republican ſtruggle in his native land, it was his good fortune to burſt into manhood at the moment when the country of his choice ſhook off the chains with which ſhe had been manacled for centuries. There was alſo ſomething in his manners and habits that announced him equal to the ſituation for which he ſeems to have been deſtined: inſtead of imitating the frivolity of the age, his mind was continually occupied by uſeful ſtudies; and from the Lives of Plutarch, a volume of which he always carried in his pocket, he learned, at an early age, to copy the manners, and emulate the actions, of antiquity. With this diſpoſition, it is but little wonder that he ſhould have dedicated his life to the profeſſion of arms.

"In the winter of 1796, general Buonaparte was united to Madame Beauharnois, a beautiful French woman, who had experienced a variety of perſecutions during the time of Roberſpierre. Her former huſband had attained the rank of general in the ſervice of the republic, and had always conducted himſelf as a friend of liberty. On that memorable day when Louis XVI. and his family repaired to Paris, M. de Beauharnois ſat as preſident of the national aſſembly, and exhibited great dignity of demeanour. He fell a victim, however, to the terroriſts, who, joining the narrow ideas of ſectariſts to the ferocious character peculiar to themſelves, perſecuted all whoſe opinions were not exactly conformable to their own ſtandard. M. Barras, at length, luckily for her, extended his protection to the widow, who was afterwards the wife of his friend.

"As to his perſon, Buonaparte is of ſmall ſtature, but admirably proportioned. He is of a ſpare habit of body, yet robuſt, and calculated to undergo the greateſt fatigues. His complexion, like that of all the males of ſouthern climates, is olive; his eyes blue, his chin prominent, the lower part of his face thin, and his forehead ſquare and projecting. The large whole length Italian print, publiſhed in London by Seſtolini, exhibits a good likeneſs; but the beſt portrait ever taken of him was at Verona, in conſequence of the ſolicitations of an Engliſh artiſt, who applied to him for this purpoſe, by means of a letter from a relation, now in London.

"With reſpect to his mind, he poſſeſſes uncommon attainments. He converſes freely, and without pedantry, on all ſubjects, and writes and ſpeaks with fluency and eloquence. Above all things he has attempted, and in a great meaſure obtained, the maſtery over his paſſions. He is abſtemious at his meals, and was never ſeen in the ſlighteſt degree intoxicated; he poſſeſſes many friends, but has no minions; and preſerves an inviolable ſecrecy, by means of a rigorous ſilence, far better than other men do by a loquacious hypocriſy.

"His mother, the beautiful Lætitia Buonaparte, is ſtill alive, as are alſo his two ſiſters. They were lately taken priſoners by an Engliſh armed veſſel, during their paſſage from France to Corſica; but were reſtored to their country and their friends."

various, and the victory remained undecided, until the diviſion under general Maſſena, who had been ſent round by Bonaparte, appeared on their left and rear. Unable to withſtand this ſhock, the Auſtrian army was thrown into confuſion, and being completely routed, was purſued by the French to Cairo. Their loſs amounted to three thouſand five hundred men, of whom two thouſand were priſoners.

The victory at Montenotte was immediately followed by one more ſignal and deciſive at the village of Milleſimo over the united Auſtrians and Piedmonteſe, and which proved more fatal to our allies.

After theſe ſucceſſes, Bonaparte having made diſpoſitions to march forwards to Mondovi, the Piedmonteſe general, count Colli, apprehending the iſſue of a conteſt where he might eaſily be ſurrounded, and his retreat cut off, withdrew during the night to that place. At break of day the French attacked him at the entrance of Vico; the redoubt, which covered the centre of the Piedmonteſe army, was taken; and Mondovi itſelf on the ſame day, upon the further retreat of the Piedmonteſe, fell into the hands of the French, ſo that, finding it now impoſſible to withſtand the force of the republicans, the Piedmonteſe retreated further towards Turin, from whence the French were diſtant but twenty-four miles, while general Angereau was about to paſs the Tanaro on the right flank of the retreating army.

Theſe three battles were deciſive of the fate of Sardinia *; for the aged monarch then ſeated on the throne, was under a neceſſity of diſpatching his miniſter to Paris, who concluded a treaty with the republic on the ſeventeenth of May. As Piedmont lay entirely at the mercy of the conqueror, the king was compelled to ſubmit to what conditions were propoſed. A peace was ſoon concluded between him and the French, to whom he ceded the duchy of Savoy, and county of Nice.

By this treaty, he agreed to withdraw himſelf in the moſt unequivocal manner from every alliance, offenſive or defenſive, formed with any of the powers in the coalition againſt the French republic; to renounce both for himſelf and his ſucceſſors for ever, all title to Savoy, Nice, and the country now forming the department of the maritime Alps; to determine the limits of the reſpective countries by new demarcations advantageous to the republic; and to grant a full and entire amneſty to all thoſe of his ſubjects who had been or were proſecuted for their political opinions.

In theſe arduous enterprizes Bonaparte was ably ſupported by the zeal of his generals, each of whom led on his reſpective diviſion with that alertneſs which could alone have enſured ſucceſs in a war among the Alps.

The Auſtrians, defeated in ſeveral attempts, retreated to Lodi on the river Addi, where marſhal Beaulieu had concentrated his force. To paſs the bridge in the face of the Auſtrian army, advantageouſly poſted, was incurring certain deſtruction to numbers; Bonaparte, however, full of confidence in his ſoldiers, gave peremptory orders that the attack ſhould be made by the bridge. Accordingly a battalion of grenadiers bore down all before them, and reached the bridge of Lodi, exclaiming, "Long live the Republic!" but the dreadful fire kept up by the enemy having ſtopped their progreſs, the generals Berthier, Maſſena, and Cervoni ruſhed forward; yet even their preſence would have been ineffectual, had it not been for the intrepidity of Bonaparte, who, ſnatching a ſtandard from the hand of a ſubaltern, placed himſelf in the front, and animating his ſoldiers by his actions and geſticulations (for his voice was drowned in the noiſe of cannon and muſquetry) they ruſhed on with impetuoſity, ſeized the Auſtrian artillery, broke through the lines, and throwing the whole into diſorder, ended the conteſt. While one part of the republican forces purſued Beaulieu towards Mantua, the reſt entered Milan on the eighteenth of May, without further reſiſtance; and the French armies gained poſſeſſion of the whole of Lombardy. Bonaparte, having alarmed the pope by an invaſion of his territories, granted the favour of a truce to him, and proceeded to cover the ſiege of Mantua.

In Holland, after ſeveral conteſts between the various parties reſpecting the convocation of a conventional aſſembly, the two provinces of Friezland and Zealand, which had been moſt averſe to the propoſition, aſſented to the wiſh of the majority; and the national aſſembly was inſtalled on the firſt of March, 1796. One of the firſt acts of the aſſembly was a declaration of war againſt England, which had deprived the republic of almoſt all its colonies both in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies.

Official diſpatches from Bombay, dated the ninth of November, 1795, and received in England the ſecond of March 1796, announced the capture of the iſland of Ceylon, with its valuable ſettlements of Malacca, Cochin, and Jaffnapatam. Malacca was taken by major Brown; Cochin, on the Malabar coaſt, by a detachment of the Bombay forces; and Jaffnapatam, on the iſland of Ceylon, by admiral Rainier and colonel Stuart.

On the eleventh of March, Mr. Joddrell made a motion in the houſe of commons, for extending anatomical diſſection to perſons guilty of burglary, or highway robbery; but, upon finding the ſenſe of the houſe againſt the meaſure, he withdrew it.

The Engliſh cabinet, on the eighth of March, by

* The king of Sardinia died in October, ſoon after the ſigning of this treaty, aged ſeventy, and his ſon Charles Emanuel ſucceeded him.

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the agency of its ambaſſador to the Helvetic ſtates, had communicated to the government of France, by their ambaſſador at Baſle, a ſeries of propoſitions relative to a general pacification. The apparent motive of this communication was to aſcertain whether there was any diſpoſition in France, to open a negotiation with his Britannic majeſty and his allies, for that purpoſe; and whether it would be agreed to appoint a congreſs to arrange and adjuſt the terms? The directory, anxious to evince its diſpoſition for peace, declared it was its ſincere deſire to make peace, and detailed the conditions on which it was prepared to offer it; of which one was indiſpenſible, namely, that of retaining the provinces in the Low Countries, which by the conſtitutional act had been united to the French republic. Theſe propoſitions, as might reaſonably be ſuppoſed, were declared by the Engliſh miniſtry to be utterly inadmiſſible.

The Executive Directory, on the tenth of May, ſent a meſſage to the Legiſlative Body, announcing that a conſpiracy was to have burſt forth upon the morrow at day-break. The Legiſlative Body, the Directory, and the chiefs of the army of the interior, were to have been maſſacred; pillage and ſlaughter at once extending their ravages throughout this great city.

The conſpirators arreſted on this occaſion were Drouet, Babœuf, Antonelle, Riccard, Roſſignol, Laignelot, Chaſtes, Germain, Darthez, and the ſecretary of Joſeph Lebon. Vadier and Amar made their eſcape.

The armiſtice on the Rhine, terminated on the thirty-firſt of May, and the campaign opened immediately after that date. General Moreau had been appointed, by the Directory, to the command in chief of the French army of the Rhine and Moſelle, as ſucceſſor to general Pichegru, who was nominated ambaſſador to Sweden.

The firſt operations of the French were ſucceſsful; general Kleber forced the paſſage of the Sieg, ſurpriſed the van of the Auſtrian army at Altenkirchen, under the prince of Wirtemberg, and totally defeated it, with the loſs, on the part of the Auſtrians, of two thouſand four hundred killed and wounded, and three thouſand taken priſoners.

The republicans were not ſo fortunate in an engagement near the Lahn; but they afterwards reduced Frankfort, Wurtzburg, and other conſiderable towns. They were, however, defeated in ſeveral actions in the autumn, and found it expedient to re-croſs the Rhine.

Moreau, the commander in the Upper Rhine, took the fort of Kehl, and made great ravages in the enemy's country. At Rewhen, the Auſtrians fled before him, and he was completely victorious at Raſtadt He compelled the duke of Wirtemberg to decline all oppoſition to the French cauſe, and even to ſue for peace. He entered the Bavarian capital, and exacted large contributions from the elector as the price of a truce. But, receiving intelligence that the emperor had augmented his forces, he meditated a retreat, which he accompliſhed with great addreſs. He encountered many difficulties in his perilous march from the Lech to the Rhine, the relation of which aſtoniſhed all the world.

In Italy the French proſecuted the war as ſucceſsfully as they had commenced the campaign. Bonaparte attacked the Auſtrians at Mori, where they were ſtrongly entrenched; and, after a ſevere conteſt, on the fourth of September, they were defeated, and compelled to take refuge in Trent. To cover this city, the Auſtrians had rallied at the paſs of Calliano, and had taken poſitions which appeared impregnable. The addreſs and courage of the diviſion under general Maſſena ſurmounted every obſtacle; and, after a long and obſtinate conflict; in which the French made ſix thouſand priſoners, and took twenty pieces of cannon, this general victoriouſly entered the city. Bonaparte, inſtead of continuing his march into the Tyrol, directed his courſe to the right, and followed Wurmſer to the valley of Brenta. Purſuing his march along the river of this name, he defeated the Auſtrians on the eighth of September, in four ſucceſſive engagements, forced general Wurmſer from Baſſano, where he had eſtabliſhed his head-quarters, and purſued him ſo vigorouſly, that he was obliged to retreat towards Trieſte.

Bonaparte intended to have prevented him from penetrating into Mantua, and had taken meaſures to ſurround him, and oblige him to ſurrender, but Wurmſer's marches were too rapid, to enable him to carry his plan into execution. The Auſtrian general met with reſiſtance in his march; but as he had to contend with inferior forces, he ſucceeded in making good his way to Mantua, where the French attacking and obtaining, after great ſlaughter, the poſts of Favorito and St. George in the ſuburbs of that city, and not having artillery to form a ſiege, turned the whole into a blockade. In this attack it is ſuppoſed the Imperialiſts loſt twenty thouſand men; and this was the third army which had been deſtroyed in the courſe of this campaign, in attempting to reduce Lombardy once more under the Auſtrian yoke.

Bonaparte, to ſhew that it was not his intention to arreſt the progreſs of the arts and ſciences, in the parts of Italy which he had lately conquered, addreſſed two letters to the aſtronomer Oriani, and the municipalities of Milan and Pavia, in one of which are inſerted the following words—"The ſciences, "which do honour to the human mind; the arts, "which embelliſh human life, and tranſmit illuſtri-"ous actions to poſterity, ſhould be peculiarly "reſpected in all free governments. All men of "genius, all thoſe who have obtained a diſtinguiſhed "rank in the republic of letters, are Frenchmen, whatever

" whatever may be the country in which they were " born *."

In the beginning of the year, general Nichols recommenced active operations in the Weft-Indies, and having received ſome reinforcements, attacked the French at Port Royal in Jamaica, once without ſucceſs, and with conſiderable loſs, but in a ſecond and more deſperate attempt, he carried their works by ſtorm. The loſs of the Britiſh was inconſiderable. After this ſignal defeat the inſurgents were every where defeated, and compelled to ſubmit †. The reduction of the iſland of St. Lucia under the Britiſh government, was effected in May by the troops under general Abercrombie, but not without conſiderable reſiſtance on the part of the French inſurgents. At length, a capitulation was agreed upon for the whole iſland, and the garriſon, to the amount of two thouſand men, ſurrendered priſoners of war. The fate of St. Vincent's, depended greatly upon that of St. Lucia, and as the opponents to the Britiſh forces were chiefly a herd of undiſciplined ſavages, they became an eaſy conqueſt, and were preſently ſubdued. By the indefatigable zeal and activity of general Walpole, the Maroons were brought to ſubmiſſion; the greater part of them laid down their arms, and ſoon after the remainder ſurrendered. They were removed with their families in the month of June, to Lower Canada, where lands were provided for them by the legiſlature of Jamaica.

Though every power in Europe had felt in ſome degree the force of the French arms; England had hitherto, except in the accumulation of debt, and the derangement of her finances, ſuffered the leaſt inconvenience from the war. It was therefore ſuggeſted, that the moſt effectual mode of oppoſing England ſince the naval force of France could not injure her commerce, was to ſhut out her manufactures from every port in Europe. The proclamation iſſued by the Engliſh miniſter, permitting the exportation of goods to the Netherlands and the United Provinces, induced the Dutch convention to iſſue a counter proclamation, forbidding, under ſevere penalties, the entry of ſuch goods into the Dutch republic, and reſtraining them from engaging in this commerce.

This new ſyſtem of hoſtilities was adopted throughout the greateſt part of Europe. The Engliſh manufacturers found no entrance into any port from the Elbe to the Adriatic, except thoſe of Portugal. Spain, by the declaration of war, had entered partly into the plan. Genoa, after repeated ſtruggles to keep her neutrality reſpected, placed unfortunately in the midſt of three great powers, thoſe of England, Auſtria, and France, and her territory violated ſucceſſively by each, was compelled to yield to the urgent remonſtrances of the French republic, and by a formal treaty (on October ninth) agreed to ſhut up her ports againſt the Engliſh. Leghorn was in poſſeſſion of the republican troops, and the Engliſh found themſelves confined in the Mediterranean to the poſſeſſion of the iſland of Elbe, before Leghorn, to which they retreated when expelled from that city. Their Italian allies, the pope and the king of Naples, were by the conditions of the armiſtice with the French republic, circumſcribed in their means of affording aſſiſtance. Corſica was alſo at this period evacuated by the Engliſh, who having taken poſſeſſion of it when the tyranny of the jacobins had ſubjected France, had found the leſs reſiſtance in re-eſtabliſhing the forms of monarchial government. The Corſicans hardly waited the withdrawing of the Engliſh troops, before they formed themſelves into primary aſſemblies to ſend deputies to the commiſſioners in Italy, to diveſt themſelves of their title of ſubjects to the king of England, and " ſwear allegiance to liberty, as citizens of the French republic."

In the mean time the inhabitants of the countries ſouth of the Po, which had been conquered by the French, adopted meaſures for the formation of new governments, under the protection of the French republic. The cities of Bologna, Ferrara, and Reggio, were leagued in the confederation, and pro-

* On the twenty-fifth of October, 1795, the French miniſter of war pronounced the following inflated ſpeech, deſcriptive of the victories of the republican army in Italy, on his preſenting to the Executive Directory citizen *Marmont*, aid-de-camp to general Bonaparte.—" The army " of Italy, always triumphant, preſent to you the trophies " of new victories. The enemy vanquiſhed at Caſtiglione, received conſiderable reinforcements; they prepared a freſh attack in the hopes of repairing their de- " feats; but they were met by an army accuſtomed to " conqueſt, and the battle of Saint George's, put a period " to their efforts. Poſterity will hardly credit the evidence of hiſtory, that in one campaign, ALL ITALY was conquered; that three armies were ſucceſſively deſtroyed; that upwards of fifty ſtands of colours remained in the hands of the conquerors; that forty thouſand Auſtrians laid down their arms: In fine, that thirty thouſand Frenchmen, under a warrior of twenty-five " years of age, performed all theſe prodigies. The army of " Italy has more triumphs to obtain: a career to run ſtill " more glorious and aſtoniſhing: to reſtore victory to the " army of the Rhine, and convince an enemy, ready to " pride itſelf on ephemeral advantages, that Frenchmen " are every where the ſame, and that whilſt they combat " for liberty, nothing can reſiſt their courage."

† The French newſpaper, entitled *L'Eclair*, was forged in London about this time, to anſwer a ſtock-jobbing purpoſe. It announced that a preliminary convention for peace between France and the emperor had been ſigned at Baſle. An action was afterwards brought by the proprietors of the *Telegraph*, againſt the proprietors of the *Morning Poſt*, for impoſing the above paper on them for publication, knowing it to be forged. The cauſe was tried in the court of King's Bench, and a verdict was given in favour of the plaintiff.

ceeded

ceeded to the formation of its reſpective governments, in each of which ſimilar regulations took place. Among others, the privileges and even the name of noble was aboliſhed, and the various enſigns and blazonry of the order were not ſuffered to appear.

Notwithſtanding the vaſt ſuperiority of the Engliſh naval forces in almoſt every part of the globe, the French had the dexterity to elude their vigilance, and ſucceeded in an expedition to Newfoundland, where they deſtroyed Britiſh property to a large amount; but this loſs on the part of the Engliſh was compenſated ſoon after, by the advantages gained over the Dutch at the Cape of Good Hope, where admiral Lucas, with his ſquadron conſiſting of ſeven ſhips, were captured, or rather delivered into the power of the Engliſh, by the defection of the crews under his command. This ſquadron had eluded the vigilance of the Engliſh by effecting a paſſage early in the ſpring, and was to have been joined by a French ſquadron of ſufficient force to accompliſh the purpoſe for which the expedition was deſtined—the recapture of the Cape. The French ſquadron were to have been equipped at the expence of the Dutch, who could obtain this aid upon no other conditions; the money was regularly paid to the French government; but the ſquadron was never prepared; and the Dutch, after ſeveral months of uſeleſs ſolicitation, inſtead of recovering their poſſeſſions, were compelled to ſubmit to the loſs of the forces which they had ſent to retake them.

In the beginning of October, general Bournonville had been diſpatched from Holland to replace Jourdan, and re-inforce the army of the Sambre and Meuſe, with the diviſion of the army under his command. In addition to the poſt oppoſite Huningue, and the village of Kehl, the French kept poſſeſſion of Neuwied, on the right ſide of the Rhine, a few miles below the fortreſs of Ehrenbreitſtein. The Auſtrians, in order to poſſeſs themſelves of this important place, croſſed the Rhine, to divert the attention of the republicans from the attack which they had meditated, from the iſland, one ſide of which ſtill communicated with the fort, as the bridge was unbroken in that part, and from the main land, where the regular batteries were already eſtabliſhed. This expedition was planned for the capture of the whole garriſon; but the French general, anticipating the deſign of the Auſtrians, made his diſpoſitions to receive them at the true point of attack, and, after an obſtinate conflict, repelled them with conſiderable loſs.

During this period, the emperor had aſſembled a fourth army to liberate general Wurmſer, who was ſhut up with his troops in Mantua. This army, commanded by generals Alvinzi and Davidovich, having received great reinforcements, the latter expelled the French from the Trent and the Tyroleſe. General Alvinzi was attacked on the ſeventh of November with the utmoſt fury, near the village of Arcola by the republicans, commanded by Bonaparte: night alone terminated the battle, during which the French fell back on Verona. The battle of Arcola was ſingularly fatal to the French generals, by whoſe diſtinguiſhed efforts of bravery, victory was taken out of the hand of fortune. Bonaparte eſcaping himſelf with difficulty, loſt both his aids-du-camp, who fell by his ſide. The reſult of this bloody conflict, which was fought for eight ſucceſſive days, was the loſs on the part of the Auſtrians of twelve thouſand men, in killed, wounded, and priſoners, beſides four flags and eighteen guns. Their loſs in this battle was ſo conſiderable, that Alvinzi was compelled to retire behind the Brenta with the remainder of his forces, to await the arrival of another army, and leave Mantua once more to its fate. But on the fourteenth the republican army, commanded by general Vaubois, was attacked by the Auſtrian general Davidovich, on the heights of Rivoli, and defeated, by which the blockade of that city was uncovered.

On the ſeventh of December, an armiſtice took place on the Lower Rhine, and the generals of both armies agreed to certain articles, ſubject to a future ratification.

The convention was ſigned by generals Kray and Kleber, and the troops, in conſequence, went into winter quarters.

Among the variety of negotiations which in the courſe of the year occupied the French government, that which England propoſed to open excited particular attention. On the twenty-ſecond of October lord Malmeſbury, appointed miniſter-plenipotentiary from the court of London, for the purpoſe of negotiating a peace with the executive government of France, arrived in Paris. His lordſhip was met by an immenſe concourſe of people at a league diſtance from the capital, who were with difficulty reſtrained from taking his horſes from the carriage, for the purpoſe of drawing him into the city.

On the twenty-fourth the Britiſh miniſter delivered to the executive government, through the hands of Monſ. Delacroix, the French miniſter for foreign affairs, a memorial, in which, after ſtating the deſire his Britannic majeſty entertained for peace, he propoſed the eſtabliſhment of ſome general principle on the opening of the negotiation, to ſerve as a baſis for a definitive ſettlement; obſerving, that the firſt object of a negotiation was generally that of reſtoring what had been taken from the reſpective parties during the war. The memorial ſtated, that as Great Britain, far from having any reſtitution to demand from France, had by a ſeries of uninterrupted ſucceſs, acquired colonial conqueſts of ineſtimable value; and as France had made continental conqueſts on the allies of his Britannic majeſty, it was propoſed, that the negotiation ſhould turn on the compenſations to

be made by France by proportional reſtitutions, the nature of which might be diſcuſſed, when the principle was admitted.

The negotiation was agitating from the twenty-fourth of October to the nineteenth of December, when, as the grand principle reſpecting the reſtitution to be made to the allies of Great Britain, could not by any means be admitted by the executive government of France, (nor did it appear that lord Malmeſbury had ſufficient powers from the allied courts to ſtipulate for their reſpective intereſts) the negotiation ended; for on reading the memorials received on the ſeventeenth of December, the directory ordered the miniſter to write to lord Malmeſbury on the eighteenth, which was the day previous to the explanatory and expoſtulatory communication made by his lordſhip, as his laſt letter was dated on the nineteenth of December, that they could hear of no propoſition contrary to the conſtitution, and the laws and treaties by which the republic was engaged; obſerving moreover, that as his lordſhip found himſelf obliged to have recourſe to his court on every communication, and as the part he had to act in this negotiation was purely paſſive, his lordſhip's reſidence at Paris was unneceſſary and inconvenient; and therefore enjoined him to leave it in forty-eight hours; obſerving, that if the Britiſh cabinet was really deſirous of peace, the negotiation might be carried on by meſſengers from the reſpective parties. After a long conference on theſe points, lord Malmeſbury received a note, requiring the delivery of an *ultimatum* within twenty-four hours. He oppoſed this arbitrary preclusion from deliberate negotiation, and requeſted a *contre-projet* on the part of the Directory, that the propoſals might be duly conſidered, and mutually diſcuſſed with conciliatory candour. The anſwer to this rational requeſt, was a determined refuſal of reſtoring any country, which had been conſtitutionally annexed to the republic. Lord Malmeſbury immediately demanded the neceſſary paſſports, quitted Paris with his ſuite in the time preſcribed, and arrived in London the twenty-ninth.

On the twenty-ſeventh of December the Britiſh government iſſued a declaration againſt France, in conſequence of the abrupt and arrogant diſmiſſal of lord Malmeſbury from Paris. Several other official papers relative to the miſſion of that noble lord, for the purpoſe of negotiating a peace with the French republic, were alſo publiſhed at this time, under the ſanction and direction of the Britiſh government *.

Among

* The following memorial, delivered by lord Malmeſbury, on the principal objects of reſtitution, compenſation, and reciprocal arrangement, was the pretext of his diſmiſſal:

The principle already eſtabliſhed, as the baſis of the negotiation, by the conſent of the two governments, is to proceed in reſtitution to be made by his Britannic majeſty to France, in compenſation of the arrangements to which that power may conſent, in order to ſatisfy the juſt pretenſions of the allies of the king, and to preſerve the political Balance of Europe.

In order to accompliſh theſe objects, in the manner the moſt complete, and to offer a freſh proof of the ſincerity of his wiſhes for the re-eſtabliſhment of general tranquillity, his majeſty would propoſe that there ſhould be given to each principle, on each ſide, all the latitude of which it may be ſuſceptible.

His majeſty demands therefore,

I. The reſtitution, to his majeſty the emperor and king, of all his dominions, on the footing of the *Status ante Bellum*.

II. The re-eſtabliſhment of peace between the Germanic empire and France, by a ſuitable arrangement, reconcilable to the reſpective intereſts, and to the general ſafety of Europe. The arrangement to be negotiated with his Imperial majeſty, as conſtitutional head of the empire, either by the intervention of the king, or immediately, as his imperial majeſty ſhall prefer.

The evacuation of Italy by the French troops, with an engagement not to interfere in the internal affairs of that country; which ſhould be eſtabliſhed, as far as poſſible, upon the footing of the *Status ante Bellum*.

In the courſe of the negotiation a more detailed diſcuſſion was to be entered into of the further meaſures which it might be proper to adopt, reſpecting the objects of theſe three articles, in order for the providing more effectually for the future diſcuſſion of their reſpective limits and poſſeſſions, and for the maintenance of general tranquillity.

II. With regard to the other allies of his Britannic majeſty, his majeſty demands that there be reſerved to her majeſty the empreſs of all the Ruſſias, a full and unlimited power of taking part in this negotiation, whenever ſhe may think fit, or of acceding to the definitive treaty, and thereby returning to a ſtate of peace with France.

III. His majeſty alſo demands, that her moſt faithful majeſty may be comprehended in this negotiation, and may return to a ſtate of peace with France, without any ceſſion or burthenſome condition on either ſide.

IV. On theſe conditions, his majeſty offers to France the entire and unreſerved reſtitution of all the conqueſts which ſhe has made on that power in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, propoſing at the ſame time that a mutual underſtanding ſhould be eſtabliſhed as to the means of ſecuring for the future the tranquillity of the two nations, and of conſolidating, as much as poſſible, the advantages of their reſpective poſſeſſions. His majeſty offers, in like manner, the reſtitution of the iſlands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, and of the fiſhery of Newfoundland, on the footing of the *Status ante Bellum*.

But if in addition to this, his majeſty were to wave the right given to him by the expreſs ſtipulations of the treaty of Utrecht, of oppoſing the ceſſion of the Spaniſh part of St. Domingo, to France, he would then demand, in return for this conceſſion, a compenſation, which might ſecure, at leaſt, in ſome degree, the maintenance of the balance of the reſpective poſſeſſions in that part of the world.

V. In all caſes of ceſſions or reſtitutions, which may come in queſtion in the courſe of this negotiation, there ſhould

Among other projects of hoſtility which the French had meditated againſt Great Britain, the invaſion of Ireland was that which engaged their principal attention; for on the thirty-firſt of December, intelligence was received at the admiralty with diſpatches from admiral Kingſmill, at the Cove of Cork, ſtating that ſeven French ſhips of the line, with two ſhips *armée en flute*, frigates, and tranſports, making in the whole ſeventeen ſail, had reached the ſouthern coaſt of Ireland, and had actually anchored in the Bay of Bantry on the twenty-fourth. Soon after their arrival, they ſent a boat towards ſhore, with an officer and eight men, but the peaſantry appeared on ſhore, and convinced the enemy that they were determined to loſe their lives, or repel any attempt to invade the country. The boat was captured in ſight of the French fleet, and the priſoners were conveyed to Cork, from whence they were ſent to Dublin, for the purpoſe of undergoing an examination before the privy council *. The greateſt loyalty was diſplayed on this occaſion by the people of Ireland.

When a ſuſpenſion of arms, agreed on by the generals on the Lower Rhine, had finiſhed this dreadful campaign in that quarter, the Upper Rhine was ſtill deluged with the blood of the contending armies in the attack and defence of the fortreſs of Kehl, which on the twenty-fifth of November, was inveſted by the archduke Charles. On the firſt onſet, a cannonade began, which continued without intermiſſion fifteen days, during which the Auſtrians were repulſed with conſiderable loſs; but the obſtinate reſiſtance of the French, with the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, relaxed the operations of the archduke for ſome time; till on the renewal of the attack, on the twenty-fifth of December, the cannonade was redoubled on both ſides, and Kehl was in a few days reduced to a heap of ruins. A capitulation was then propoſed by general Deſaix, who waited perſonally on prince Charles. The prince would not agree to the conditions which were propoſed. Deſaix refuſed to make any alteration, and obſerved that he ſhould make uſe of his laſt reſource. "What reſource have you left?" replied the archduke. The French general obſerved, that he had ſo many men, and ſuch a quantity of powder remaining; and that rather than ſubmit to a diſhonourable capitulation, he would blow up the Auſtrian camp, and both armies ſhould periſh in one common ruin. The archduke inſtantly ſigned the capitulation, and left the French twenty-four hours to tranſport to the other ſide the remainder of the ſtores and artillery, which had been employed in the glorious reſiſtance which this fortreſs had made.

By the ſurrender of Kehl the campaign of 1796 was terminated on the Rhine. A campaign which had effected in a few months, more than has been achieved during the continuance of the longeſt war; which had ſhaken Europe to its foundations, rendered it one vaſt theatre of carnage, and crimſoned with blood every river, from the frontiers of Holland, to the Adriatic gulph.

The new parliament met on the twenty-ſeventh of September, purſuant to prorogation, and, upon the motion of lord Frederic Campbell, the houſe of commons re-elected Mr. H. Addington for their ſpeaker.

On the ninth of October, his majeſty repaired to the houſe of peers, and opened the ſeſſion of parliament with a ſpeech from the throne; in which he informed both houſes, of his intention to ſend a perſon to Paris to negotiate a peace; but enjoined them not to relax in their efforts, at a moment when the enemy had manifeſted a deſign of attempting a deſcent on theſe kingdoms. He expreſſed his ſatisfaction in reviewing the exertions of the navy, the operations in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, and the general conduct of the Britiſh forces: highly extolling the intrepidity, diſcipline, and invincible ſpirit of his Auſtrian allies, under the auſpicious direction of the archduke Charles, which had lately given ſo favourable a turn to the courſe of the war on the continent, as to inſpire a well-grounded confidence of future ſucceſs. He noticed the hoſtile diſpoſition of the court of Madrid; expreſſed reliance on the zeal and public ſpirit of the commons for the neceſſary ſupplies, and aſſured his parliament of his hearty deſire to concur with them in every effort to defeat the deſigns of the enemy, and reſtore to his people the bleſſings of a ſecure and honourable peace. Addreſſes were moved and carried on the occaſion in both houſes, by a great majority †.

The commons, on the eighteenth of October, took into

ſhould be granted on each ſide, to all individuals, the moſt unlimited right to withdraw with their families and their property, to ſell their land and other immoveable poſſeſſions; and a lequate arrangements ſhould alſo be made, in the courſe of this negotiation, for the removal of all ſequeſtrations, and for the ſatisfaction of their juſt claims, which individuals on either ſide may have to make upon the reſpective governments.

The executive directory alſo publiſhed a note on the diſmiſſal of lord Malmeſbury.

* The republican ſociety of united Iriſhmen had applied to the Directory, to convince them how eaſy it was to excite a general inſurrection againſt the government. Deluded by their ſpecious repreſentations, the French ſent out a fleet, and gave Hoche the command of the troops. A part of the armament caſt anchor in Bantry Bay, where they continued for ſeveral days without attempting to invade the country. Having waited in vain for the reſt of the fleet, the ſhips ſailed away: others indeed made their appearance; but a continuance of ſtormy weather defeated the views of the enemy.

† In the month of October, 1796, a circumſtance occurred at the mayor's dinner at *Bath*, which reflects much honour on the police of that city, and the prudent conduct of its inhabitants. Great quantities of meat being taken away untouched from the tables, ſome gentlemen were obſerving

into conſideration that part of his majeſty's ſpeech which related to the enemy's deſign of invading theſe kingdoms; on which occaſion the miniſter propoſed meaſures for augmenting both the ſea and land forces, and moved for a bill for that purpoſe*.

The ground of the motion was conteſted by Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Fox, who were of opinion, that there was not ſufficient cauſe for apprehending the danger of an invaſion, though in the preſent ſtage of the bill they did not oppoſe it; and ſeveral reſolutions were carried to further the intentions of the miniſter, which were eſſentially promoted by the paſſing of a bill, a few days after, for raiſing ſixty thouſand ſupplementary militia, conſiſting both of infantry and cavalry.

On the thirteenth of December, in the houſe of lords, lord Grenville moved the order of the day for taking into conſideration a meſſage from his majeſty. The meſſage being read by the clerk, his lordſhip ſaid, he confided in what he had to propoſe to the houſe, that he ſhould meet with the greateſt unanimity. In the courſe of his preſent majeſty's reign, the court of Spain had three times declared war againſt this country, without the leaſt provocation, and always for the purpoſe of interfering in the concerns of the French. In every one of theſe inſtances, they had proceeded upon the moſt frivolous pretences, and the court of Great Britain had done every thing in its power to maintain peace. Whatever might have influenced the conduct of the court of Madrid on former occaſions, they might fairly be ſaid in the preſent caſe to be ſtill more frivolous than any that had preceded it. His majeſty had taken every poſſible ſtep to maintain peace between two great nations. He had endeavoured to bring the matters in diſpute, trivial as they appeared to be on the face of the declaration, to an amicable concluſion, by a cool and friendly treaty; but in this he had been prevented by an abrupt and unprovoked declaration of war on the part of the court of Madrid. Thus ſituated, he could not ſuppoſe for a moment that any one who feels for the honour and dignity of the crown, and the deareſt intereſts of the Britiſh empire, would have the leaſt objection to what he had to move, which was, that an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, thanking him for his communication, and aſſuring him, that their lordſhips would give him every aſſiſtance in ſupport of a war, againſt the unprovoked attack and declaration of the Spaniſh monarch. The addreſs was carried *nem. con.*

On the ſame day, in the houſe of commons, Mr. Dundas made a ſimilar motion to that of lord Grenville in the houſe of lords, which was alſo carried *nem. con.*

The following day Mr. Fox brought forward a motion for a vote of cenſure upon miniſters, for ſending money to the emperor, without the authority of parliament. After having briefly recapitulated the ſums, and the different times at which they were tranſmitted to the emperor, and deprecated the ſtrides the crown was making on the privileges of that houſe, and on the liberties of the people, in conſequence of the vaſt increaſe of the revenue—the creation of new ſpecies of treaſon—the cruel puniſhments of the courts—and the enormous military eſtabliſhments—he ſaid, if to all theſe engines of power the executive government could add the command of the appropriation of the public money, we had no longer a ſecurity left for preſerving our once boaſted conſtitution. He therefore moved, "That his majeſty's miniſters, having authoriſed and directed, at different times, without the conſent, and during the ſitting of parliament, the iſſue of various ſums of money, for the ſervice of his imperial majeſty, and alſo for the ſervice of the army under the prince of Conde, have acted contrary to their duty, and to the truſt repoſed in them, and have therefore violated the conſtitutional privileges of this houſe." Mr. alderman Combe, at the requeſt of his conſtituents, in common hall aſſembled, ſeconded the motion.

Mr. Pitt ſaid, that the practice now complained of had been purſued by all his predeceſſors, and he quoted a number of precedents in the journals that bore analogy to the preſent caſe, in which the moſt eminent miniſters in all the reigns from king William to his preſent majeſty, had, when neceſſity urged, adopted without cenſure, meaſures ſimilar to that for which he was now ſo violently arraigned. He ſaid it was on precedents ſuch as theſe, ariſing from a zeal for the public ſervice, that he reſted his defence; and after entreating the houſe to view the ſubject in the aggregate, and with all its concomitant circumſtances, threw himſelf upon its candour and juſtice, declaring, that he had rather ſink under its cenſure, than ſuffer the painful reflection of having ſacrificed, through timidity, the intereſts of his country.

Mr. Bragge vindicated the meaſures of the chancellor of the exchequer, and moved the following amendment:—"That the meaſure of advancing the ſeveral ſums of money, which appear, from the accounts preſented to the houſe this ſeſſion of parliament, to have been iſſued for the ſervice of the em-

obſerving what a leaſt it would be to the poor people in the priſon: but the mayor aſſured the company that he had the day before made enquiry at the gaol, and found *the keeper its only inhabitant*, there being not a ſingle *felon or debtor* in it.

* On the ſeventeenth of November, 1796, Catherine II, empreſs of Ruſſia, died of an apoplexy in the ſixty-ſeventh year of her age, and the ſixteenth of her reign; on which event her ſon, the great duke Paul Petrowitz, was proclaimed emperor.

peror, though not to be drawn into precedent, but upon occaſions of ſpecial neceſſity, was, under the peculiar circumſtances of the caſe, a juſtifiable and proper exerciſe of the diſcretion veſted in his majeſty's miniſters by the vote of credit, and calculated to produce conſequences which have proved highly advantageous to the common cauſe, and to the general intereſts of Europe."

The aldermen Curtis, Luſhington, and Anderſon, (the other three members for the city) ſaid they ſhould not, like their colleague (alderman Combe) be guided by the reſolutions of the common hall of livery that day, which meeting, they remarked, did not conſiſt of one-fixth part of the livery-men—but they would vote according to their own ſentiments, for the amendment. The amendment was alſo ſupported by Mr. Wilberforce and colonel Gaſcoigne; and warmly oppoſed by Mr. Sheridan, ſir W. Pulteney, Mr. W. Smith, Mr. Taylor, and others. But, on a diviſion, it was carried in favour of the amendment by a majority of two hundred and four.

On the nineteenth, Mr. Pitt, in conſequence of a meſſage from his majeſty, reſpecting the expediency of the nation being prepared for a vigorous proſecution of the war, in caſe of the failure of the negotiation for peace; moved in a committee of ſupply, that a ſum not exceeding five hundred thouſand pounds ſhould be granted to his majeſty, to enable him to remit, from time to time, to his Imperial majeſty, ſuch ſums as might be thought neceſſary for the proſecution of the war, ſhould another campaign be rendered unavoidable.

Mr. Fox, after alluding to the late ſupply to the emperor, and the manner in which the miniſter diſpoſed of the public money, ſaid, it was a deluſion any longer to ſuppoſe that houſe had influence or direction over its diſtribution. Mr. Fox, ſir William Pulteney, and Mr. Sheridan propoſed different amendments, to deſtroy the effect of the motion, but they were all negatived without a diviſion, and the motion was carried.

In the houſe of lords, the following day, lord Grenville, in conſequence of his majeſty's meſſage, moved that an humble addreſs ſhould be preſented, promiſing to aſſiſt his majeſty, conformable to the purport of the meſſage. The noble lord ſaid a few words on the propriety of aſſiſting the emperor with a loan.

On the twenty-firſt, the order of the day being read for the commitment of the loan bill, the duke of Norfolk ſaid, he reproached himſelf for ſuffering the bill to proceed ſo far without ſome comment on the conduct of miniſters, who had not even thought it neceſſary to communicate to the houſe a ſingle ſyllable, on a bill, that added eighteen millions to the debt of the nation. In his opinion, the terms of the loan were diſadvantageous to the public. He therefore moved an inſtruction to the committee, to empower the lords of the treaſury to poſtpone the payment of the loan till the three per cents, were at ſeventy-five.

It was oppoſed by lord Grenville and negatived.

The laſt debate which took place in both houſes of parliament, in 1796, was on the ſubject of lord Malmeſbury's miſſion to negotiate a peace with the French republic, in conſequence of a meſſage from his majeſty relative to that momentous affair. On the thirtieth of December, in the houſe of lords, lord Grenville, in a very able manner entered into the correſpondence between lord Malmeſbury and M. de la Croix, and concluded by moving an addreſs to his majeſty. The earl of Guildford moved an amendment, reflecting on the conduct of his majeſty's miniſters in the late negotiation; and aſſuring his majeſty that the houſe would proceed with unremiting diligence to inveſtigate the cauſes of our preſent calamities, and to offer ſuch advice as the critical and alarming circumſtances of the nation may require.

Lord Fitzwilliam diſapproved the original motion and amendment, and moved to recognize the principle of the war, agreeable to the reſolution of the houſe in 1794. The duke of Bedford and lords Abingdon and Derby were in favour of the firſt amendment. Lords Kinnoul, Spencer, and the lord chancellor, oppoſed it; and on a diviſion, the numbers were—contents eighty-eight, non-contents eight—majority againſt the amendment eighty. Lord Fitzwilliam's motion was negatived without a diviſion.

In the houſe of commons, Mr. Pitt having entered into a general review of all the circumſtances attending the overtures which had been made in order to a pacification; and commented on the confidential memorial delivered on the peace with Spain and Holland, and alſo on lord Malmeſbury's converſation with the French miniſter for foreign affairs on this ſubject; moved an addreſs to his majeſty to the uſual effect.

Mr. Erſkine roſe to oppoſe the addreſs, and was entering into a detail of the hiſtory of the war, when he was taken ſuddenly ill, and found himſelf unable to proceed.

Mr. Fox then roſe, and after diſcuſſing a variety of ſubjects, inſiſted upon the abſurdity and imbecility of lord Malmeſbury's miſſion; who was ſent to treat on ſubjects on which he had no power to conclude any terms, and with powers to come to a definitive concluſion on ſubjects of which he was not empowered to treat. The terms propoſed to France left her nothing, and were not ſuch as the allies were juſtified by their comparative circumſtances in demanding. He ſaid the miniſter excelled in artifice and ſophiſtry; but theſe were not the qualities now wanted to give repoſe to Europe. He concluded by moving an amendment, ſimilar to that propoſed by the earl of Guildford in the other houſe.

Mr. Dundas ſaid, the propoſed amendment went

to record a propoſition tending to ſtrengthen the hands of the enemy, and weaken our own country. He animadverted ſeverely on the conduct of Mr. Fox, whom he repreſented as the advocate of France, rather than of Great Britain.

The houſe divided on Mr. Fox's amendment, when the numbers were, for the amendment, ayes thirty-ſeven—noes two hundred and twelve—majority one hundred and ſeventy-five.

The firſt buſineſs of importance which demanded the attention of parliament in 1797, was in conſequence of a meſſage from his majeſty, on the twenty-ſeventh of February *, when lord Grenville preſented to the houſe, by his majeſty's command, a copy of the order of the privy council, ſignifying that, upon the repreſentation of the chancellor of the exchequer, ſtating, that from the univerſal demand for ſpecie made upon the metropolis, in conſequence of ill-founded alarms in different parts of the country; it was the unanimous opinion of the board, that it was neceſſary for the public ſervice, that the bank of England ſhould forbear iſſuing any caſh † in payment, till the ſenſe of parliament could be taken on that ſubject. The duke of Norfolk expreſſed ſurpriſe that ſo extraordinary a meaſure ſhould have been taken upon the repreſentation of the chancellor of the exchequer only; and moved, "that an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, humbly ſoliciting him to prevent any further exportation of gold or ſilver in coin, or gold or ſilver in bullion, for the uſe of the emperor, or any other foreign power, until the ſenſe of parliament ſhould have been taken on the ſubject, after a full view of the cauſe of the public exigencies, on which his majeſty has been this day adviſed to iſſue a moſt extraordinary proclamation." A number of lords here called out it was no "proclamation;" upon which his grace ſubſtituted inſtead of it, "order of council." The motion was negatived, and a ſecret committee of nine was appointed to enquire into the finances of the bank, and make their report to the houſe.

The chancellor of the exchequer on the ſame day, in the houſe of commons, ſtated the neceſſity of proceeding to the appointment of a ſecret committee, for the ſame purpoſe as that for which a motion was carried in the other houſe; and on the following day he moved, "that a ſecret committee be appointed, to aſcertain the amount of the outſtanding debts of the bank, and the means of anſwering them." Mr. Fox expreſſed infinite concern at the embarraſſment in which the country was involved by miniſterial miſconduct; cenſured the order of council as unconſtitutional, and recommended a minute inveſtigation of the affairs of the bank. Mr. Sheridan moved, that the committee ſhould enquire into the cauſes which had produced the order. Mr. Dundas, however, oppoſed this ſuggeſtion, as tending to delay, and it was exploded by a majority of one hundred and fifty-eight. The great point of diſpute on this occaſion was, whether the enquiry propoſed by the chancellor of the exchequer, ſhould be extended to the cauſes which produced the neceſſity of the order in council, or ſhould be confined, in the preſent inſtance, merely to the ſtability of the bank, to anſwer every demand upon them. Mr. Pitt and the other miniſters contended, that the occaſion called for immediate deciſion upon the latter ſubject. Mr. Fox and the gentlemen in oppoſition urged, that a fair, full, and open enquiry was abſolutely requiſite to calm the minds of the people, and to re-eſtabliſh public credit. However, both parties admitted the perfect ſolvency of the bank to be a fact beyond diſpute.

On the third of March, a bill to enable the bank of England to iſſue notes under five pounds, paſſed the houſe of lords; a bill to the ſame effect having been carried in the houſe of commons, on the firſt of the ſame month. Motions were alſo made in both houſes, for the appointment of committees to enquire into the cauſes of the order of council, and long debates enſued, but the motions were negatived by great majorities; by which a reſtriction on the bank from payment in caſh for a ſtated time was likewiſe confirmed.

At firſt this meaſure created much popular alarm, but the public mind became ſoon reconciled to it, from a conviction of its neceſſity. The iſſuing of twenty-ſhilling notes, and Spaniſh dollars, at the rate of four ſhillings and nine-pence each, from the bank, contributed much to diſſipate their fears.

On the twenty-firſt, earl Moira roſe in the houſe of lords, to bring forward a motion on the ſtate of Ireland. He ſet out with admitting the apparent delicacy of the queſtion; he allowed the propriety of the ſeparate and independent legiſlatures of both kingdoms adhering to the conſtitutional bounds preſcribed to them in particular caſes, and was aware of the allowable jealouſy which, on ſuch occaſions, ſhould be entertained by either; but ſuch a line of reaſoning could not apply to the preſent occaſion. He contended that, when an urgent neceſſity aroſe, when circumſtances took place in which the general welfare of both kingdoms were involved, it was neceſſary, that either the one or the other ſhould boldly ſtep forward, and with manly openneſs, avow its ſenti-

* A. D. 1797.

† The frequent remittances of caſh to foreign princes, and the practice of individuals to withdraw their money from banking houſes, for the purpoſe of preſerving it, had diminiſhed the circulation of coin to an alarming degree; in conſequence of which an order againſt the iſſue of caſh from the bank was enforced; a circumſtance which did not demonſtrate, though it created in timid minds, a dread of national bankruptcy.

ſentiments, in ſuch a manner as to evince to the public the purity of its motives, and that it was on great and obvious grounds of public utility alone that its interference was offered. His lordſhip then moved, "That an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, imploring his paternal and benevolent intervention to remedy the diſcontents which unhappily prevail in his majeſty's kingdom of Ireland, and threatened ſeriouſly to affect the deareſt intereſts of the Britiſh empire."

On the queſtion being put, lord Grenville roſe and declared, that he deemed the propoſed call upon his majeſty to be at leaſt highly ſuperfluous; there was no need of imploring his paternal intervention; the whole tenor of his conduct towards Ireland ſhewed there was no neceſſity for urging him. He concluded by obſerving that he would trouble their lordſhips no farther than to ſay, he deemed it his duty to give the motion his decided negative.

Earl Fitzwilliam ſpoke in favour of the motion. The earl of Liverpool expreſſed his decided diſapprobation of it. The marquis of Lanſdowne ſupported the motion.

The queſtion being called for, the houſe divided on lord Moira's motion, when it appeared that the majority againſt it was ſeventy-one.

A few days after, the earl of Oxford made a motion for a negotiation for peace, which was negatived by a great majority.

On the twenty-ſeventh of the ſame month, the earl of Suffolk made a motion in the houſe of lords, "That an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, praying that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to remove from his councils his miniſter, namely, the firſt lord of the treaſury, who by his miſconduct had forfeited the confidence of the people." Preparatory to his motion, the noble earl adverted to the conduct of miniſters in general. He ſaid, their whole ſyſtem was to govern by influence; they had libelled the loyalty of the people, and branded every man with the epithets of *Jacobin* and *Democrat* who oppoſed their meaſures. In tracing them through every court on the continent, from the treaty of Pilnitz to the preſent moment, duplicity, incapacity, and corruption were diſcernible in all their meaſures. Lord Grenville very ably replied to the charges in the noble earl's addreſs. He ſaid that, with regard to the tenor of the motion, he muſt ſay he never knew any inſtance of the kind, where ſuch a motion was brought forward without any one ſpecific charge alledged, of miſconduct or malverſation againſt the perſon in queſtion; it was therefore unneceſſary to dwell on that head. He thought it neceſſary, however, to ſay, that one part of the noble lord's accuſation had no foundation in truth. The treaty of Pilnitz, he aſſerted, was not only entered into without the participation, but even without the knowledge of the Britiſh government.

A long debate enſued, at the concluſion of which a diviſion took place: contents eighty-ſix, proxies eighteen; non-contents fifteen, proxies two; majority eighty-ſeven.

A ſecond budget was opened by the chancellor of the exchequer on the twenty-ſixth, when he took occaſion to propoſe the taxes for paying the intereſt of the money raiſed by loan, and brought forward a ſtring of reſolutions which were agreed to.

On the reſolution for an increaſed duty on newſpapers, a diviſion enſued,—ayes one hundred and fifty-one, noes forty-three—majority one hundred and eight.

Mr. W. Smith obſerved, that if the marriage of the princeſs royal took place, a further ſum would be neceſſary to provide for her dower of eighty or one hundred thouſand pounds: to this was to be added four hundred thouſand pounds at leaſt for the increaſed pay of the ſeamen, and the additional bonus to the ſubſcribers of the loyalty loan would amount to about three hundred thouſand pounds more, making together a further ſum to be provided for of eight hundred thouſand pounds. Mr. Pitt making no reply, the queſtion was put, "That the reſolutions be read a ſecond time," and carried. The oppoſition members then roſe and left the houſe in a body. The reſolutions were read and agreed to, and bills ordered to be brought in for carrying them into effect.

On the third of May was preſented to the houſe of lords a meſſage from his majeſty, ſimilar to that delivered to the houſe of commons on the ſame day, reſpecting the intended marriage of the princeſs royal to the hereditary prince of Wirtemberg. An addreſs was moved to his majeſty, in anſwer to his gracious meſſage, which was prefaced by an obſervation, that the utmoſt unanimity muſt pervade the houſe on ſuch an occaſion, and that all their lordſhips muſt feel happy in expreſſing their congratulation at an event which produced ſuch an advantageous alliance, and contributed to the domeſtic happineſs of his majeſty's royal family.

The addreſs was then read, which, after thanking his majeſty for his moſt gracious communication, faithfully echoed the meſſage, and expreſſed the concurrence of the houſe in the warmeſt and moſt affectionate language. The queſtion was then put, and the addreſs voted *nem. diſ.* A ſimilar motion was put and carried in the houſe of commons.

The motion for the abolition of the ſlave trade was made, as uſual, on the fifteenth, by Mr. Wilberforce, and debated on with warmth and ability by its advocates and opponents; when, on a diviſion, there appeared to be a majority of eight againſt the motion.

Mr. alderman Combe, ſoon after moved, "That an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, praying that he would diſmiſs from his preſence and councils

councils his miniſters, as the moſt likely means f obtaining a ſpeedy and permanent peace." S W. Milner ſeconded the motion.

After a long and vehement debate, there appeare for the motion fifty-nine, againſt it two hundred ar forty-two.

About the ſame time, the duke of Bedford move in the houſe of peers for an addreſs to his majeſty remove his miniſters; the motion was negatived b a majority of ſeventy-ſeven. His grace, and man of the peers who voted with him, alſo expreſſed the intention, as they found their efforts to ſave the country were in vain, not to trouble the houſe an more upon public buſineſs.

On the twentieth of July, his majeſty repaired t the houſe of peers, and prorogued the parliamen after having delivered a moſt gracious ſpeech fro the throne, expreſſing his approbation of their me ſures, returning thanks to the commons for their l beral ſupplies, and aſſuring both houſes, that n thing ſhould be wanting on his part, to bring the in portant negotiation for peace, in which he was en gaged, to a ſucceſsful termination, on ſuch cond tions as might be conſiſtent with the ſecurity, honou and eſſential intereſts of his dominions *.

The campaign of 1797, opened under auſpicio circumſtances for France, as well as Spain, who w now in alliance with her. Sardinia acted a ſubord nate part under her controul: Tuſcany obeyed hi requiſitions; and Naples had concluded a ſeparat peace. In this ſituation the eyes of the court of Vienna, and indeed of all Europe, were directed to the archduke Charles, who was ſaid to inherit the military talents of the houſe of Lorraine. It was accordingly determined that this young prince ſhould be appointed commander in chief; and that the hero of Kehl ſhould oppoſe the hero of Italy.

In the month of January, a variety of operations took place. At firſt the archduke was ſucceſsful in compelling the French to ſurrender the Tete-de-Pont of Huninguen to the Auſtrians. By the terms of capitulation, the French were allowed four days to evacuate the fort, and the Auſtrians engaged not to fire upon Huninguen during the war, unleſs the French effected the paſſage of the Rhine.

But the fortune of war ſoon turned favourable to the victorious Bonaparte, who gained the advantage over the Auſtrians in five battles on five ſucceſſive days. Theſe were the battles of St. Michael, Corono, Anguiari, Rivoli, and La Favorite. In the laſt of theſe actions, he took ſeven thouſand priſoners, with ſtandards, cannon, all the baggage of the army, a regiment of huſſars, and a conſiderable convoy of grain and cattle, which the enemy was endeavouring to convey into Mantua. General Wurmſer attempted a ſortie to attack the left wing of the French army, but was received with ſuch reſolution, that he was obliged to return: Thus in the ſhort ſpace of three or four days, the fifth army of the emperor was totally deſtroyed. The French took twenty-three thouſand priſoners, among whom were one lieutenant-general, and ten generals; ſix thouſand men were killed or wounded, and about twenty-four ſtandards taken. All the battalions of the volunteers of Vienna were made priſoners: their ſtandards were embelliſhed by the hands of the empreſs.

* On the ſixteenth of December, 1796, a letter was ſent to each of the admirals and captains, whoſe names were mentioned in the Gazette by earl Howe, as having ſignalized themſelves in the action of the firſt of June, 1794, accompanying the medal which has been preſented to them.

"My lord, or ſir,

"The king having been pleaſed to order a certain "number of gold medals to be ſtruck in commemoration "of the victory obtained by his majeſty's fleet, under the "command of earl Howe, over that of the enemy, in the "actions of the twenty-ninth of May, and the firſt of June, "1794, I am commanded by his majeſty to preſent to "your lordſhip one of the medals above-mentioned, and "to ſignify his majeſty's pleaſure that you ſhould wear it "when in your uniform, in the manner deſcribed by the "directions, (which together with the medal and ribband "belonging to it) I have the honour to tranſmit to you.

"I am alſo commanded by his majeſty to acquaint your "lordſhip, that, had it been poſſible for all the officers, "on whom his majeſty is pleaſed to confer this mark of "his approbation, to attend perſonally in London, *his "majeſty would have preſented the medal to each of them in "perſon*; but that being from various cauſes, at this time, "impoſſible, in order to obviate all further delay, he has, "therefore, been pleaſed to direct them to be forwarded "in this manner.

"Allow me to expreſs the great ſatisfaction I feel in "being made the channel of communicating to your lord-"ſhip ſo diſtinguiſhed a mark of his majeſty's approba-"tion. I have the honour to be, &c.

SPENCER."

Admiralty, Nov. 30, 1796.

The admirals to wear the medal ſuſpended by a ribband about their necks; the captains to wear the medal ſuſpended to a ribband, but faſtened through the third and fourth button-hole, on the left ſide. The colour of the ribband blue and white.

It is here particularly worthy of remark, that rear-admiral Caldwell, a brave and meritorious officer, whoſe unremitting ſervices, whoſe perſevering activity, zeal, and courage, had never, for a long ſeries of years, been once ſullied by the breath of calumny or ſuſpicion, was, with three or four other officers, omitted in the honourable mention made by lord Howe, in his official diſpatches, of thoſe whom he thought entitled to "his particular thanks" for their exertions upon this occaſion. We ſhall not, however, preſume to animadvert on this extraordinary omiſſion. *Naval Chron.* xi. 8. But on the fourteenth of February, 1799, he was elevated to the rank of admiral of the blue ſquadron.

Mantua ſurrendered on the ſecond of February, the inevitable conſequence of the total defeat of the Auſtrian armies on three ſucceſſive days. The terms were honourable. The garriſon were made priſoners, but marched out with military honours; and the veteran general Wurmſer, then upwards of ſeventy years of age, was excepted from the humiliating condition of appearing as a priſoner of war*. It was ſuppoſed that upwards of five thouſand horſes were taken.

On the twenty-ſecond of the ſame month, the victorious army of Italy attacked and defeated the enemy in the Tyroleſe; and, on the other ſide, a column entered the territory of the pope.

The van-guard of general Victor's diviſion, commanded by general of brigade Leſne, in which were the grenadiers of the legion of Lombardy, attacked the army of the pope on the Cenio, turned it in fording the river, and the enemy was aſſailed and routed in the ſame moment. The grenadiers of Lombardy carried the batteries with fixed bayonets. The pope loſt in priſoners one thouſand men, and twenty-ſix officers; in killed, from four to five hundred men, eight ſtand of colours, fourteen pieces of cannon, and eight caiſſons. The ſeventh regiment of huſſars, commanded by the aid-de-camp Junot, purſued the papal cavalry for ten miles, but could not overtake it.

The army of the pope having experienced ſuch ſignal defeats, his holineſs found himſelf again diſpoſed to make overtures to the enemy, and peace was accordingly concluded between him and the French, in conſequence of a letter from him to general Bonaparte†.

From ſuch a ſeries of victories obtained by the republican forces over the armies of the emperor, the French, by the twenty-eighth of March, became entire maſters of the provinces of Carniole and Carintha, the diſtrict of Trieſte, and the whole of Tyrol; and fixed their head quarters at Vilnach, within ſixty leagues of Vienna. At length, from a ſucceſſion of unfortunate events, the emperor thought it prudent to enter into a negotiation; a meſſage from the directory was therefore communicated to the council of five hundred, reſpecting the preliminaries of peace between France and the emperor, announcing that hoſtilities thoughout Germany had ceaſed. The baſis of theſe preliminaries, approved by the executive directory, were the ceſſion of Belgium by the emperor and king; the acknowledgment of the limits of France, ſuch as they have been decreed by the laws of the republic; the eſtabliſhment, and the independence of a republic in Lombardy. The emperor recognized the independence of the Batavian republic. He received as an indemnification, a part of the Terra Firma of Venice; Venice was to receive in exchange the legations of Bologna and Ferrara; and there was to be a congreſs at Berne, to

* Bonaparte, in addreſſing the executive directory, thus expreſſes himſelf: "I have endeavoured to diſplay the generoſity of a Frenchman towards general Wurmſer, who is ſeventy years of age, to whom fortune has been particularly cruel during this campaign; but who has never ceaſed to manifeſt a conſtancy and a courage which hiſtory will record. Surrounded on every ſide, after the battle of Garda, and having loſt, at one blow, a part of Tyrol and of his army, he yet dared to hope that he ſhould be able to take refuge at Mantua, from which he was at the diſtance of four or five days journey; he paſſed the Adige, routed one of our advanced guards at Cerea, croſſed the Molinella, and arrived at Mantua. Shut up in this city, he made two or three ſorties, all of them unfortunate, though he himſelf commanded every time. But beſides the very conſiderable obſtacle which our lines of circumvallation preſented to him, augmented by tracts of country which he was obliged to ſurmount, he could only act with ſoldiers diſcouraged by many defeats, and weakened by the peſtilential ſickneſs which prevailed in Mantua. That numerous body of men, who always make a point of calumniating the unhappy, will, however, doubtleſs, load Wurmſer with calumny."

A new effort to prevent the ſovereign people from enjoying too great a ſhare of authority, was now made by the French directory, in a meſſage to the council of five hundred; wherein, after ſpeaking myſteriouſly of conſpirators, whoſe hopes were not yet annihilated, they inſinuated the propriety of denying to all who refuſed, or ſhould refuſe, to take the oath of *hatred to royalty*, the right of voting; conſidering the people, on this occaſion, as public functionaries. The oppoſition party reprobated this attempt to introduce a new topic of diſcord, and denied the ſophiſtical aſſertion, that a man voting for a repreſentative was a public functionary; they agreed, however, that each elector ſhould *promiſe*, but not *ſwear* attachment to the republic, and fidelity to the conſtitution, and engage to defend them with all his power, againſt the attacks of royalty and anarchy. The council of ancients, after a tumultuous diſcuſſion, acceded to the propoſed law. *Adolphus's Hiſt. of France*, ii. 297.

† The pope's letter and the general's anſwer are admirable ſpecimens of hypocriſy.

The pope, in his epiſtle, calls the general his *dear ſon*, and concludes as follows: "Aſſured of the ſentiments of good will which you have manifeſted, we have abſtained from removing any thing from Rome, by which you will be perſuaded of the entire confidence which we repoſe in you. We conclude by aſſuring you of our moſt perfect eſteem, and in giving you the paternal apoſtolic benediction."

Bonaparte replies, "*Moſt holy father*, I ought to thank your holineſs for the obliging things contained in the letter, which you have taken the trouble to write to me.

"The peace between the French republic and your holineſs is juſt ſigned: I felicitate myſelf in having been able to contribute to your perſonal ſafety."

regulate the definitive articles. The two powers were to invite their allies to be present at congress to treat for a general peace.

Mantua was to be restored to the emperor.

The war on the continent might now be considered as terminated. An emperor and a pope humbled; the imperial crown reduced to little more than an empty name, and the pontifical crown held at the will of the conqueror; two kings subjected—one to humiliation, and the other to unconditional submission;—Corfica restored to France without an effort—and a new and formidable republic erected in that country which had beheld the overthrow of five armies appertaining to its ancient master; such is the summary of the political efforts and martial achievements of a general, who had then scarcely attained the thirtieth year of his age *.

In the course of this year the British arms were successful in the West Indies, under general Abercrombie and admiral Hervey. A resolution was formed by those two officers to attack Trinidad, a considerable island to the southward of Tobago. The arrival of part of the convoy from England, enabled them to proceed with confidence in their operations. As soon as the troops could be collected from the different islands, which were ordered to rendezvous at Carracou, the admiral sailed from Martinique, which island he left with his squadron on the twelfth of February. The precision with which the admiral had given his orders to assemble the ships of war and transports, would not admit of a moment of delay. On the fifteenth, in the morning, the fleet sailed from Carracou. The next day it passed through the Boca, or entrance into the gulf of Paria, where they found the Spanish admiral, with four sail of the line and a frigate, at anchor, apparently ready for sailing, under cover of the island of Gaspagrande, which was fortified. The British squadron came to anchor opposite, and almost within gunshot of the Spanish ships. The frigates and transports were ordered to anchor higher up in the bay, and at the distance of nearly five miles from the town of Port d'Espagne. The disposition was immediately made for landing at day-light next morning, and for a general attack upon the town and ships of war †.

At two in the morning of the seventeenth, they perceived the Spanish squadron to be on fire; the ships burned with great fury, one line of battle ship excepted, which escaped the conflagration, and was taken possession of by the English; the enemy at the same time evacuated the island, and abandoned that quarter.

The troops under sir Ralph Abercromby landed without opposition: the chief town was not defended; and the governor readily resigned the whole island. The Spanish troops laid down their arms, and the whole colony passed under the dominion of his Britannic majesty.

"From the admiral," says lieutenant-general Abercrombie, in his dispatch, "I have experienced "every possible co-operation. Captain Woolley, of "his majesty's ship the Arethusa, and captain Wood, "of the Favourite sloop of war, who had been sent "to reconnoitre in the Gulf of Paria, afforded us "minute information of the situation of the enemy "previous to our arrival. Captain Woolley, who "directed the disembarkation, shewed all the zeal "and intelligence which I have experienced from "him on former occasions. To lord Craven, who "begged to attend the expedition, I am indebted "for great zeal and exertion. Lieutenant-colonel "Soter, who is intimately acquainted with this coun-"try, has been, and continues to be, of very great use "to me. I should not do justice to his general cha-"racter, if I did not take this opportunity to ex-"press it. My aid-de-camp, captain Drew, of the "forty-fifth regiment, will have the honour to deli-"ver this letter: he has served long in the country, "and is capable of giving such further information "as may be required. I humbly beg leave to re-"commend him to his majesty."

Lieutenant-colonel Simcoe was also successful in repulsing the enemy who made an attack upon the Grand Anse; and other advantages were obtained by the British troops in the island of St. Domingo, on the thirtieth of May and the second of June.

The naval operations were prosecuted this year with that zeal and courage which have ever distinguished British seamen. Our frigates and smaller cruizers captured great numbers of the enemy's privateers, which infested our coasts; but on the

* In the treaty which Bonaparte concluded with the pope, his holiness renounced all connection with the coalition of crowned heads; engaged to disband the troops which had been raised for the support of the war, and to shut his ports against all the powers at war with the republic. He also ceded Avignon and Venaissin to the French, and consented to pay the conquerors thirty millions of livres, with twenty thousand horse.

† On the first of February in this year, colonel Frederic son of the late Theodore, king of Corfica, shot himself in the west porch of Westminster Abbey. The coroner's inquest pronounced the crime an act of insanity. The remains of this unfortunate gentleman were afterwards interred in the church-yard of St. Anne's, Soho, near the body of his father: about an hour before interment, the following character was placed upon the church-wall at the head of his grave. "Here lie the mortal remains of colonel Frederic, son of Theodore, king of Corfica; in his deportment he was a gentleman; in honour, honesty, and truth, he was princely; he was poor in circumstances, rich in the possession of the most liberal heart; and the greatest distress he laboured under was the want of abilities to relieve the distress of others—God be with him!"

fourteenth of February, a moſt ſignal victory was obtained by the unparalleled nautical ſkill and dauntleſs valour of admiral ſir John Jervis.

The Britiſh ſquadron amounted to no more than fifteen ſail of the line, four frigates, a ſloop of war, and a cutter; of theſe ſix were three-deckers, eight were of ſeventy-four guns, and one of ſixty-four. The Spaniſh fleet conſiſted of twenty-ſeven ſail of the line, one of which was a four-decker, and carried one hundred and thirty-ſix guns; ſix were three-deckers, of one hundred and twelve guns each, two of eighty-four, and eighteen of ſeventy-four.

The gallant and experienced officer had been for ſome time cruizing, with fifteen ſail of the line, off Cape St. Vincent, in hopes of falling in with the Spaniſh fleet. On the evening of the thirteenth his hopes were confirmed, by diſtinctly hearing the report of their ſignal guns, and by intelligence by ſea from captain Foote, of his majeſty's ſhip Niger, who had, with equal judgment and perſeverance, kept company with them for ſeveral days, on the preſcribed rendezvous (which from the ſtrong ſouth-eaſt winds, the fleet had never been able to reach), and that they were not more than three or four leagues diſtant. The admiral anxiouſly awaited the dawn of day, when being on the ſtarboard tack, Cape St. Vincent bearing eaſt by north eight leagues, he had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing a number of ſhips extended from ſouth-weſt to ſouth, the wind then at weſt by ſouth. At forty-nine minutes paſt ten, the weather being extremely hazy, Le Bon Citoyenne, made the ſignal that the ſhips ſeen were of the line, twenty-ſeven in number. His majeſty's ſquadron happily formed in the moſt compact order of ſailing, in two lines. By carrying a preſs of ſail, the admiral was fortunate in getting in with the enemy's fleet at half paſt eleven, before a regular line was formed to oppoſe him. Such a moment was not to be loſt; and, confident in the ſkill, valour, and diſcipline of his officers and men, as well as judging that the honour of his majeſty's arms and the circumſtances of the war in thoſe ſeas required a conſiderable degree of enterprize; ſir John Jervis felt himſelf juſtified in departing from the regular ſyſtem: and paſſing through their fleet, in a line formed with the utmoſt celerity, tacked, and thereby ſeparated one third from the main body, after a partial cannonade, which prevented their rejunction till the evening.

The intrepid Nelſon and Troubridge, in the Captain and Culloden, greatly diſtinguiſhed themſelves in this action. For a conſiderable time their ſhips were engaged with ſix of the Spaniſh veſſels. At length they were ſupported by the Blenheim; and the exertions of captain Collingwood, in the Excellent, were highly inſtrumental in ſaving them from capture. When commodore Nelſon's ſhip was diſabled, he prepared to board the San Nicholas, and his orders for that purpoſe were inſtantly obeyed. The cabin door was forced by ſome marines; and, ruſhing upon the quarter-deck, he perceived that captain Berry was nearly maſter of the ſhip. All oppoſition being ſubdued in this veſſel, the San Joſef was boarded; when the Spaniſh officers delivered up their ſwords to the commodore. Though the conflict was partial, ſome other ſhips beſides thoſe we have particulariſed, had a ſhare in it*. By the exertions of thoſe which had the good fortune to come up with the enemy on the larboard tack, four of their ſhips were captured, viz. the Salvador de Murfi of one hundred and twelve guns; the San Joſeph of one hundred and twelve guns; the San Nicolas of eighty-four guns; and the San Yſidor, of ſeventy-four guns. The action ceaſed about five o'clock in the evening.

In the ſquadron under the command of ſir John Jervis, ſeventy-three were killed, and two hundred and twenty-ſeven wounded: total three hundred. In the captured veſſels, upwards of ſix hundred are ſaid to have ſuffered. The gallant admiral was honoured with the thanks of both houſes of parliament, and rewarded with a peerage and a penſion.

Equal honour was reflected on the Britiſh flag by

* On the twenty-eighth of December, 1797, admiral Nelſon received, at the office of Mr. Wilkes, (who was then chamberlain of the city of London) a gold box value one hundred guineas, voted him for his bravery and conduct in the Britiſh ſervice. The chamberlain thus addreſſed him on the occaſion:

"Rear admiral ſir *Horatio Nelſon*, I give you joy, and "with true ſatisfaction I return you thanks, in the name "of the lord mayor, aldermen, and common-council aſ- "ſembled, who have unanimouſly voted you the freedom "of the capital, for your diſtinguiſhed valour and con- "duct in the favourite ſervice of the navy, and particu- "larly againſt a very ſuperior force of the enemy off Cape "St. Vincent, on the fourteenth of February laſt. Many "of our naval commanders have merited highly of their "country by their exertions, but in your caſe there is a "rare heroic modeſty which cannot be ſufficiently ad- "mired. You have given the warmeſt applauſe to your "brother officers, and the ſeamen under your command; "but your own merit you have not mentioned even in "the ſlighteſt manner; and the relation of the ſevere and "cruel wounds you ſuffered in the ſervice of your coun- "try, is tranſmitted by your noble commander in chief. "May you long live to enjoy the grateful benedictions of "the country, which you honour and protect."

Sir Horatio Nelſon's anſwer.—"Sir, Nothing could be "more gratifying to me (as it muſt be to every ſea-officer) "than receiving the high honour this day conferred upon "me, in becoming a freeman of the great city of London; "and I beg you to believe, and to aſſure my fellow-citi- "zens, that my hand and head ſhall ever be exerted, "with all my heart, in defence of my king, the laws, "and the juſt liberties of my country; in which are in- "cluded every thing which can be beneficial to the ca- "pital of the empire. I beg leave, Sir, to return you "my ſincere thanks for the very flattering expreſſions "you have honoured me with on this occaſion."

admiral

admiral Duncan, commander in chief of the fleet stationed in the North Sea, to watch the motions of the Dutch squadron which had been all the summer in the Texel. Admiral De Winter sailed out with a view of reinforcing the French, and flattered himself with being able to elude the vigilance of the English. Finding on the tenth of October, that they had come out of harbour, the admiral placed his squadron in such a situation, as to prevent the enemy from returning to the Texel, without falling in with them. At nine in the morning of the eleventh, he happily got sight of captain Trollope's squadron, with signals flying for an enemy to leeward; he immediately bore up, made the signal for a general chace, and soon got sight of them, forming in a line on the larboard tack to receive our fleet; the wind at N. W. As the fleets approached, the British commander made the signal for the squadron to shorten sail, in order to connect them; he soon after saw the land between Camperdown and Egmont, about nine miles to leeward of the enemy, and finding there was no time to be lost in making the attack, made the signal to bear up, break the enemy's line, and engage them to leeward, each ship her opponent, by which he got between them and the land, whither they were hastily approaching. The signals were obeyed with great promptitude, and vice-admiral Onslow, in the Monarch, bore down on the enemy's rear in the most gallant manner, his division following his example, and the action commenced about forty minutes past twelve o'clock. The Venerable (admiral Duncan's ship) soon got through the enemy's line, and began a close action, with his division on their van, which lasted near two hours and a half, when all the masts of the Dutch admiral's ship were observed to go by the board. The ship occupied by De Winter, contended at one time with two, and afterwards with three of our vessels. About two hundred and fifty of her men were killed or wounded. She was, however, gallantly defended for some time, but being over-prefled by numbers, her colours were struck, and admiral De Winter was soon brought on board the Venerable. The ship bearing the vice-admiral's flag was also dismasted, and surrendered to vice-admiral Onslow. Many more of the Dutch at this time, had also struck. One of the enemy's ships caught fire in the action, and drove very near the Venerable; but it was extinguished, and she was one of the ships in possession of the victors. The British squadron suffered much in their masts, yards, and rigging, and many of them lost a number of men; though not in any proportion to that of the enemy. The carnage on board the two ships which bore the admirals' flags, was beyond all description; they had no less than two hundred and fifty men killed and wounded on board of each ship. The loss on board our fleet amounted in killed and wounded to upwards of seven hundred and fifty. Nine of the enemy's ships were taken in this memorable action; more of them struck, but taking advantage of the night, and being so near their own coast, they made their escape, and some of them were seen going into the Texel, the next morning.

Among the slain was captain Burgess of the Ardent, who brought that ship into action, in a most gallant and masterly manner, but was unfortunately killed soon after. The ship, however, continued the action close, till quite disabled. The public, in captain Burgess, lost a good officer, and society a most valuable member. Admiral Duncan received the thanks of parliament for the valour and skill he had manifested on this memorable occasion, and was gratified with a peerage and pension. Even the British ladies were so captivated by the valour of the North British commander, that they decorated their heads and bosoms with plaid ribbons, in honour of the country which gave birth to so illustrious a hero. A most liberal collection was made for the widows and orphans of such of the seaman and marines as fell, or were wounded in the action *.

Success

* In beginning the repairs of *Worcester* cathedral, in 1797, the tomb which stood in the nave, near the chancel, to commemorate the interment of king John, was proposed to be removed to a more convenient place; but, to the astonishment of the workmen, a stone coffin was discovered at the bottom, level with the floor, which, on carefully examining it, was found to contain the remains of the king. From the great length of time the body had been deposited, (so long since as the year 1216,) nothing but conjectural ideas could be formed respecting the vestments, &c. Part of the robe was firm in its texture, but of what colour, could not be ascertained. What was discovered of the body, appeared to be nearly in the same position as the figure on the top of the tomb-stone, and, from the length of the coffin, measured five feet, six inches and a half: part of his sword was lying by his left side, which time had much mouldered; and the leather-sheath was nearly in the same state: the most perfect part was towards the bottom of the legs and feet, on which appeared a kind of half-boot. The robe had the appearance, in some parts, of having been embroidered, particularly on the right knee: no bones of the fingers were to be found. One point ascertained is, that the body certainly was deposited here, and not in the more eastern part of the church, as was supposed; and the extraordinary circumstance of there being no memorandum or record of the place of interment in the archives of the cathedral, is now obviated. The tomb is to remain sacred to the ashes of the king, and will doubtless be preserved with additional care and attention. The dean and chapter gave orders that the curiosity of the people should be gratified as far as could be done consistently with safety; but, the concourse from all parts becoming so great, it was deemed proper to inclose the tomb again in a few days. *From the London Gazette*, 1797.

A letter

Succeſs continued to crown the exertions of our fleets ſtationed on the coaſt: between the ſeventeenth of July, and the ſixth of September, the ſquadron under the command of ſir J. B. Warren, took one French frigate and ſixteen trading veſſels, and deſtroyed five armed ſhips and ſix trading veſſels*. Our naval achievements, however, were tarniſhed by deſperate mutinines in our fleets, attended with moſt diſaſtrous conſequences.

In February, petitions were ſent from all the line of battle ſhips at Portſmouth to lord Howe; but being all apparently written by one perſon, and couched in the ſame language, it was ſuppoſed they were only the productions of a few factious individuals, who were thought too contemptible for notice; the petitions were therefore thrown aſide, and no anſwers returned to them. This, on the return of the fleet to port from the laſt cruize, occaſioned an epiſtolary correſpondence to be kept up through the whole fleet; till at length it was unanimouſly agreed, that no ſhip ſhould lift an anchor till a redreſs of grievances was obtained. In this ſtate matters remained till the fifteenth of April, when admiral Bridport ordered the ſignal for the fleet to prepare for ſea: but, inſtead of weighing anchor, three cheers were given from the Queen Charlotte, as a ſignal for diſaffection, which was followed by every ſhip in the fleet. The officers were aſtoniſhed, and tried various means to bring the men to a ſenſe of their duty; but without effect. The next day a boat from each ſhip was demanded, and two men from the crew of each were appointed delegates to repreſent the whole; and lord Howe's cabin was deemed the moſt proper place for their deliberations. On the ſeventeenth, every man in the fleet was ſworn to ſupport the cauſe in which he had embarked. Their next procedure was the reeving ropes, *in terrorem*, at the fore-yard-arm, and turning all thoſe officers out of the fleet who had given them any offence. The chief aſſerter of theſe demands was Richard Parker, a man of a daring ſpirit, who acted as preſident of the council of delegates.

On the eighteenth, the lords of the admiralty arrived there, and in the courſe of the two following days, ſeveral propoſitions were made by them to reduce the fleet to obedience, but ineffectually. On the twenty-firſt, admirals Gardner, Colpoys, and Pole, went on board the Queen Charlotte, to confer with the delegates, who informed the admirals, that it was the determination of the crews to agree to nothing that ſhould not be ſanctioned by parliament, and guaranteed by the king's proclamation; which ſo irritated admiral Gardner, that he ſeized one of the delegates by the collar, and ſwore he would have them all hanged, with every fifth man throughout the fleet. This circumſtance ſo exaſperated the crew againſt the admiral, that it was with much difficulty he eſcaped from the ſhip with his life.

The delegates from the Royal George returned to their ſhip, and informed the crew of what had happened, who, after ſome conſultation, reſolved on ſummoning all the delegates on board their ſhip, which was done by hoiſting the red or bloody flag, which ſtruck terror through the fleet (the ſignal not being generally underſtood), and particularly to the officers, who trembled for the conſequences, fearing that ſomething dreadfully hoſtile was intended. At this moment, lord Bridport's flag was ſtruck, with a reſolution never to diſplay it again, which drew tears from almoſt all the officers. The fleet then proceeded to load all their guns, ordered a watch to be kept the ſame as at ſea, and put every thing in a ſtate of defence, keeping every officer to his reſpective ſhip. On the twenty-ſecond, the men were in ſome degree pacified, and cauſed two letters to be written, one to the lords of the admiralty, ſtating

* A letter from ſir John Jervis, to Evan Nepean, eſquire, furniſhes an additional laurel to the brow of rear-admiral Nelſon. It is dated, Ville de Paris, off Cadiz, July 5th. It begins thus,—"Sir, I deſire you will acquaint the "lords commiſſioners of the admiralty, that the Terpſichore, with the Thunder bomb, having a detachment "of artillery on board, and the Urchin gun-boat, from Gibraltar, joined on the ſecond inſtant, and the night "following, rear-admiral Nelſon having made his diſpoſitions, the bomb, covered by the gun-boat, launches, "and barges of the fleet, was placed near the tower of "San Sebaſtian, and fired ſome ſhells into the town, "when an attempt was made by the gun-boats, and "launches of the enemy, to carry her. The rear-admiral, *who is always preſent in the moſt arduous enterprizes*, "with the aſſiſtance of ſome other barges, boarded and "carried two of the enemy's gun-boats, and a barge "launch of one of their ſhips of war, with the commandant of the flotilla. In this ſhort conflict, eighteen "or twenty Spaniards were killed, the commandant and "ſeveral wounded; he and twenty-five made priſoners: "the reſt ſwam on ſhore. This ſpirited action was performed with inconſiderable loſs on our part. The "launch of the Ville de Paris was ſunk by a raking ſhot "from the enemy's gun-boats; but, by the active and "intelligent mind of captain Troubridge, got up yeſterday morning, and repaired on board the Culloden. "Rear-admiral Nelſon's actions ſpeak for themſelves: "any praiſe of mine would fall very ſhort of his merit. I "am, ſir, your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

"J. Jervis."

Admiral Nelſon was not ſo fortunate in attacking the town of Santa Cruz, July the twenty-ſeventh, in the iſland of Teneriffe, though he declares that more daring intrepidity was never ſhewn than by the officers and men under his command. In this enterprize, he greatly regretted the loſs of captain Richard Bowen, of the Terpſichore, than whom a more enterprizing, able, and gallant officer does not grace his majeſty's naval ſervice. Many other gallant officers appeared among the ſlain on this occaſion.

the cauſe of their conduct on the preceding day; the other to lord Bridport, in which they ſtiled him their *father* and *friend*, and avowed no intentional offence to him. This had a proper effect; for on the twenty-third, the admiral returned to his ſhip, and re-hoiſted his flag; and, after a ſhort addreſs to the crew, informing them that the painful buſineſs of the laſt week, would be the means of hurrying him ſhortly to his grave, he aſſured them that he had brought with him a redreſs of all their grievances, and his majeſty's pardon for the offenders, which, after ſome deliberation, were accepted, and every man returned to his duty.

The mutiny among the ſeamen, which was ſuppoſed to be happily terminated, in conſequence of the liberal conceſſions of adminiſtration, broke out on the ſeventh of May, with greater violence than ever; occaſioned, it has been ſaid, by a miſrepreſentation of parliamentary diſcuſſion on the ſubject; and by an idea that the conceſſions granted to the ſeamen, would not be adhered to. It was renewed at Spithead. The channel fleet refuſed to put to ſea, under pretext that government did not mean to fulfil their promiſes. The delegates re-aſſembled, and ſent a deputation to the London, admiral Colpoys ſhip, at Portſmouth, whom the admiral refuſed to admit on board, and enforced his authority, by ordering the marines to fire on the boat. This conduct was reſented by the crew of the London, who immediately depoſed the admiral, ſtruck his flag, and hoiſted the enſign of defiance. In this affray, ſeveral ſeamen were wounded, ſome of whom died ſoon after of their wounds. The next day, the London joined the mutinous fleet at Spithead, and ſeveral officers were ſent on ſhore by their crews.

Two days after, the mutinous ſeamen at Spithead, agreed to permit admiral Colpoys to go on ſhore; and the ſame day an act for advancing the pay of ſeamen paſſed both houſes of parliament, which, together with a general pardon, was immediately tranſmitted to Portſmouth. This communication ſeemed to give perfect ſatisfaction to the ſailors, and they immediately agreed to put to ſea with the fleet.

A few days afterwards, rear-admiral Curtis arrived at St. Helen's, from Torbay, and the crews of ſeveral of the ſhips immediately declared themſelves in a ſtate of mutiny, and ſent ſeveral of their officers on ſhore; but on receiving information from the delegates of the channel fleet, that government had complied with their demands, they returned to their duty.

In a few days, ſeveral of the lords of the admiralty ſet off for Sheerneſs, followed by a meſſenger with his majeſty's proclamation, offering his moſt gracious pardon to ſuch men, as, having been ſeduced from their duty, ſhould return to it again.

An admiralty board having been formed at the commiſſioner's houſe, the delegates were ſent for, and introduced to lords Spencer, Arden, &c. One of the ſeamen, named Parker*, the principal delegate, was the advocate for himſelf and for his colleagues, who amounted to about a dozen. They ſtood behind Parker, forming a kind of half circle, and the lords of the admiralty ſeveral times urged them to ſpeak, but none of them would engage in the diſcuſſion, except Parker, who being the premier chief of the delegates, was called the port-admiral.

Lord Spencer addreſſed himſelf to the delegates. He informed them they ſhould have every indulgence that had been granted to the ſeamen at Portſmouth, and with which they had been contented; and his lordſhip expreſſed a hope, that the ſeamen at Sheerneſs would be alſo ſatisfied with thoſe indulgences. The ſeamen ſaid they had other grounds of complaint, and preſented a liſt of them, amounting to eight articles; the firſt and principal of which was, the unequal diſtribution of prize money. The lords commiſſioners aſſured the delegates they could grant nothing of themſelves, but they would mention their demands to thoſe who muſt finally decide upon them. In the courſe of the converſation, lord Spencer aſked them, rather peeviſhly, "What do you want?" To this Parker anſwered, "You are a man of ſenſe, and you know what is due to us; you know what we want." The inſolence of Parker was intolerable. When lord Spencer intimated that he muſt refer their demands to miniſters in London, Parker replied, "Aye, go and conſult the ringleaders of your gang;" and as the delegates were retiring, Parker, in anſwer to ſome very juſt admonitions from lord Spencer, ſaid, "You may all be ——."

* Parker, who became ſo conſpicuous on this occaſion, is ſaid to have deſcended from a reſpectable family in Exeter, Devon. He obtained a good education, was bred in the navy, and, about the concluſion of the American war, was acting lieutenant in one of his majeſty's ſhips. He ſoon came into the poſſeſſion of a conſiderable ſum of money, and, ſhortly after he arrived in Scotland, he married a farmer's daughter in Aberdeenſhire, with whom he received ſome property. At this time, being without employment, he ſoon diſſipated his money, which involved him in debt; on account of which, he was impriſoned in the gaol of Edinburgh, where he was at the time the counties were raiſing ſeamen for the navy. He then entered as one of the volunteers for Perthſhire, received the bounty, and was releaſed from priſon, on paying the incarcerating creditor a part of his bounty. He was put on board the tender then in Leith Roads, commanded by captain Watſon, who carried him with many others to the Nore. On the paſſage, captain Watſon diſtinguiſhed Parker, both by his activity and poliſhed addreſs. That he was the ſame perſon who was known in the mutinous fleet by the appellation of *admiral Parker*, has been clearly aſcertained.

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When the lords of the admiralty returned to town, without having accompliſhed the object of their journey, the mutineers grew bolder: to their mutinous proceedings, they added acts of plunder and piracy. The Grampus ſtore-ſhip, equipped for the Weſt Indies, with a ſupply of naval and ordnance ſtores for the fleet there, was ſtopped by the delegates—the ſtores were taken out of her, and diſtributed among the ſhips under the command of the delegates. The Serapis ſtore-ſhip, from the Weſt Indies, was alſo ſtopped.

On Thurſday, the delegates ſent on ſhore to the admiral a declaration, ſtating their intention of blocking up the river Thames. They ſaid, they had heard that the Dutch fleet was on the point of ſailing; and as they were determined to have their grievances ſettled, they would bring things to an extremity at once. Accordingly the Standard, Inſpector, Brilliant, and Swan, got under weigh, and moored at equal diſtances acroſs the mouth of the Thames. Soon after, ſeveral veſſels ſtanding down the river, were obliged to come to an anchor near the ſhips of the mutineers. The Monmouth at the ſame time moved her birth.

On the ſeventh of June, the earl of Northeſk, who had been long confined on board the Montague, arrived in town from the Nore, with ſome reſolutions adopted by the mutinous delegates, to be preſented to the king. Lord Northeſk, previous to his departure, received the following paper to ratify his credentials.

"*Sandwich, June 6, 3 P. M.*

"To Captain Lord NORTHESK,

"You are hereby authoriſed and ordered to wait upon the king, wherever he may be, with the reſolutions of the committee of delegates, and are directed to return back with an anſwer to the ſame, within fifty-four hours from the date hereof.

"R. PARKER, *Preſident.*"

No anſwer being given to the application of the mutineers, ſhortly after diviſions took place in the rebel councils. A proclamation was now publiſhed, declaring the crews of the ſhips at the Nore in a ſtate of rebellion; and prohibiting all intercourſe between them and his majeſty's faithful ſubjects.

After ſeveral remonſtrances of the delegates, and an attempt to negociate through the medium of lord Northeſk, the mutineers were given to underſtand, that nothing but unconditional ſubmiſſion would be accepted. At length the dread of the vigorous meaſures intended to be taken by government, produced the deſired effect. The moderate and well-affected part of the crews, were encouraged to make exertions to emancipate themſelves from the tyranny of their mutinous brethren, and the violent and rebellious were confounded and diſmayed. But there was an obſtinate ſtruggle before the loyal party triumphed.

On the fifteenth of June, a violent difference of opinion aroſe among the men at the Nore, which eventually terminated the mutiny. The Repulſe, one of the ſhips that had been in a ſtate of rebellion, made for Sheerneſs, and the Leopard, went up the Thames. Other veſſels, particularly the Naſſau, alſo attempted to eſcape, but they were prevented. Some men were killed in the various ſtruggles on board the ſhips, and many were wounded; but the moſt agonizing ſight was the Repulſe, which ran aground, and in that helpleſs ſituation, was fired upon at a moſt terrible rate by the Monmouth, the veſſel which followed her cloſe. The people of Sheerneſs ſpoke with the utmoſt horror of the fight, and with the utmoſt indignation of the Monmouth, who were guilty of ſo barbarous a conduct. They naturally imagined, that the ſlaughter was great on board the Repulſe, but happily they were deceived: only a lieutenant loſt his leg, and another man was wounded by a ſplinter. This was very remarkable, as many hundred ſhot were fired at her, and they were ſeen in great numbers to ſtrike the water cloſe to the Repulſe. The Ardent afterwards, in the dark eſcaped, and, in paſſing the Monmouth, fired at her, and killed or wounded ſeveral of the crew. Next day, the delegates, finding it impoſſible to effect their purpoſe, various propoſitions were made, but diſcord univerſally reigned. It was then that the red flags were ſtruck, and that the trade was allowed to paſs up the Thames; it was then that diſtruſt of each other, and deſpair of ſucceeding in their demands, took poſſeſſion of the ſeamens' minds, and that every ſhip was ſuffered to follow her own courſe. In this ſtate they remained on the ſeventeenth, in hopes of a general pardon; but finding that government was decided in rufuſing it, and that the moſt vigorous preparations were making to force them to ſubmiſſion; finding that their conduct was odious to the whole country, they reſolved to allow every ſhip to do the beſt for itſelf, and to oppoſe the deſertion no longer.

On the eighteenth, the Naſſau, the Standard, and others, made off a little way up the Thames, and next morning the five ſhips ſailed up the river to Graveſend, with a flag of truce flying. On the nineteenth, in the afternoon, the Champion ſailed in under the guns of Sheerneſs, and at night the Monmouth, regarded as the moſt deſperate ſhip of all, came into the Little Nore, under the guns of the fort, to ſurrender; but ſo little faith was placed in her apparent intentions, that every preparation was made to compel her to ſubmit. The guns at the fort were ready to fire on her, and the Ardent drew upon the oppoſite ſide, ſo that ſhe would then have been between two fires, if ſhe had attempted to reſiſt. When ſhe firſt came in, it was with difficulty

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the crew of the Repulſe could be reſtrained from going to fight her, ſuch was their indignation at the cruel conduct of the Monmouth.

The ſame night, the Brilliant and ſome others came into Sheerneſs, and the Lion and a frigate went up the Thames. About three o'clock next morning, the Sandwich came under the guns of the fort.

The Grampus arrived in the courſe of the forenoon, and the Director arrived off the fort about half paſt four o'clock. The Swan ſloop of war arrived in the evening. She was nick-named the Little Inflexible, to diſtinguiſh her for her violence; the Inflexible being regarded, as well as characteriſed by her name, as ſhe was the moſt outrageouſly mutinous, and the moſt obſtinate of the whole fleet.

The apprehenſion of Parker was conſidered as a ſervice of danger. Several of the officers of the Sandwich were on deck, and but few of the men appeared. As ſoon as Parker heard that a boat was come for him, he ſurrendered himſelf to four of the ſhip's crew, to protect him againſt the outrages of the other ſeamen, whoſe vengeance he feared. Admiral Buckner's cockſwain informed the officers on deck, of the nature of his buſineſs, and claimed their aſſiſtance. The lieutenant drew his ſword, and the party, conſiſting of eight or ten, went down below, where Parker was ſurrendered into their hands. They tied his hands together behind, and the officers quietly conducted him into the boat; which had eight or ten rowers, and a party of the Weſt York militia ſeated at the head, with their faces towards the ſtern, and their muſkets held upright in their hands ready charged. Parker was ſeated in the ſtern part, and before him ſat the lieutenant of the Sandwich, holding a drawn ſword over him. In this ſituation, the boat left the ſhip, and the rowers pulled with extraordinary vigour. The top of the ſtairs and the ſurrounding parts were crowded with ſpectators, principally ſoldiers. Parker being landed, was much hiſſed as he paſſed by thoſe around him.—He appeared a little diſconcerted, but exclaimed, "Do not hoot me. It is not my fault. I will clear myſelf!" He was then marched through the dock-yard by a party of the Weſt York militia, and impriſoned in one of the cells under the chapel of the garriſon; where, having remained for ſeveral hours, he was conducted to the commiſſioner's houſe, to be examined, and then committed to Maidſtone gaol.

Many of the delegates and committee-men were afterwards brought on ſhore, the principal of which were from on board the Sandwich. The ſpectators did not inſult them. They were all guarded and lodged in the cells of the priſon.

Order and ſubordination being thus happily reſtored, it became the indiſpenſable taſk of government to inflict puniſhment on thoſe who had, by their atrocious conduct, diſhonoured their country and the Britiſh navy. Accordingly, the trial of Parker, by a court-martial, commenced on the twenty-ſecond of June, on board the Neptune of ninety-eight guns, and laſted till the twenty-ſixth, when he was found guilty of various acts of mutiny, and diſobedience of orders; in conſequence of which, ſentence of death was paſſed upon him by the court-martial.

Parker, with a degree of fortitude and compoſure, which aſtoniſhed every one, thus addreſſed the court: —"I have heard your ſentence—I ſhall ſubmit to it without a ſtruggle.—I feel thus, becauſe I am ſenſible of the rectitude of my intentions. Whatever offences may have been committed, I hope my life will be the only ſacrifice—I truſt it will be thought a ſufficient atonement. Pardon, I beſeech you, the other men—I know they will return with alacrity to their duty." The priſoner was then taken on board the Sandwich, the ſhip deſtined for his execution.

On the twenty-ninth, the priſoner, who had taken his uſual repaſt in the birth allotted him in the gun-room, and paſſed the night in great compoſure, was awaked a little after ſix o'clock, from a ſound ſleep, by the martial provoſt, who, with a file of marines, compoſed his guard. He roſe with cheerfulneſs, took his breakfaſt, and then prepared for the approaching awful ſolemnity. At half paſt eight he was informed that the chaplain was ready to attend him to prayers, on the quarter-deck, which he immediately attended uncovered, and recited ſome verſes out of the penitential pſalm. At nine o'clock the preparatory gun was fired, which he heard without the ſmalleſt emotion.

Aſcending the ſcaffold, he aſked the captain, "whether he might be permitted to ſpeak?" and immediately apprehending his intention might be miſconceived, he added, "I am not going, ſir, to addreſs the ſhip's company!—I wiſh only to declare, that I acknowledge the juſtice of the ſentence under which I ſuffer, and I hope my death may be deemed a ſufficient atonement, and ſave the lives of others." He then requeſted "a minute to collect himſelf," and knelt down alone about that ſpace of time; then riſing up, ſaid, "I am ready." The halter being adjuſted, and the cap being drawn over his face, walking by firm ſteps up to the extremity of the ſcaffold, he dropped the handkerchief, and ſubmitted to his fate on the yard-arm of the ſhip which had been the chief ſcene of his power.

After the execution of the ringleader of the mutiny, it was thought expedient by government to exhibit exemplary juſtice in the puniſhment of the other moſt atrocious offenders; many of whom were accordingly hanged at the Nore, and other places, after having been convicted upon ſubſtantial evidence of their

their guilt. Some of them were only ſcourged for their offence; and a free pardon was granted to many of thoſe who were condemned.

The French, determined to perſevere in their plan of alarm, landed to the amount of about twelve hundred miſerable wretches, on the Welch coaſt, in the month of April; but they met with ſo warm a reception from the loyal inhabitants, that they were compelled to ſurrender at diſcretion; and after being detained as priſoners till Auguſt, were embarked at Milford; to be tranſported to their own country. They are ſaid to have conſiſted of galley-ſlaves, and other criminals from Breſt; and the object was ſuppoſed to be to create an alarm on the Britiſh coaſt, and to rid the French republic of a number of deſperate fellows. They were without artillery, and almoſt without accoutrements. Their expedition, however, proved entirely fruitleſs; and, as two of the ſhips which brought them over were returning into Breſt harbour, they were captured by the St. Fiorenzo and Nymph frigates *.

On the thirtieth of June, lord Malmeſbury and the honourable H. Weſtley, his ſecretary, ſet out for Liſle, to negociate a peace with the plenipotentiaries of the French republic. The negotiation was continued till September; on the eleventh of which it was terminated, in conſequence of the following order from the French executive directory.

"The executive directory order that citizens Trielhard and Boniere, commiſſioners to negotiate a peace with England, ſhall tranſmit, on their firſt conference with lord Malmeſbury, plenipotentiary miniſter of the king of England, a note, the object of which ſhall be to know, "whether this miniſter has ſufficient powers to reſtore to the French republic and its allies, all the poſſeſſions which have fallen into the hands of the Engliſh, ſince the commencement of the war. The plenipotentiaries will require his anſwer within the day."

"The executive directory further order, that if "lord Malmeſbury ſhall declare that he has not full "powers to eſtabliſh this baſis, which the laws and "treaties that bind the republic render indiſpenſible, "or if within a ſpace preſcribed he does not return "an anſwer, he ſhall depart, within twenty-four "hours, to his court to obtain them."

The Engliſh miniſter refuſing to comply with the haughty requiſition of the directory, inſtantly quitted Paris with his ſuite, and on the twentieth, arrived in London. In October, an official declaration was publiſhed, relative to the rupture of the negotiation with the French republic.

The ſpirit of party continued to prevail throughout the kingdom in general, and the metropolis in particular. At a common hall of the livery of London, held on the twenty-third of March, a motion was made, "That an humble addreſs and petition be preſented to his majeſty, upon the preſent alarming ſtate of public affairs, and praying him to diſmiſs his preſent miniſters from his councils for ever, as the firſt ſtep towards obtaining a ſpeedy, honourable, and permanent peace;" which was carried in the affirmative, as were alſo ſeveral other reſolutions, tending to carry that into effect. The following day, the ſheriffs of London went to St. James's in ſtate, to know the king's pleaſure when he would receive the addreſs of the livery of London, voted at the common-hall; they were not admitted to the preſence as uſual, his majeſty ſending out a meſſage by the duke of Portland, that he never received addreſſes on the throne, but from the corporation of the city of London. On the firſt of April, another numerous meeting of the livery was held at Guildhall; when the ſheriffs, having reported that his majeſty declined receiving upon the throne, their addreſs for the removal of miniſters; the following reſolution was paſſed by the meeting with only one diſſenting voice:

"That the anſwer given to the ſheriffs, when they attended to know his majeſty's pleaſure as to the time of receiving their petition, was given by the third ſecretary of ſtate, one of the perſons for whoſe removal they petitioned; that the ſheriffs do again attend at St. James's, and requeſt a perſonal audience of his majeſty, at which, if granted, they do repreſent to the king, that it is the privilege of the livery to preſent petitions to the ſovereign on the throne; and that the ſheriffs do make a report of this application to a future hall." The ſheriffs attended according to the above reſolutions, when his majeſty in perſon confirmed the meſſage before delivered by the duke of Portland.

To counteract the meaſures of that party of the citizens of London, who were averſe to the proceedings of miniſters, and therefore wiſhed their removal; another party, attached to them, and deſirous of their continuance in office, cauſed to be drawn up and ſigned, a declaration of a very oppoſite tenor.

Murmuring, however, ſtill prevailed among a very numerous body of the people; and on the third of July, a meeting convened by the correſponding ſociety, was held in an open field near the Veterinary College, St. Pancras. At two o'clock, near three thouſand

* About this time, the prince of Wirtemberg arrived in London, and was preſented to the princeſs royal of England, his intended bride. His ſerene highneſs proceeded a few days after on a tour to Bath, Briſtol, Birmingham, Oxford, Portſmouth, and other places, and was gratified by the loudeſt acclamations of the people. On his return, the marriage was performed with the uſual ceremony and magnificence, and on the ſecond of June, the prince, with his royal conſort, ſet out for Germany; and on the twenty-firſt, arrived at Stutgard, the capital of the duke of Wirtemberg's dominions.

thouſand people were aſſembled. Three tribunes, as they were termed, were erected in different places. Before the firſt tribune ſir W. Addington preſented himſelf on horſeback, attended by an eſcort of conſtables. Other magiſtrates attended and took their ſtations before the different tribunes. The populace who ſurrounded them, conſiſted principally of people of the lower claſſes.

At two o'clock, the preſident at the firſt tribune came forward, and read the advertiſement by which the meeting was convoked. On the meeting being declared illegal by the Bow Street magiſtrates, a perſon was deputed to wait on them, and to enquire in what conſiſted its illegality; and to ſay, that if their proceedings were conſidered as trenching on the late Convention Bill, they ſhould avoid the inveſtigation of thoſe points. Mr. juſtice Ford replied, "that he did not conſider himſelf as obliged to give any explanation of the law; and if they proceeded, the London correſponding ſociety and the Bow Street magiſtrates ſhould be at iſſue." On receiving this general anſwer, the perſons who aſſumed the title of the executive committee, did not hold it incumbent on them to forbid the meeting which they had ſummoned.

The addreſs being received with ſome ſmall tokens of applauſe, the ſame perſon proceeded to read a petition and remonſtrance to the king, which, he ſaid, was to be followed by the moving of certain reſolutions:—

Here the reader was interrupted by an aſſertion, that the proclamation for diſſolving the aſſembly as illegal had been read. Mr. Ferguſon, a barriſter at law, who occupied one of the tribunes, then addreſſed the meeting, and conjured them quietly to ſeparate; and, to prevent miſchief, to depart to their ſeveral homes. He ſaid, the queſtion was now really at iſſue, and it remained to be ſeen, whether the magiſtrates of Bow Street were to be regarded as the interpreters of the law of England? Sir William Addington then gave orders that Mr. Ferguſon, and others, ſhould be taken into cuſtody. The populace did not attempt to hinder the conſtables from executing their orders, and indeed the perſons who were arreſted, were earneſt in deprecating any interference in their behalf. They were ushered into a hackney coach, and eſcorted by a party of conſtables to Bow Street.

In the evening, they were brought before ſir William Addington, at the public office, charged with having aided and aſſiſted in certain illegal proceedings reſpecting the above meeting. Evidence was called to prove the charge, which being eſtabliſhed to the ſatisfaction of the bench, they were ordered to find bail to anſwer the complaint at the next ſeſſions, themſelves in one hundred pounds, and two ſureties in fifty pounds each. The charge againſt Mr. Ferguſon, was ſupported by a Mr. John Smith, who depoſed, that he heard Mr. Ferguſon addreſs the people from one of the tribunes, after the proclamation had been read, in nearly the following words:—"Citizens, I beg of you to diſperſe, and "not ſtay here to be butchered; we ſhall hereafter "ſee, whether or not the Bow Street magiſtrates "are the interpreters of the law." Mr. Ferguſon ſtrenuouſly denied the whole of the charge, but declared he was ready to give bail, which was accordingly executed in the uſual form.

Conſiderable diſturbances took place in different parts of Scotland, to oppoſe the balloting for perſons to ſerve in a militia, it being its firſt introduction into that country: a very unpleaſant circumſtance occurred at Tranent in particular, on one of theſe occaſions. On the arrival of the deputy-lieutenants and magiſtrates in that place, they were inſulted and abuſed in the groſſeſt manner, by multitudes of people whom they found aſſembled. The women were particularly clamorous, and for ſome time ſeemed to take the lead: for the men, either aſhamed of the buſineſs, or wiſhing to conceal their ſtrength, at firſt thought proper to keep out of ſight.

The deputies deſired that the calvalry ſhould be drawn up at the eaſt end of the town, as they were anxious that the conſtables only, if poſſible, ſhould be employed in keeping off the crowd from the door of the houſe which they had entered. In about half an hour, a ſquadron of the Pembrokeſhire cavalry arrived, and ſoon after great numbers of people, chiefly colliers and ſalters, aſſembled from all parts of the country, armed with immenſe bludgeons. As ſoon as they had collected their forces, they ſent up to the deputy-lieutenants, a moſt inſolent and threatning paper, (that they denominated a petition), which the deputies received, but told the perſon who preſented it, that it would not prevent them from going through with their buſineſs, and doing their duty. The mob then began to preſs extremely on the houſe where the deputy-lieutenants were aſſembled: a ſhower of brick-bats ſoon demoliſhed the windows, while the concuſſion on the walls and roof was dreadful, and made them believe they ſhould inſtantly be demoliſhed. All attempts to remonſtrate were in vain.

The officer who commanded the cavalry, addreſſed himſelf to the crowd, and begged them to deſiſt, for if they proceeded to extremities, and the military were ordered to act, a great many of them would ſuffer. At this time, the ſoldiers received many ſevere blows from the ſtones which were thrown from the tops of the houſes, and the ſtreet. The commanding officer was in imminent danger; and a ſerjeant of the Cinque Ports cavalry, at this time, received ſo ſevere a blow on the head from a ſtone, that his life was deſpaired of.

Several other attempts were made to keep poſſeſſion of that part of the ſtreet which was oppoſite

posite to the door, but they were all equally ineffectual; the men were completely driven off; and had not orders been at last reluctantly given to fire, the military would doubtless have been defeated, and the magistrates and deputies seized and murdered. On these orders being given, some of the Pembrokeshire cavalry were directed to fire with their pistols, at the men on the tops of the houses, which they did for a considerable time, without the smallest effect; the men on the houses treating the pistol-firing with contempt. An officer of the Pembrokeshire, observing this, took a party of the Cinque Ports, (who had carbines), from the right, and went to the rear of the house, on the north side of the street, and dismounted them. They now fired with considerable effect, which speedily brought them down from the tops of the houses, and enabled the military to get the better of them. The magistrates then interposed, and many of the rioters were apprehended, and sent to Haddington gaol. And thus terminated this alarming affray.

The national thanksgiving for the three great naval victories of lords Howe, St. Vincent, and Duncan, took place on the nineteenth of December; his majesty, attended by both houses of parliament, went in state to St. Paul's, where the colours which had been taken in the different engagements, were deposited. Never perhaps was there a finer spectacle exhibited; and the recollection of the ever memorable events which occasioned it, added in no small degree to the splendor of the scene. The refulgent beauty of the day, greatly increased the brilliancy of the procession. His majesty, and his suite, on their entrance into the city, were received with every mark of attention, and the whole management of the business of the day was highly decorous, and such as reflected great credit on those who superintended its general arrangement.

The preliminaries of peace between the court of Vienna and the French republic, were now signed by Bonaparte, in the name of the French republic, and by the Neapolitan minister, on the part of the emperor. Among other articles, the Netherlands and the duchy of Luxembourg were ceded to France, the independence of the new Italian republics, and the navigation of the Rhine were acknowledged. By a secret article, the French, it is said, undertook to indemnify the emperor by a part of the Venetian territory, and by secularizing some of the ecclesiastical states of Germany *.

Gloomy prospects now presented themselves in Ireland; in the northern parts of which, the peasants rose in large bodies, and committed such depredations, that general Lake found it necessary, in the beginning of March, to publish a proclamation, requiring every person in the northern district to deliver up their arms of all kinds to the military, and declaring the whole district in a state of insurrection. The coercive measures adopted by government were strenuously opposed in the Irish parliament, as tending to defeat the very purposes for which they were avowedly adopted; but as they were declared to be expedient, and even indispensable, by a great majority in both houses, they were pursued with vigour, and very disastrous consequences ensued.

On the twenty-fifth of May, Mr. W. Ponsonby moved in the house of commons, for a reform in that house, which was negatived by one hundred and seventeen to thirty; on which Mr. Grattan and the leaders of opposition seceded from parliament, which was dissolved on the eleventh of July.

The number of insurgents influenced by a rebellious party, who had assumed the title of United Irishmen, increased in such an alarming degree, that the whole kingdom of Ireland was put under martial law. Many actions took place between the king's troops and the rebels; which, though generally terminating in favour of the loyalists, rather increased than diminished the number of the disaffected; and such was the prevalence of party rancour and animosity, that the inhabitants of this unhappy country were exposed to the most dreadful outrages, both from the military and the insurgents. Several trials occurred for treason and conspiracies, some executions ensued, and other punishments were inflicted on convicted criminals; and in this perturbed state was the fifter kingdom at the close of the year 1797 †.

With respect to the affairs of the continent, warlike operations were now suspended by consent of both parties; so that the only occurrence worthy of notice, is the detection of a league formed in Paris, in consequence of which Barthelemy, one of the executive directory of France, general Pichegru, nine of the council of ancients, and forty members of the council of five hundred, with many other leading men, were seized and confined on a charge of having

* Amongst the events of this year, we deem it necessary to record the death of two very singular characters,—Edmund Burke and John Wilkes; they both possessed eminent talents, and were long zealous champions in the cause of liberty: but as versatility is almost inseparable from frail mortals, the ardour of the latter degenerated into a total indifference respecting the interests of the common weal; and the pen and eloquence of the former, were employed in the decline of life in the support of principles evidently repugnant to those they had so ably maintained in its meridian: and we have only in candour to observe, that "it is the lot of humanity to err." Mr. Burke's invectives were so severe, that they seemed to manifest a malignity of disposition, though they rather proceeded from an irritability of temper.

† Gold seven-shilling pieces were ordered to be received as the current coin of this kingdom, on the second of December, 1797.

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ing entered into a conſpiracy to reſtore monarchy, and deſtroy the republic, for which they were afterwards baniſhed to Cayenne, in Africa.

To ſpread an alarm throughout this country, the executive directory ordered, in the month of October, that an army ſhould be aſſembled on the French coaſts, to be called the "Army of England," and to be commanded by general Bonaparte, for the purpoſe of invading England; and the merchants of Paris voluntarily offered to ſubſcribe to a loan for the completion of the avowed deſign.

The event however proved that the deſtination of this wonderful armament, was far more remote than was generally apprehended. Every preparation was made on the part of the Engliſh government, to counteract ſo wild a project: military aſſociations were formed, and the maſs of the people, waving all political prejudices, embarked moſt cordially in every meaſure for the defence of their country, againſt the attacks of the inveterate enemies of their civil and religious liberties; but fortunately there was no neceſſity for the exertion of thoſe ſervices ſo patriotically tendered *.

Purſuant to prorogation, the Britiſh parliament met on the ſecond of November, when the ſeſſion was opened by a moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne, in which his majeſty expreſſed his concern for the failure of his endeavours to reſtore to his ſubjects the bleſſings of peace, on ſecure and honourable terms; aſſuring them that the rupture of the negotiation was ſolely to be aſcribed to the inordinate ambition, and inveterate animoſity of the enemy. He aſſured them of his firm reliance on the wiſdom and vigour of their counſels, and on the zeal, magnanimity, and courage of a great and free people. He extolled the public ſpirit diſplayed by the army and navy, and made honourable mention of the victory lately obtained by his fleet under the command of admiral lord Duncan. He exhorted the commons to an animated exertion, and ſtated the neceſſity and importance of ſupporting effectually public credit, in order to convince the enemy of the ability of the nation to ſupport with vigour an arduous conteſt as long as neceſſary, for the ſafety, honour, and independence of theſe kingdoms.

The addreſs to his majeſty on this occaſion, was moved in the houſe of lords by the earl of Glaſgow, and ſeconded by lord Gwydir: an amendment was moved by earl Fitzwilliam, who declared his opinion, that this country could never obtain a ſecure peace from France, until her monarchy was reſtored, and with it, the reign of hereditary law, morality, and religion in that country.

Lord Grenville differed from the noble earl in his inference, that under no circumſtance an adequate peace could be made with the preſent government of France. He allowed it was a conſideration of the moſt momentous nature, and the queſtion of peace with ſuch a country ſhould be regarded with all poſſible cautionary attention. His lordſhip then expreſſed his diſapprobation of the noble earl's amendment. The queſtion upon earl Fitzwilliam's motion was then put and negatived, and the addreſs carried in its original form. The noble earl entered a proteſt.

A ſimilar motion was made and carried on the ſame day in the houſe of commons, but not without ſome pointed obſervations on the ſide of oppoſition. The thanks of the houſe were voted to lord Duncan, for the ſignal victory he had lately obtained over the Dutch fleet.

Mr. Tierney roſe in the houſe of commons, to ſubmit a propoſition on a ſubject which he repreſented as highly offenſive and derogatory to the honour and independency of the houſe. The ſubject he alluded to was the creation of the office of a third ſecretary of ſtate, in the perſon of Mr. Dundas, in contravention to an expreſs act of parliament for the abolition of certain uſeleſs places, and to preſerve the honour and independence of parliament againſt the influence of the crown. To this third department was attached, he ſaid, patronage and ſalary, amounting to thirteen thouſand pounds per annum, which, added to the emoluments of the other two, out of which it had ſprung, amounted to a ſum exceeding forty thouſand pounds a year. He concluded by moving, "That the office of ſecretary of ſtate for the war department, was an addition to the other two, and that the right honourable Henry Dundas, having accepted that office, was incapacitated from ſitting in that houſe."

* On the ſixteenth of November, Frederic-William the Second, king of Pruſſia, died at Potzdam; in conſequence of which, his ſucceſſor ſent the following letter to the executive directory of France:—

"Frederic-William the Third, by the grace of God, king of Pruſſia, margrave of Brandenburgh, arch-chamberlain, and elector of the Holy Roman Empire, &c.

"To the French republic, and in its name to the citizens who compoſe its executive directory.

"*Mighty and dear Friends,*

"Providence having diſpoſed of the days of the king my father, deceaſed, on the ſixteenth of this month, and having called me to the throne of my anceſtors, I haſten to announce to you theſe two events, perſuaded that you will take a part in the loſs I have ſuſtained, and that you will feel yourſelves intereſted in my acceſſion to the regency of the Pruſſian ſtates. I ſhall take the greateſt care to cultivate and cement the harmony which I find happily eſtabliſhed between the two nations; and for that purpoſe, I pray God, high and dear friends, to have you in his holy keeping.

"Your good friend,

"FREDERICK-WILLIAM."

"*Berlin, Nov. 17th, 1797.*"

Mr. Dundas obſerved that the only queſtion on view of this ſubject was, Whether he was *bona fide* the ſecretary of ſtate deſcribed in the act? To make it appear that he did not come within the deſcription, he mentioned that he delivered up the ſeals which he had *in cuſtodia* to his majeſty, who transferred them to the duke of Portland: other ſeals were entruſted to him. With the appointment he had no new patent, no new ſalary. He remained, he ſaid, "one of his majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate," and this deſcription applied equally to the three. According to the legal import of the act, it did not prohibit the creation of a third ſecretary of ſtate, it merely interdicted a third ſecretary ſitting in the houſe.

Mr. Pitt vindicated the appointment of a third ſecretary of ſtate. The act, he contended, did not reſtrain generally, it merely ſays, that the office of third ſecretary ſhould not be tenable with a ſeat in the houſe.

After ſome further debate, a diviſion took place, when there appeared, for the motion, eight; againſt it, one hundred and thirty-nine—majority, one hundred and thirty-one.

In the houſe of lords, the lord chancellor roſe, in conſequence of a previous motion, to communicate perſonally to lord Duncan the thanks of that houſe, for the ſignal victory he had lately obtained; and to congratulate his lordſhip on his acceſſion to the honour of a diſtinguiſhed ſeat in that houſe, to which his meritorious profeſſional conduct had deſervedly raiſed him. His lordſhip made a very appropriate reply.

The houſe then entered into a diſcuſſion of his majeſty's declaration, together with the ſubſtance of a variety of papers, relative to the late negotiation. On this occaſion lord Grenville roſe, and adverted to a variety of circumſtances relative to the belligerent powers, for ſome time previous to the negotiation. His lordſhip proceeded to detail ſeveral circumſtances in the conduct of the French government, more immediately connected with the negotiation; and vindicated the ſteps taken on the part of this country during the negotiation, which he contended were open, fair, and manly, and ſuch as would beſt conduce to the attainment of a ſafe and honourable peace. He would not, he ſaid, enter into a diſcuſſion of what particular terms would or would not be proper for this country to accede to in a definitive treaty; but he inſiſted that the idea of giving up all our acquiſitions as a preliminary, could only be regarded by the miniſters of this country as the height of madneſs and folly.

Under theſe impreſſions, expreſſing a confidence that their lordſhips muſt coincide with him, he moved an addreſs to his majeſty, the general ſubſtance of which appeared to be, "That their lordſhips had taken into their ſerious conſideration the various papers relative to the late negotiation for peace, which his majeſty was pleaſed to order to be laid before them; and that they beheld with regret and indignation, the inordinate ambition and unwarrantable pretenſions of the enemy, by which his majeſty's gracious endeavours to attain an adequate peace were fruſtrated;" and concluded with aſſurances of ſupport to his majeſty, in the warmeſt and moſt affectionate language. The addreſs was unanimouſly paſſed.

The following day the ſame ſubjects were introduced into the houſe of commons, and Mr. Dundas having propoſed the queſtion for the adoption of the addreſs tranſmitted from the lords for the concurrence of the houſe, ſir John Sinclair propoſed an amendment, "thanking his majeſty for the communication, applauding his benevolent endeavours to obtain peace, deploring the calamities of war, and earneſtly recommending the adoption of pacific meaſures."

Earl Temple, ſon of the marquis of Buckingham, oppoſed the amendment, and after ſome very pertinent remarks, concluded with giving his decided ſupport to the addreſs. The chancellor of the exchequer combated the arguments advanced by the honourable baronet, vindicated miniſters in their public conduct—expoſed the futility of the propoſed amendment, and concluded with exhorting the houſe to join the lords in the ſolemn pledge they had made to the executive government, to ſtand or fall with the religion, laws, and liberties of their country.—The amendment was withdrawn, and the original addreſs paſſed *nem. con.*

The ſtate of Ireland was recommended to the conſideration of the houſe of lords by earl Moira, who, it was obſerved by lord Grenville, ſeemed diſpoſed to accuſe government of being hoſtilely inclined towards the ſiſter kingdom, and eager to keep up in it a ſyſtem of coercion.

The lord chancellor roſe, and declared, he deemed an interference in the Britiſh parliament, in an affair of internal regulation in Ireland, as a very ſerious conſideration. It would be in effect a breach of the ſolemn compact made with Ireland—of that renunciation of all controul whatever over the legiſlative concerns of that country, which was deliberately made by the parliament of Great Britain. Such a proceeding he could never ſilently ſuffer to be called a mere matter of form. And thus the matter reſted.

On the twenty-fourth, the chancellor of the exchequer propoſed to raiſe ſeven millions of pounds, as part of the ſupplies of the year, by doubling, trebling, &c. of the aſſeſſed taxes, eſtimating, thereby, to take a tenth part of every man's income, who had or acquired more than ſixty pounds a year. This propoſition occupied the attention of the houſe at intervals, by adjournment from this day to the fifth of January following, during which very in-

intereſting debates took place; though it would be ſuperfluous to repeat them at this time.

The produce of the augmented aſſeſſments being inadequate to the expectations of the propoſer of the tax, he came to a reſolution of enforcing the payment of large ſums, not by the criterion of expenditure, but by that of INCOME. By the former impoſt very few paid ſo much as a tenth part of their income; but by the new ſcale every one was required to contribute at leaſt a tenth part of their revenue. It was now propoſed, that no perſon whoſe annual income did not amount to ſixty pounds, ſhould be obliged to contribute more than the taxes which he already paid; but thoſe who had an income exceeding that amount, ſhould be additionally burthened according to the regulations of the following table:

Where the ſaid annual income ſhall appear to be not leſs than *

60l.	but under 65l.	to a ſum not exceeding	part of the ſame.	135l.	but under 140l.	to a ſum not exceeding	part of the ſame.
65	70	1-95	1-20	140	145	1-24	1-26
70	75	1-70		145	150	1-22	
75	80	1-65		150	155	1-20	
80	85	1-60		155	160	1-19	
85	90	1-55		160	165	1-18	
90	95	1-50		165	170	1-17	
95	100	1-45		170	175	1-16	
100	105	1-40		175	180	1-15	
105	110	1-38		180	185	1-14	
110	115	1-36		185	190	1-13	
115	120	1-34		190	195	1-12	
120	125	1-32		195	200	1-12	
125	130	1-30		200	000	1-10	
130	135	1-26					

And where the annual income ſhall appear to be not leſs than two hundred pounds, every perſon ſhall be entitled to ſuch an abatement of the additional duty now granted as may be neceſſary to reduce the ſame, to a ſum not exceeding one tenth part of the ſaid income.

In order to prevent evaſions and fraudulent ſtatements, it would be required of the party applying for relief to give in his declaration upon oath, and alſo that his ſtatement ſhould be open for inſpection, the better to detect falſe returns. Commiſſioners were to be appointed in different pariſhes and diſtricts, to conduct the buſineſs, with a ſmall compenſation for their trouble.

Perſons with large families, he thought, were fair

* This being the firſt *avowed* tax upon *income*, though many indirect impoſts have had a ſimilar operation, we have deemed it expedient to ſtate the particulars of its origin, introduction, and proportional operation; but though the project, after having been abandoned for a time, has

of modification or exemption. The committee might think it moſt deſirable to fix the ſcale according to the number of children. Thoſe who had no family he thought ſhould be rated higher in proportion to their income.

Having gone through this ſtatement, Mr. Pitt recurred to the principle on which his ſcheme was founded. It was not, he admitted, free from objections on the firſt view; but he challenged any gentleman to produce a ſcheme for raiſing ſo conſiderable a ſum in a mode ſo univerſally comprehenſive, equal, and more ſuſceptible of modification and abatement. He alſo wiſhed gentlemen to recollect that the burthen would not be permanent; and that though it would be too much for ordinary occaſions, the preſent was one which imperiouſly demanded it.

He concluded with moving a ſeries of reſolutions founded upon the above ſtatement.

Sir William Pulteney approved of the principle, but did not think its operation ſufficiently extenſive. Mr. Nichols deprecated the ſyſtem as oppreſſive and unjuſt. The ſecretary at war ſpoke in favour of the ſcheme, and vindicated the conduct of miniſters. Mr. Pierpoint ſaid, he thought it would be a great improvement of the plan, if the royal family offered their contributions.

Mr. Tierney oppoſed the ſcheme in detail, after which a diviſion took place, when there appeared for the reſolutions moved by the miniſter, two hundred and fourteen; againſt them, fifteen; majority, one hundred and ninety-nine.

The following day, on the queſtion being put for the reading of the reſolutions a ſecond time, Mr. Wigley ſaid, that on a ſubject ſo novel and important, the miniſter ought to allow a ſhort interval for deliberation. It was alſo he ſaid of that alarming and oppreſſive nature, that members ſhould have an opportunity of conſulting their conſtituents. Mr. Johnes ſaid, that he felt the neceſſity ſo extremely urgent, that he ſhould give the reſolutions his moſt hearty approbation, reſerving the power of ſuggeſting modifications. Mr. Huſſey ſaid, he diſapproved of the plan, not from a deſire to throw obſtacles in the way, but becauſe he thought a better might be adopted.

The reſolutions were then read the ſecond time, and bills ordered purſuant thereto.

The chancellor of the exchequer, deſirous of bringing this important buſineſs to a concluſion before any receſs of parliament ſhould take place, brought up a bill for trebling the aſſeſſed taxes on

experienced a renovation, accompanied with more rigorous clauſes, we hope it will be enforced no longer than the exigencies of the times will be thought a ſufficient apology for the exerciſe of ſo oppreſſive a meaſure.

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the ſeventh of December, and after the firſt reading, immediately put the motion for its being read a ſecond time. After being ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by Mr. Wilberforce Bird, and cenſured by Mr. alderman Luſhington, for bearing too hard on the lower claſſes of the community, the queſtion was put and carried.

The debates on the aſſeſſed tax bill being reſumed, in the houſe of commons on the fourteenth, the order of the day for the ſecond reading being read, Mr. Wigley ſupported the arguments that had been uſed in behalf of tradeſmen, and the middling claſs of the people; and contended, that the tax ought to bear in a greater proportion on the higher orders.

Mr. Henry Thornton ſaid, he was inſtructed by the unanimous voice of his conſtituents, to oppoſe the bill.

Mr. Yorke urged the ſecond reading of the bill; a more practical criterion of property, he ſaid, could not be found than that of expenditure. Mr. Nicholls alledged that the principle of the bill went firſt to deſtroy the lower and middle claſſes of ſociety, and next to deſtroy the capital of the country.

Mr. Sheridan obſerved, that it was a penalty upon the retrenchments of œconomy, an encouragement of perjury, and a commiſſion of bankruptcy againſt the whole nation. The principal of the bill was, he ſaid, a fiſcal contribution, it went to eſtabliſh in every pariſh a fiſcal inquiſition, to report the profits of every individual—a moſt enormous proceeding in a free commercial country. By this inquiſitorial act, a tradeſman, whoſe income might fall from two hundred to one hundred and fifty pounds, muſt either diſcloſe his circumſtances, which would ſtill more reduce his credit, or be guilty of perjury, and defraud his creditors by paying the abominable tax with their money.

Mr. Pitt ſaid, that after the moſt accurate inquiry in his power, every objection which had been made againſt this bill did not affect its principle, but might eaſily be obviated in a committee, without altering the general principle, or defeating the tendency of the meaſure. The houſe then divided, when there appeared a majority for the bill of one hundred and twenty-five.

On the eighteenth, ſeveral modifications in the bill were offered to the houſe, by the chancellor of the exchequer, who alſo brought up the ſcale of payment, as propoſed by the committee on the bill, which, with other particulars, became the ſubject of future conſideration, until the third of January *, when very intereſting debates took place, on the motion for the third reading of the bill, which were continued on the fourth and fifth.

Mr. Sheridan ſaid, it was not his wiſh to withhold the ſupplies. Whoever was in adminiſtration, and whether the war was juſt and neceſſary or not at the commencement, our fleets and armies muſt be ſupported. It had been aſked, "Can you deviſe any better mode of raiſing the ſupplies?" Though it did not fall within his department to bring forward ſchemes of finance, he felt no heſitation in declaring, that the only conſtitutional mode was to perſevere in the old way, by loan, with the payment of intereſt, with a ſinking fund kept inviolate and inalienable. Mr. Wilberforce obſerved, that his ſupport of the preſent bill aroſe ſolely from his conviction of the propriety and neceſſity of the meaſure. Mr. Fox expatiated fully on the tendency of the bill, and ſaid, that he had that night attended in conſequence of the requeſt of his conſtituents; but he ſtill retained his opinion, that a general attendance upon that houſe would be of no ſervice to the country, and therefore he ſhould decline attending in future.

Mr. Pitt roſe, and having replied to Mr. Fox in an eloquent ſpeech, animadverting on the ſeceſſion of the leaders of oppoſition, ſaid, as he was unable, at that late hour, to enter into a long detail upon the bill, he ſhould leave it to the deciſion of the houſe, which, he ſaid, would, he was ſure, be confirmed by the voice of the country.

After a deſultory converſation, rather than a debate, Mr Pitt's original motion was put; which was carried by a majority of one hundred and eighty-five.

On the motion for the further conſideration of the aſſeſſed tax bill, the queſtion was put and carried, and the houſe proceeded to receive clauſes by way of riders. After the amendments were read, the bill paſſed.

The aſſeſſed tax bill was brought into the houſe of lords on the ninth, when lord Grenville obſerved, that, as in conſequence of the addreſs of the houſe to his majeſty, it had been deemed neceſſary, in order ſucceſsfully to counteract the exertions of the enemy, to raiſe a certain portion of the ſupplies; this neceſſary determination produced the preſent meaſure. He therefore moved, "That the bill be committed."

Lord Holland roſe to oppoſe the further progreſs of the bill. In concluding, he contended, that though the burthen was apparently attached to the richer and higher orders of ſociety, they would eventually find means to ſhift it to the middling and lower claſſes, upon whom the whole weight of taxation, as propoſed by the bill in queſtion, would ultimately fall. He concluded by giving his decided negative to the meaſure. The earl of Liverpool ſtrenuouſly ſupported it.

Lord Auckland ſaid, he approved of the general principle of the bill; and obſerved that it would ſuperſede the neceſſity of adding one million and a half of annual taxes on ourſelves and our poſterity.

The bill was oppoſed by the duke of Bedford, and ſupported by lord Thurlow; and, after ſome obſervations

vations from lord Grenville, the houſe divided. For the bill, fifty, proxies, twenty-three—ſeventy-three; againſt it, ſix—majority, ſixty-ſeven.

The earl of Oxford and lord Holland entered a proteſt againſt the bill.

On the third of April, Mr. Wilberforce, in purſuance of notice, roſe to move for leave to bring in a bill "for the abolition of the ſlave trade, at a time to be limited." After ſome debate, a diviſion took place, for Mr. Wilberforce's motion, eighty-three; againſt it, eighty-ſeven; majority, four.

The moſt important ſubject which now claimed the attention of parliament, was the propoſition from the chancellor of the exchequer, for the redemption of the land-tax, which he opened in the houſe of commons on the ſecond of April.

Having premiſed that the object of the meaſure he had to propoſe was to invigorate public credit, to facilitate the means whereby we were to continue the ſtruggle with a moſt implacable enemy, and to animate the ſpirit of the people, by ſhewing the ſtrength of our reſources; he ſaid, his propoſition was to convert the land-tax into a perpetual annuity, which ſhould be equally deſtined to the public ſervice, and in making this converſion to produce a large pecuniary advantage to the public. He wiſhed, by diminiſhing the quantity of ſtock in the market, to remove the preſſure which, of all others, was moſt ſenſibly felt.

Mr. Pitt's ſcheme for thus ſtrengthening public credit was ſimply this: That the funded capital ſhould be reduced by the redemption of the land-tax. In other words, that the owner of land, or any other perſon, ſhould purchaſe this tax by a transfer of ſtock, producing a greater dividend than the amount of the impoſt. By which means the purchaſer would have the additional advantage of landed ſecurity; the ſtate would derive a ſaving of four hundred thouſand pounds, *per annum*, and the funds would experience a very ſenſonable relief. This ill-adjuſted and unequal tax was ſo plauſibly introduced, that the bill for that purpoſe was enacted, in defiance of many ſtrong objections.

This bill came under the conſideration of the houſe on the eleventh and twelfth of the ſame month, paſſed on the twelfth, and was ordered back to the commons. A proteſt was entered againſt it, on the journals of the houſe, by ſeveral noble lords.

On the twenty-ninth of June his majeſty came to the houſe of peers, and after having delivered, from the throne, a moſt gracious ſpeech to both houſes, the lord chancellor, by his majeſty's command, prorogued the parliament.

The ſpirit of rebellion in Ireland, was about this time, productive of every ſpecies of evil that can annoy ſociety, or bring deſtruction on mankind, collectively or individually. Such were the outrages committed on perſons and property in the villages, that the inhabitants who had any poſſeſſions in them, were under the neceſſity of relinquiſhing their homes, and taking ſhelter in the great towns; in conſequence of which the Queen's County, and the County of Tipperary were in the month of May almoſt totally deſerted; and this emigration had come to ſuch a height, that in the latter county, a proclamation was iſſued, charging perſons with cowardice for leaving their houſes, and deſiring ſuch emigrants to return within forty-eight hours.

The king's troops aſſiſted by the yeomen of Ireland, having greatly repreſſed the audacity of the rebels, their leaders perceived their cauſe was loſing ground, and that they muſt either hazard an inſurrection, or reſign their hopes. The arreſt of the Leinſter provincial committee, and ſeveral other leading members of the union, on the ſame day, tended ſo much to diſcloſe the guilt of the party, that the conſpirators reſolved, without delay, to make one deſperate effort. Their intention was to ſurprize Dublin, the camp at Loughlingſtown, and the artillery ſtation at Chapelizod, on the ſame night. The inſurrection being commenced near the metropolis, (the ſignal for announcing which, was to be the detention of the mail coaches) it was ſuppoſed that the north and ſouth would alſo riſe. The lord lieutenant was to be ſeized, and all the privy council, ſeparately in their own houſes; and the night of the twenty-third of May was reſolved on for the execution of this horrid deſign.

The government informed of the purpoſe of the conſpirators, cauſed ſeveral of the leaders to be apprehended on the nineteenth and twenty-firſt of May; and on the twenty-ſecond, the lord lieutenant ſent a meſſage to both houſes of parliament, informing them of the intended inſurrection. Notwithſtanding many military precautions, it took place in the neighbourhood of Dublin, on the night appointed, and every poſſible effort was made by the diſaffected within the town, to co-operate with thoſe without; the party in the provinces uſing, at the ſame time, every exertion, to incite the people there into action.

The meaſures adopted in the metropolis prevented any movement whatever; but acts of open rebellion were committed in the counties of Dublin, Meath, and Kildare. About half paſt two, on the morning of the twenty-fourth, a regular attack was made by a rebel force upon the town of Naas, where lord Gosford commanded, with part of the Armagh militia, and detachments of the fourth dragoon guards, and Ancient Britons. The rebels conſiſted of about one thouſand men, armed with muſquets and pikes, and they made their attack with great regularity, but were repulſed by the Armagh militia, with the loſs of near two hundred men; they made another unſucceſsful attack the next day, and had almoſt an equal number ſlain. There was alſo an attack made on a party of the ninth dragoons, which ſuffered much,

much, but after ſome time, general Dundas was enabled to come up with a conſiderable body of the rebels, near the hills of Kilcullen, where they were entirely routed with very conſiderable loſs. Several bodies of rebels collected in the courſe of the night, in different parts near Dublin, which were attacked and diſperſed with ſome loſs; and ſome priſoners and horſes were taken. A party of them, however, aſſembled on the border of the county of Dublin, near Dunboyne, overpowered ſome conſtables, and took the baggage of two companies, guarded by a ſmall party of fencibles; and having committed many outrages, ſeveral of them were killed, but as the body remained undiſperſed, the lord lieutenant iſſued a proclamation, directing, that all perſons, acting, aiding, or aſſiſting in the rebellion, ſhould be puniſhed according to martial law. The inſurgents appeared in the neighbourhood of Baltinglaſs to the amount of four or five hundred; a party of the Antrim militia were ſent to attack them; and while theſe troops were advancing upon them, in the town of Stratford, captain Stratford appeared at the other end of the town, with part of his corps. The rebels being thus attacked on both ſides, were completely routed, having upwards of one hundred killed, and many wounded. Near Hackettſtown, three hundred were left dead on the field, and about four hundred to the north of Dublin, on the hill of Taragh, among whom was the commanding officer, in his uniform.

In the beginning of June the inſurrection broke out in great force in the county of Wexford, and the rebels aſſembled in conſiderable numbers; it was poſed at leaſt four thouſand, and many of them mounted. Colonel Campbell, at Athy, had partial engagements with the rebels; and many of them were defeated at Monaſtereven and Carlow, with very conſiderable loſs. Near Kildare, three hundred, and near Newton-Ards five hundred were ſlain, who had deſcended from Vinegar-hill.

Vinegar-hill, near Enniſcorthy, was, for ſeveral weeks, the chief ſtation of the ſouthern revolters, and the ſcene of their vindictive barbarities.

A victory was obtained over them by ſir James Duff, who with infinite alacrity had opened the communication with Limerick, and arriving at Kildare, while the rebels had poſſeſſion of it, completely routed them, and became maſter of the place.

A proclamation was now iſſued by the principal Roman catholic inhabitants, exhorting the deluded people to return to their duty and allegiance; and declaring their determination to ſtand or fall with the preſent exiſting conſtitution; in conſequence of which, the rebels on the Curragh of Kildare, ſurrendered their arms, and delivered up a number of their leaders.

On the eighteenth of June major-general Lake was fiercely attacked by the rebels in his poſition at New Roſs; but after a conteſt of ſeveral hours, they were completely repulſed, with very conſiderable loſs. Lord Mountjoy fell in the beginning of the conteſt. A party of rebels, conſiſting principally of proteſtant diſſenters, took poſſeſſion of Antrim, which, however, they ſoon loſt. At Balinah-Inch, about four thouſand men were routed, by fifteen hundred under major-general Nugent; and the northern inſurrection was ſpeedily ſuppreſſed.

The king's troops, in theſe encounters, ſuſtained conſiderable loſs in killed and wounded, among whom were ſome officers of diſtinction; and, particularly lord viſcount O'Neil, governor of the county, who died of a wound with a pike, from his own park-keeper.

Soon after their expulſion from Antrim, the inſurgents quarrelled, and out of two thouſand who were in arms, the commander could only retain fifty; the reſt having left the camp, deſtroyed their arms, and declared that they never would again carry an offenſive weapon againſt his majeſty or his loyal ſubjects.

About the time of the laſt engagement in the north, general Needham was oppoſed to a great body of rebels, near Arklow. On the tenth of June they made their approach in two large columns, while the whole intermediate ſpace, embracing his entire front, was crowded by a rabble, armed with pikes and muſquets, and bearing down without any regular order. The general's poſition was very ſtrong: as ſoon as they were come within a ſhort diſtance, he opened a heavy fire of grape ſhot, which continued for two hours and a half, when the enemy fled in all directions, after the fall of about three hundred and fifty of their aſſociates. The Durham fencibles were much applauded for their intrepidity and firmneſs on this occaſion.

On the twentieth of June, marquis Cornwallis arrived in Dublin, in the capacity both of commander in chief, and lord lieutenant of Ireland. The public virtues of this diſtinguiſhed nobleman; his military talents, and alſo the peculiar moderation and mildneſs of his character, are too well known to need any comment.

The following day, the great rebel camp, near Wexford, was attacked by the king's troops, under colonel Moore, and vanquiſhed after an action of an hour and a half. The rebels fled with precipitation, and left ſeveral pieces of cannon behind them. Colonel Moore then puſhed on to Wexford, which had been in poſſeſſion of the rebels, and entered it ſo opportunely, as to prevent its being laid in aſhes, and hinder the maſſacre of the remaining priſoners, by the rebels, who on the preceding day, had murdered upwards of ſeventy of them in cold blood, and thrown their bodies over the bridge. The rebels having fled from Wexford, on the approach of colonel Moore, ſent a propoſal to general Lake, commander in chief of the king's troops, importing that they were ready to lay down their arms, and return

return to their allegiance, provided their perſons and properties were duly guaranteed; on which conditions, they would endeavour to induce the people of the country to return to their allegiance. To this propoſal general Lake replied, that he could not attend to any terms offered by rebels in arms againſt their ſovereign; but, to the deluded multitude, he promiſed pardon, on delivering into his hands, their leaders, ſurrendering their arms, and returning with ſincerity to their allegiance.

Variety of actions took place from this period to the cloſe of Auguſt, in ſome of which his majeſty's troops experienced partial defeats, and in theſe they were in general taken by ſurpriſe; but the rebel party, were generally routed, with great loſs. Many of the leaders of the conſpiracy, now deſpairing of their cauſe, conſented to make a voluntary confeſſion of all the circumſtances within their knowledge; and it is from their own account, given on oath, that we are enabled to ſtate the riſe and progreſs of this horrid rebellion, and the correſpondence carried on with France. On condition of a full diſcloſure of what they knew, they were permitted to emigrate to ſome country to be agreed on between them and government, giving ſecurity never to return to Ireland without permiſſion of his majeſty's miniſters; and thus this formidable rebellion was quelled in a conſiderable degree.

Much intereſting and important information was communicated by the principal leaders; as it appeared from the examinations of Dr. M'Nevin, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Mr. Neilſon, counſellor Emmet, and many others, that an executive directory of the Iriſh union was inſtituted at an early period of the diſcontents, of which lord Edward Fitzgerald, Dr. M'Nevin, Arthur O'Connor, and Mr. Emmet, were members; that in the year 1796, lord Edward Fitzgerald and Mr. Arthur O'Connor, ſet out for Paris, in order to negotiate with the executive directory of France, for the invaſion of Ireland by a French force; but that fearful of a diſcovery of their intention, they proceeded no farther than the Rhine, where they met general Hoche, to whom they communicated the object of their miſſion; that that officer formed arrangements with the executive directory; that a fleet with general Hoche and a formidable army on board, was, in conſequence of thoſe arrangements, ſent to Ireland in the month of December following; but not being expected by the directory of the union, till the ſpring of 1797, the people were not prepared to receive the enemy when they arrived at Bantry Bay. That Dr. M'Nevin afterwards went to France on a ſimilar miſſion, and ſucceeded in obtaining a promiſe from the directory, that another attempt ſhould be made; that a fleet was accordingly fitted out in the Texel, and ſeveral thouſand men embarked on board of it, for the purpoſe of invading Ireland; that the troops, after remaining ſome time on board, were diſembarked; that the fleet, which was under the command of admiral De Winter, put to ſea without the troops (probably for the purpoſe of giving battle to the Britiſh ſquadron, and with the hope of clearing the way for the tranſports to come out); and that the reſult was, the glorious victory achieved by admiral Duncan on the memorable eleventh of October. It appears alſo from the report, that the real object of the union had all along been the accompliſhment of a revolution, and the ſeparation of Ireland from Great Britain; that parliamentary reform and catholic emancipation had been uſed as mere deluſive veils to cover their deſigns; that the French directory, between whom and the directory of the union, a regular correſpondence for ſome time had been kept up, on being applied to for a loan to enable the promoters of the rebellion to effect the propoſed revolution, refuſed to comply with the requeſt, unleſs they were permitted to ſend an army of ſufficient force to take poſſeſſion of the country as a conqueſt to their arms; and, finally, that there was at that moment, an agent from the united Iriſhmen reſiding in Paris. Theſe were the leading points of the report of the ſecret committee, and which left no doubt of the real deſigns of the chief actors concerned in the rebellion.

In the month of September, when the faint ſparks of expiring ſedition could hardly be perceived, about a thouſand French troops and general Humbert* landed from three frigates in the Bay of Killala, and ſucceeded ſo far as to take poſſeſſion of the town of that name, and the palace of the venerable biſhop of the dioceſe, in which he and his family were confined as priſoners: but the French general,

* The deſign of the French in conjunction with the united Iriſhmen will appear evident from the following orders ſigned by general Humbert.

"LIBERTY. EQUALITY.—ARMY OF IRELAND.

"At the head-quarters at Caſtlebar, 14 Fructidor, the 6th year of the French republic, one and indiviſible.

"General Humbert, commander in chief of the army of Ireland, orders as follows:

1. "The government of Connaught ſhall reſide at Caſtlebar, till further orders.

2. "It ſhall be compoſed of twelve members, to be nominated by the commander in chief of the French army.

3. "Citizen John Moore is appointed preſident.

4. "Proviſions are required (not for the Iriſh and French but) for the French and Iriſh armies.

5. "Eight regiments of infantry and four of cavalry ſhall be raiſed.

6. "The government will declare rebels and traitors all thoſe who, having received arms or cloathing, ſhall not join the army in twenty-four hours.

7. "Every individual, from ſixteen to forty, is called upon to repair to the French camp, to march in a maſs againſt the Engliſh."

who

Pl. 1.

who had riſen from the ranks to the dignity of a field officer, was obliged to ſubmit to the king's troops under the command of general Lake, who obtained a complete victory over them in the battle of Ballinamuck with a very trifling loſs; while that of the enemy muſt have been very conſiderable, as no leſs than twenty-four principal officers were taken priſoners, and a great number of ſubalterns, the whole amounting according to the eſtimate of their own Chef de Brigade to eight hundred and forty-four. The enemy in their retreat before the king's troops were compelled to abandon nine pieces of cannon, which they had taken in former actions with his majeſty's forces.

In the morning of the ſixteenth, a French national brig called the Anacreon, having on board general Rey, and the notorious James Napper Tandy, Chef de Brigade, appeared off the little town and iſland of Rutland on the north weſt coaſt of the county of Donegal, a place ſo utterly unnoticed, except for its convenience for the herring-fiſhery, as not to be defended by a ſingle ſoldier. When the crew of the brig who were principally Iriſh, made good their landing, they ſolicited information reſpecting the French army which had landed at Killala. Nothing could equal their dejection when they were informed that the whole French force had been deſtroyed, and that they had been joined by comparatively very few of their Iriſh rebel friends. The Anacreon was laden with many ſtands of arms to ſupply thoſe who were willing to join the French army; but ſuch was the caution or the terror of the country people, that as ſoon as the French appeared, they retired to the mountains. Napper Tandy and his friends were now fully convinced that the inhabitants of Rutland were not diſpoſed to further their deſigns; they deemed it moſt prudent to reimbark, and thus ended this raſh, frivolous, and deſpicable attempt *.

Fruſtrated in their plans of invaſion by the French, and defeated in their own efforts to effect their rebellious deſigns againſt their king and country, the united Iriſhmen now conſidered their cauſe as truly deſperate. They, continued, however, to commit depredations and perpetrate their uſual cruelties; ſallying forth occaſionally, and ſkirmiſhing with parties of the king's troops under a nefarious leader of the name of Holt; but being always repulſed in their attempts, their conſtant reſource was to flee to the bogs, mountains, and receſſes, and thereby eſcape the vengeance of their purſuers. But all their hopes were daſhed at length, by the defeat and capture of a French fleet, by ſir John Borlaſe Warren, which had ſailed from Breſt, with a formidable armament for the purpoſe of a more powerful invaſion than had been previouſly attempted; and which, had a landing been effected, would probably have revived a rebellion, that we are happy to pronounce proved to be its total cruſh and final overthrow.

* The following are copies of two proclamations which they iſſued: they are each headed by an harp ſurmounted by the cap of liberty, and bearing the motto *Erin go Bragh*:

LIBERTY OR DEATH.

Northern Army of Avengers.

Head Quarters, the Firſt Year of Iriſh Liberty.

"UNITED IRISHMEN,

"The ſoldiers of the great nation have landed on your coaſt, well ſupplied with arms and ammunition of all kinds; with artillery worked by men who have ſpread terror amongſt the ranks of the beſt troops in Europe; headed by French officers, they come to break your fetters, and reſtore you to the bleſſings of liberty.

"James Napper Tandy is at their head. He has ſworn to lead them on to victory or to die. Brave Iriſhmen! the friends of liberty have left their native ſoil to aſſiſt you in reconquering your rights. They will brave all dangers, and glory at the ſublime idea of cementing your happineſs with their blood.

"French blood ſhall not flow in vain: To arms!—Freemen, to arms! the trumpet calls; let not your friends be butchered unaſſiſted; if they are doomed to fall in this moſt glorious ſtruggle, let their death be uſeful to your cauſe, and their bodies ſerve as footſteps to the temple of Iriſh liberty.

"GEN. REY,

"In the name of the French officers and ſoldiers now on the coaſt of Ireland."

LIBERTY OR DEATH!

Northern Army of Avengers.

Head Quarters, the Firſt Year of Iriſh Liberty.

GEN. J. N. Tandy *to his* COUNTRYMEN.

"*United Iriſhmen,*

"What do I hear? The Britiſh government have dared to ſpeak of conceſſions? Would you accept of them?

"Can you think of entering into a treaty with a Britiſh miniſter; a miniſter too, who has left you at the mercy of an Engliſh ſoldiery, who has laid your cities waſte, and maſſacred inhumanly your beſt citizens—a miniſter, the bane of ſociety, and the ſcourge of mankind. Behold, Iriſhmen . . . he holds in his hand the olive of peace; be aware, his other hand lies concealed, armed with a poniard. No, Iriſhmen, no—you ſhall not be the dupes of his baſe intrigues. Unable to ſubdue your courage, he attempts to ſeduce you; let his efforts be vain.

"Horrid crimes have been perpetrated in your country. Your friends have fallen a ſacrifice to their devotion for your cauſe. Their ſhadows are around you, and call aloud for vengeance.

"It is your duty to avenge their death. It is your duty to ſtrike on their blood-cemented thrones the murderers of your friends.

"Liſten to no propoſals, Iriſhmen, wage a war of extermination againſt your oppreſſors, the war of liberty againſt tyranny, and liberty ſhall triumph!

"J. N. TANDY."

The hoſtile armament of the French was compoſed of a ſhip of the line and eight frigates, with a military force, and a great quantity of ſtores. Sir John ſucceſsfully engaged and captured the principal ſhip and ſix frigates. Wolfe Tone, one of the eſtabliſhers of the ſeditious ſociety, being taken with the French, was convicted and tried by a court martial, and ſentenced to die the death of a felon, an ignominy which he thought proper to avoid by being his own executioner.

Holland was now completely revolutionized, the principles of the new conſtitution, according to late decrees, were to be the abolition of the reſpective ſovereignty of the provinces, and of the feudal ſyſtem; the excluſion of the Orange party, and the enemies of the ſovereignty of the people, from the right of voting for ten years after the acceptance of the conſtitution; a plan of a new ſyſtem of finance, founded on the relative abilities of individuals; the abolition of provincial quotas; the ſeparation of the legiſlative, executive, and judicial powers; an annual reſponſibility for the public expenditure; a ſtrict alliance with the French republic, &c.

The Batavian conſtituent aſſembly eſtabliſhed its new government on a variety of conſtitutional baſes: the laſt and moſt important of which was, "That there ſhall be a ſtrict union between the French and the Batavian republics, in ſuch a manner, that the latter, though conſidered as completely free, can entertain no political or commercial connection with the enemies of France; and that, in future, the two republics ſhall conſider the cauſe of either as a common cauſe."

It appeared by authentic accounts, about this period, that the war in Switzerland might be conſidered as terminated. The great cantons, Berne, Zuric, Baſle, Fribourg, and Soleure, having been forced to yield, the leſſer were following their example. Uri, Lucerne, Schaffhauſen, Underwalden, Glarus, and the town of Winterther, had now declared in favour of the French ſyſtem of liberty and equality. Lucerne, which ſeemed the moſt reſolute in oppoſition, ſeeing itſelf deſerted by the other cantons, would make no further attempts to reſiſt the French, but merely guard its own frontiers. The loſs of the Swiſs, in the late different engagements, was eſtimated at ſeven thouſand, among whom were about four hundred women. The Swiſs fought with a bravery worthy of their anceſtors: many of them refuſed to accept quarter. The whole of the Swiſs cantons had now indeed declared, that they were willing to accept the plan of a conſtitution prepared for them at Paris.

The French purſued their revolutionary ſyſtem in the ſame manner in Italy. Early in the month of February, the Pope left Rome with an eſcort ſuitable to his age and dignity, and proceeded from thence to Florence, where he took up a temporary reſidence. On the fifteenth, the people repaired in great crowds, to the place Campo Varino. There they proclaimed their liberty with ſhouts, that the Roman republic was reſuſcitated by an act ſigned by ſeveral thouſands of the citizens. The tree of liberty was afterwards planted before the capitol, and in ſeveral of the public places. But this afterwards appeared to be rather the effect of the phrenzy of the moment, than a deliberate act founded on a rational conviction of its propriety.

On the fourth of May, general Bonaparte ſet out from Paris; and on the nineteenth, embarked at Toulon, on board admiral Bruey's ſhip l'Orient, (formerly the Sans Culottes), a three-decker. The fleet ſet ſail with a favourable wind. The tranſports, with the infantry and cavalry, got under weigh at day-break, with eight frigates. This formidable armament, which was intended for the invaſion of Egypt, conſiſted of fifteen ſhips of the line and eighteen frigates. The tranſports, to the number of four hundred, were off Herries. An immenſe number of infantry, with artillery, vaſt quantities of mortars, howitzers, furnaces, bombs, grape and canniſter-ſhot, and other ammunition, were put on board. Men of letters, aſtronomers, geometricians, and artiſts of every ſort, alſo embarked. The convoy from Genoa conſiſted of thirty-eight ſail, with ten thouſand men on board. Kleber, Berthier, and other generals, had alſo embarked.

The general in chief, Bonaparte, harangued the officers and ſoldiery, previous to their embarkation, in the following ſpirited terms:—"Soldiers! you "form one of the wings of the army of England; "you have braved the perils of war on mountains, "on plains, and in ſieges. There now only remains a naval war, in which you are equally to "ſignalize yourſelves. The Roman legions, whom "you have ſometimes imitated, but whom you "have not yet equalled, alternately fought Carthage on this ſame ſea; and, on the plains of "Zama, victory never deſerted them, becauſe they uniformly evinced themſelves courageous, patient "of fatigue, diſciplined, and united among themſelves.—Soldiers! Europe has its eyes fixed on "you. You have a high deſtiny to fulfil, battles "to engage in, dangers to brave, fatigues to encounter. You will perform more than you have "hitherto done for the proſperity of the country, "for the happineſs of mankind, and for your own "glory.—Soldiers, ſailors, infantry, cavalry, artillery! be firm and united; and do not forget that "in the day of battle, you will ſtand in need of each "others help. Military ſeamen *(ſoldats matelots)* "you have hitherto been neglected; but at preſent "the republic has nothing more anxiouſly at heart "than your welfare. You will, no doubt, ſhew "yourſelves worthy of the army of which you form "a part. The Genius of Liberty, which rendered

"the

" the republic, from its very birth, the arbitreſs of " Europe, intends alſo to make it the arbitreſs of " the ſeas, and of the moſt diſtant countries!".

The fleet arriving at Malta on the ninth of June, a requeſt was made by the French general for water, which was refuſed by the grand-maſter, who declared ironically, he could admit but two ſhips into the port. On the tenth, the French were on ſhore early in the morning, and Malta was inveſted, and the town cannonaded in all quarters. The beſieged made a ſally, in which general Marmont, at the head of the nineteenth brigade, took the ſtandard of the order. On the eleventh, the knights ſurrendered the town and port, as well as their property in the iſland, to the French republic. The victors found at Malta two veſſels, one frigate, four gallies, twelve hundred pieces of cannon, and forty thouſand muſkets.

After the French fleet had quitted Malta, no intelligence was received concerning it, till the thirty-firſt of Auguſt, when a letter arrived at the Eaſt India Houſe, from Mr. Tooke, the company's agent at Conſtantinople, dated July the twenty-third; ſtating from the report of the captain of the port of Alexandria *, who had eſcaped from thence to Cyprus, from whence he had forwarded a diſpatch to Conſtantinople, that Bonaparte actually diſembarked at Alexandria, on or about the eighth of July, from fifteen to twenty thouſand men. Bonaparte's fleet, ſhips of war, and tranſports, were ſtated to be near three hundred ſail.

The French directory, flushed with ſucceſs, had meditated a chimerical plan of extending their arms to the wilds of Arabia, ſubjugating Egypt, and, as many conjectured, of purſuing their paſſage to Hindoſtan, in the Eaſt Indies, where they indulged a vain expectation of ranſacking all the territories of the Engliſh company, and returning home with an enormous addition to that plunder, which they had already amaſſed by the ſpoils of every place they had ſeized on by force of arms.

In conſequence of the landing of the French troops, the Sublime Porte, enraged at the inſolent conduct of the directory, iſſued a memorial, which was delivered to all the foreign miniſters †. The memorial was followed by a declaration on the part of the Porte againſt the French, and an imperial decree was iſſued for purſuing the moſt vigorous meaſures to attack them by ſea and land.

An expedition was undertaken in the ſpring, to annoy the poſſeſſors of the Netherlands. When planned in the Britiſh cabinet, it was entruſted to captain Popham of the royal navy, and major-general Eyre Coote, as commander in chief of the military, who, in conjunction, had it in charge to repair with a ſquadron of ſhips, and a ſelect number of troops, to Oſtend, in order to deſtroy the gates and ſluices of the canal of Bruges, by which means their communication with the Netherlands would be very materially obſtructed. The ſquadron reached Oſtend on the morning of the nineteenth, and through the judicious management of captain Popham, and the exertions of the officers and ſeamen under his command, the greateſt part of the troops were ſpeedily diſembarked, the ſluices were completely deſtroyed, and the object of the expedition thereby attained, with the loſs of only five men killed and wounded. The commander in chief then ſent a ſummons to the town of Oſtend, to ſurrender, and received for anſwer from the French commandant, that it was the unanimous reſolution of the council of war ſitting on the occaſion, not to ſurrender

* The ſandy ſhore at Alexandria being almoſt level with the ſea, nothing of the beach is ſeen till you are almoſt in the harbour, which is very precarious, being little ſheltered, and very rocky; the bottom is ſo much ſo, as to make it neceſſary to under-run every cable, and to moor oppoſite the caſtle with four cables, two a-head, two a-ſtern, laſhed to others as far as four anchors are carried, and a buoy of ſome ſort to each laſhing. Thus every cable croſſing each other, form quite a net, and would employ one ſhip's company two days at leaſt to anchor; but it is a rule to ſend from the ſhips in harbour as many men as can be ſpared to aſſiſt the veſſel coming in. It is ſo expoſed, and there is ſometimes ſo much ſwell, as to cauſe great confuſion and diſtreſs. No boats can come off or land at this time, nor do the Turks deſire they ſhould, as they wiſh to ſee your veſſel loſt, in expectation of plunder.—There is very little proviſion to be had of any kind; water is ſo ſcarce, you are obliged to purchaſe it at a dear rate, and the Turks, if you are not attentive, will put in ſalt water to increaſe the profits.

† The following is a copy of the memorial: " The Porte, as all Europe knows, has long continued at peace with France, and on terms of the ſtricteſt amity and good underſtanding; which good underſtanding it has done every thing in its power to maintain. With the utmoſt ſurpriſe, therefore, has it ſeen the Turkiſh territories abruptly, and in a moſt extraordinary manner, attacked by the French arms.

" A man of the name of Bonaparte, giving himſelf out to be a French general, has made war on the Turkiſh province of Egypt. It is impoſſible for the Porte to believe that ſuch a proceeding, ſo contrary to the rights of all nations, can ever be countenanced, much leſs commanded, by the French executive directory. A conſiderable force has, however, been ſent to Egypt, to ſtop the progreſs of the invaders.

" Some of the emiſſaries of Bonaparte have pretended to perſuade the people of Egypt, that they have been ſent by Mahomet to give them perfect liberty and happineſs, and render their religion the ſovereign religion on earth; but the people have anſwered, that Mahomet authoriſes no injuſtice; and that they can place no faith in ſuch promiſes from thoſe who have denied their God, and renounced their own Mahomet.

" *Conſtantinople, Sept.*

the place till they were buried under its ruins. The Britiſh troops, on their return to the beach the next day, found, that from an increaſe of wind and ſurf, their communication with the fleet was nearly cut off, and that it was impoſſible to re-imbark the troops. Thus perilouſly ſituated, every effort was made for annoying the enemy in their approach to an attack. About four in the morning, two ſtrong columns of the enemy advanced on their front, with ſeveral other columns on their flanks. A ſevere conflict was maintained for two hours, till the Britiſh troops, being overpowered by numbers, their left and right flanks were completely turned; and, at the moment that general Coote had put himſelf at the head of the eleventh regiment, to regain the advantageous ground from which they had retreated; at that very critical period, he received a very ſevere wound in his thigh, and being unable to proceed, he ſent for major-general Burrard, who finding that the front of the army was broken, and the flanks completely turned, while the enemy was pouring down upon them on all ſides, and ſeveral valuable officers, and many of the beſt men were killed and wounded, he thought it prudent to ſurrender; for had the Britiſh troops perſiſted but a ſhort time longer in the conflict, their fate would have been decided by the bayonet. In this action ſeveral officers of rank were wounded; two of them mortally, colonel Campbell of the guards, and captain Walker, who commanded the royal artillery. About thirty privates, and twelve ſeamen, (including petty officers) were killed, and fifty wounded. The number of thoſe who ſurrendered priſoners of war, including officers, amounted to upwards of eleven hundred.

But the loſs ſuſtained in this expedition, was amply compenſated by the conqueſts and captures made, through the vigilance and activity of our naval commanders, and the valour and intrepidity of our gallant tars, in all quarters. Every day almoſt for ſucceſſive months brought intelligence of their exertions in annoying the enemy; leſſening the number of their ſhips, both of war and merchandize; in ſhort, the Britiſh navy may be ſaid, in the trueſt ſenſe of the phraſe, to have maintained the empire of the ſeas, while one grand achievement at length crowned the whole. After receiving intelligence of the conqueſt of Malta, and the departure of the French fleet from that iſland, a ſquadron was diſpatched in purſuit of them, by admiral lord St. Vincent, from his fleet, under the command of rear-admiral ſir Horatio Nelſon, an officer of approved valour and experience. A long time elapſed before he fell in with them; and, in the interval, the public mind was univerſally agitated, for the reſult of an expedition ſo highly important to the intereſts of Great Britain.

After a long ſearch for the fleet of the republic, he at laſt diſcovered it in the Bay of Aboukir, near the mouth of the Nile. He inſtantly directed his courſe towards them, and found them at anchor, in a line extending from N. W. to S. E. They were at ſingle anchor, with ſprings on their cables, and riding head to wind, which was from the north-weſt. To approach them, it was neceſſary to ſail round an iſland, and a reef which projected from it, to the diſtance of ſeveral miles from the point on which the ſmall fort of Aboukir ſtands. The wind was perfectly fair both for this, and for approaching the fleet; but, unfortunately, in rounding the reef, the Culloden, the leading ſhip, commanded by the gallant Trowbridge, ran aground, and could not take a part in the action. After this accident, Nelſon had only ten ſhips (three having fallen ſeveral leagues aſtern) to fight thirteen of the enemy, and ſeveral of theſe of ſuperior force to any of his.

The iſland alſo, fortified with two mortars, and ſome heavy guns, was to be paſſed within gun-ſhot; but he determined on an immediate aſſault, and made the ſignal to attack the van and centre of the enemy. It was nearly ſix in the evening when he cloſed with them. About half the number of his ſhips got between the enemy and the ſhore, either by cutting through their line, or by ſailing round the head of it, and the reſt attacked on the outſide. All dropped their anchors, ſo as to place themſelves oppoſite and cloſe to their opponents; and one of the ſhips, in paſſing, deſtroyed the carved work of the enemy's ſtern. By this diſpoſition, ſome of the enemy were doubled on, and all that were engaged on the land ſide were taken unprepared; the Zealous fired three broadſides before a gun was returned from that ſide.

The enemy began their efforts as ſoon as our ſhips came within ſhot. The Zealous diſmaſted the Guerrier, (headmoſt ſhip of the enemy's line) in three broadſides, and ſhe was completely beaten in five minutes. Their ſix headmoſt ſhips were taken poſſeſſion of the firſt night (remaining ſtill at anchor), and L'Orient blew up, when the awe of the exploſion produced a ceſſation of firing; but the conflict was ſpeedily renewed. On the next morning, at day-light, the action recommenced, and other ſhips were taken or deſtroyed; nor did the battle terminate till the forenoon of the third day, (Auguſt, the third), when the enemy's rear was compelled either to ſurrender or run. Two ſhips of the line, and two frigates, by their being leſs diſabled in their maſts and rigging than our ſhips, eſcaped, though they were purſued. All the captured ſhips were diſmaſted. The Timoleon ſhared the fate of L'Orient; and thoſe of her crew who ſwam to the ſhore, were ſaid to be maſſacred by the Arabs. The advantages held out to Nelſon by the French admiral were great indeed. If he could not have made ſuch a diſpoſition of his fleet at anchor, as to command the bay of Aboukir, he ſhould have got his

fleet

fleet under ſail, that every ſhip might have had a chance of coming into action. As it was ſtationed, his line was ſo diſpoſed as to lie in the direction of the wind, whilſt Nelſon had the option of attacking the line to the windward; and, of courſe, of throwing out of the action all the leeward ſhips, which, being tied down at anchor by their faulty diſpoſition, could not repair to the aſſiſtance of thoſe which were attacked; in conſequence of which, the different parts of their line were beaten in ſucceſſion; and on this matter the deciſive nature of the victory turned.

In this action, ſeven ſhips of ſeventy-four guns each, were taken; one of eighty, and one of ſeventy-four were burned, beſides a frigate of thirty-ſix guns, and another of the ſame force, that was ſunk. One ſhip of eighty guns, one of ſeventy-four, one of forty-eight, and one of forty-four guns eſcaped.

The French began with great gallantry; their admiral and commander in chief Brueyes, was killed by a cannon-ball; many officers of rank fell, and the general ſlaughter muſt have been immenſe, from the ſhattered ſtate of all the ſhips that were engaged. Admiral Nelſon was wounded on the head, and obliged to be carried off the deck; but the ſervice ſuffered no loſs by the event, through the ſkill and intrepidity of captain Berry, the admiral's captain. The number of killed and wounded on board the Britiſh fleet, was, according to the return, to the following amount—killed, ſixteen officers, one hundred and fifty-ſix ſeamen, forty-ſix marines; wounded, thirty-ſeven officers, five hundred and ſixty-two ſeamen, ſeventy-eight marines: Total, eight hundred and ninety-five. The killed and wounded republicans are ſuppoſed to have been at leaſt four thouſand five hundred in number. They alſo loſt their admiral, while the victors lamented the death of captain Weſtcott.

This triumph diffuſed over the world, the renown of Nelſon, and crowned the tars of Britain with wreaths of immortal fame. The exertions of the gallant admiral, and the intrepid combatants who manned his fleet, furniſhed a laſting topic of converſation.

This victory was the moſt ſplendid and deciſive of a ſeries, in which, in the courſe of five years, ſuch a number of French ſhips of the line were taken, as were alone ſufficient to form a conſiderable navy; and had reduced the maritime power of France, from being the ſecond in Europe, below that of Ruſſia, and to a level with that of Sweden. It fruſtrated all attempts of invaſion, and fully defeated the chimerical project of the directory of France concerning Egypt. The gallant admiral obtained the reward he ſo juſtly merited in a peerage and penſion, and his name will be tranſmitted with honour to poſterity *.

To

* The following is the gallant admiral's diſpatch, publiſhed in the London Gazette, the twenty-ſecond of October following, on this glorious event; which, from the modeſty in which it is couched, and the perſpicuous brevity in the relation, we preſent to our readers in its original ſtate. The diſpatch was addreſſed to lord St. Vincent, and dated Vanguard, mouth of the Nile, Auguſt the third.

" *My Lord*,

" Almighty God has bleſſed his majeſty's arms in the " late battle, by a great victory over the fleet of the " enemy, whom I attacked at ſun-ſet on the firſt of " Auguſt, off the mouth of the Nile. The enemy were " moored in a ſtrong line of battle, for defending the " entrance of the bay (of Shoals) flanked by numerous " gun boats, four frigates, and a battery of guns and " mortars, on an iſland in their van; but nothing could " withſtand the ſquadron your lordſhip did me the ho- " nour to place under my command. Their high ſtate " of diſcipline is well known to you; and with the " judgment of the captains, together with their valour, " and that of the officers and men of every deſcription, " it was abſolutely irreſiſtible. Could any thing from " my pen add to the characters of the captains, I would " write it with pleaſure, but that is impoſſible. I have " to regret the loſs of captain Weſtcott, of the Majeſtic, " who was killed during the action; but the ſhip con- " tinued to be ſo well fought, by her firſt lieutenant, Mr. " Cuthbert, that I have given him an order to command " her till your lordſhip's pleaſure is known. The ſhips " of the enemy, all but their two rear ſhips, are nearly " diſmaſted; and thoſe two, with two of their frigates, " I am ſorry to ſay, made their eſcape; nor was it, I " aſſure you, in my power to prevent them. Captain " Hood moſt handſomelyendeavoured to do it; but I had " no ſhip in a condition to ſupport the Zealous, and I " was obliged to call her in. The ſupport and aſſiſtance I have received from captain Berry, cannot be ſufficiently expreſſed. I was wounded in the head, and obliged to be carried off the deck; but the ſervice ſuffered no loſs by that event. Captain Berry was fully equal to the important ſervice then going on; and to him I muſt beg leave to refer you for every information relative to this victory. He will preſent you with the flag of the ſecond in command, that of the commander in chief being burnt in L'Orient."

A meſſage was ſent to parliament by his majeſty, intimating that he had granted a penſion of 2000*l. per annum* to lord Nelſon, and to his two next heirs, in conſideration of the eminent ſervices of his lordſhip; which grant they reſolved to eſtabliſh.

We cannot ſuppreſs our inclination of communicating to the public, the particulars of the polite attention ſhewn by the king of Naples to admiral Nelſon. His majeſty's ſhip the Culloden, captain Trowbridge, the Alexander, captain Ball, and the frigate Bon Citoyenne, came into the port of Naples, on the eighteenth of September. His Sicilian majeſty went out in his boat into the bay to meet them, as did numerous Engliſh and Neapolitan boats. The ſhips gave the royal ſalute to his majeſty. Admiral ſir Horatio Nelſon, in the Vanguard, accompanied by the Thalia frigate, did not make his appearance

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To complete the ſucceſs of the year, the fortreſs of Cittadella, and the iſland of Minorca, ſurrendered by capitulation on the fifteenth of November, to general Stuart and commodore Duckworth. This important event was accompliſhed without the loſs of a ſingle man; the Spaniards on the iſland, though they had a great ſuperiority of force, not chooſing to make hardly any reſiſtance. There were found in the fortreſs immenſe quanties of ammunition and ſtores.

On the morning of the ninth of February *, the lord mayor, attended by a numerous body of reſpectable merchants and bankers, appeared upon a temporary huſtings, erected in the Royal Exchange, for the purpoſe of promoting the voluntary contributions recommended for the ſervice of the country. The area of the Exchange was crouded with the moſt reſpectable merchants and traders of London, to the number of many hundreds. The lord mayor, in a conciſe ſpeech, having ſtated the object of the meeting, Mr. Boſanquet obſerved, that they were now called upon, in a criſis of danger and difficulty, to ſtep forward in defence of their country. The merchants of London, he declared, would ever ſupport the high character for patriotiſm and liberality, which they had ſo ſucceſsfully eſtabliſhed; and he hoped that the preſent ſubſcription would not only aid the public ſervice in a very material degree, but, as a proof of the general feeling and ſentiments of the country, would be univerſal. Mr. Boſanquet concluded his ſpeech with propoſing ſeveral reſolutions, ſtating the neceſſity of the ſubſcription, from the conduct of the enemy; and propoſing that books ſhould be opened at the Exchange for ſubſcriptions, to be afterwards forwarded to the bank of England; recommending, at the ſame time, to all bodies corporate, mayors, and chief officers of cities and towns in the kingdom, to call meetings, and promote ſubſcriptions in their reſpective diſtricts. The reſolutions were unanimouſly agreed to, accompanied by the loudeſt plaudits. The thanks of the meeting were then returned to the lord mayor, and books were immediately opened, to which great numbers appeared crowding to be among the foremoſt of the ſubſcribers.

At the diſſolution of the meeting, four ſeparate books were opened on the huſtings; and, at the cloſe of the day, the exact ſum ſubſcribed in caſh, was forty-ſix thouſand five hundred and thirty-four pounds fourteen ſhillings and ſix-pence. The number of ſubſcribers was two hundred and ſixteen, and the ſubſcriptions from one guinea to three thouſand pounds, which laſt ſum was the donation of the houſe of Boyd, Benfield, and Co. with the promiſe of continuing it annually during the war. Several other ſubſcriptions were alſo ſet down as annual, and the whole conſiſted of free gifts, without any reference to a compoſition in lieu of taxes.

Intelligence arrived about this time, from admiral lord Bridport, that l'Hercule of ſeventy-four guns, a French ſhip, was taken by the Mars, though the captain of the latter, who carried his ſhip nobly into battle, gloriouſly fell in the conteſt. Lieutenant Butterfield ſucceeded to the command of l'Hercule, and captain James George Shirley, was appointed to the temporary command of the Mars. L'Hercule contained ſeven hundred men. Beſides captain Hood, captain White of the marines was killed, and lieutenant Argles ſeverely wounded. We had about thirty killed, and as many wounded, moſt of them dangerouſly †.

in the bay till the twenty ſecond, having been becalmed off Sicily. The king of Naples not only went off to meet the admiral, but inſtantly went on board the Vanguard, and continued on board till that veſſel was at anchor in the port. The royal ſalute was given by all the king's ſhips, both on his Sicilian majeſty's arrival on board the Vanguard, and on his leaving the ſhip. The day being remarkably fine, a great number of boats, with colours and muſic, attended the Vanguard, and all the ſhores and wharfs of Naples were crouded with a multitude of rejoicing people; and when the admiral came on ſhore, the Neapolitans received him with unbounded applauſe.

His majeſty's ſhip the Leander, of fifty guns, captain Thompſon, on her voyage from the Nile, with diſpatches from lord Nelſon, nobly contended with the Généreux French man of war, of ſeventy-four guns, one of the ſhips which eſcaped from the battle of Aboukir, but, after a long and ſpirited reſiſtance, was compelled to ſurrender to the enemy. The loſs of the Leander, in this action, was three officers, twenty-four ſeamen, one ſerjeant, and ſeven marines, killed; ſeven officers, forty-one ſeamen, and nine marines, wounded: that of the Genereux was one hundred men killed, and one hundred and eighteen wounded.

* A. D. 1798.

† On the ſixteenth of October, 1798, the committee appointed to conſider the beſt manner of diſpoſing of the ſword which had been preſented to the court by admiral lord Nelſon, reported the following reſolution, which was agreed to unanimouſly: that the ſword delivered to our gallant hero, lord Nelſon, by the French admiral M. Blanquet, be put up in the moſt conſpicuous place in the common council chamber, with the following inſcription engraved on a marble tablet:—"The ſword of monſieur "Blanquet, the commanding French admiral, in the glo-"rious engagement off the Nile, on the firſt of Auguſt, "1798, preſented to the court by the right honourable "rear-admiral Nelſon." The lord mayor was requeſted to communicate to lord Nelſon, the high ſenſe which the court entertained of the invaluable preſent of this ſword. The thanks of the court, and a ſword of the value of two hundred guineas, were ordered to be preſented to lord Nelſon; and the lord mayor requeſted to order the ſame, and to preſent it to the victorious admiral. The thanks of the court were alſo ordered to be given to captain Berry, and the captains, officers, and ſeamen, for their important ſervices; and it was alſo reſolved, that the freedom ſhould be preſented to captain Berry, in a gold box of the value of one hundred guineas.

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captain Berkam, announced the capture of the Genereux of the largest and finest frigates belonging to the French republic, after an action of an hour and a quarter, most gallantly disputed, which does the highest honour to captain Joseph Andrieu Sequeira, her commander. The ship, which was quite new, was purchased by the city of Naples, pierced for fifty guns, mounting thirty-six, having on board six hundred and forty-four men, troops, &c. of which Le Leare had forty-eight men killed, and seventy-eight wounded. Our loss was not very considerable. By this conflict, we obtained clothing, complete, for three thousand men, one thousand and twenty muskets in cases, two hundred sabres, three hundred and fifty pouches, and a great quantity of ammunition of different kinds.

About this time his majesty was graciously pleased to elevate admiral Nelson to the peerage, by creating him baron Nelson of the Nile, and of Burnham Thorpe, in consideration of the great and courageous perseverance manifested by him on different occasions; and particularly of his able and gallant conduct in the glorious and decisive victory obtained over the French fleet near the mouth of the Nile.

Gaeta and Capua afterwards yielded to the valour of captain Trowbridge, commanding a little army, composed of English, Ruffians, Neapolitans, Piedmontese, Swifs, and Ottomans. The French obtained permiffion to retire into their own country, on condition of not ferving again till exchanged; and thus, after having plundered and ravaged the kingdom, and induced thoufands of its inhabitants to rebel, abandoned them, without a ftipulation in their favour, to the fword of juftice, and the vengeance of the royalift party.

Early in the morning of the twenty-fixth of March*, the French made an attack on the Auftrian advanced poffs at Santa Lucia and Buffolengo, before the expiration of the truce, but were repulfed with confiderable loffs at both places. The Auftrians had many officers and men killed and wounded. General Kray repulfed the enemy at Legnago, killed two thoufand, made two thoufand prifoners, took fourteen pieces of cannon, and purfued the remainder of the enemy towards Mantua. The Piedmontefe infurgents were now become fo formidable againft their oppreffors, as to threaten the capital†.

* A. D. 1799.

† In the court of King's Bench, fentence was pronounced on the thirtieth of May, by Mr. juftice Grofe, on the reverend William Wakefield, for publifhing a malevolent ſeditious libel, with intent to traduce the government of the country, and the adminiſtration of the public affairs of theſe realms. The offender was therefore adjudged to be committed to Dorcheſter gaol, for the term of two years; and at the end of that term, to give ſecurity for his good behaviour for five years; himſelf in five hundred pounds, and two ſureties in two hundred and fifty pounds each; and to continue in ſuch gaol till he had given ſuch ſecurity.

At the ſame time, the attorney-general prayed the judgment of the court, on Mr. Parry, the proprietor, John Vint, the printer, and George Roſs, the publiſher of the *Courier* news-paper, for a paragraph which appeared in that paper, "ſtating the emperor of Ruſſia to be a tyrant among his own ſubjects, and ridiculous to the reſt of Europe." Mr. juſtice Grofe pronounced the judgment of the court, which was, "that Mr. John Parry do pay the ſum of one hundred pounds, and be impriſoned in the King's Bench priſon for ſix calendar months, and enter into ſecurity for his good behaviour for five years; himſelf in five hundred pounds, and two ſureties in two hundred and fifty pounds each; and that John Vint and George Roſs be impriſoned in the ſame priſon, each for one calendar month.

In the beginning of this year, the court of directors of the Eaſt India company came to the reſolution of thanking [illegible] for the eminent ſervices rendered by him to that company, and to requeſt his acceptance of the ſum of one thouſand pounds.

The emperor of Ruſſia having, as a mark of friendſhip and regard to his majeſty, and of eſteem and reſpect towards his majeſty's naval ſervice, and particularly towards the officers and crews of the ſhips who joined Admiral Duncan in 1798, under the command of rear-admiral lord Nelſon, ſignified to his majeſty's miniſter at Peterſburgh, his deſire that the Leander of fifty guns, which, having been engaged in that action, was, after a moſt gallant and diſtinguiſhed reſiſtance, captured on its paſſage home by a French ſhip of the line of ſeventy-four guns, and has ſince been re-captured from the enemy, by his imperial majeſty's arms at the ſurrender of Corfu, ſhould be preſented to his majeſty, in his Imperial majeſty's name, with a view to its being reſtored to his naval ſervice; the king was pleaſed to accept, with the higheſt ſatisfaction, this diſtinguiſhed mark of attention and friendſhip on the part of his ally; and directed that the Leander ſhould be received accordingly, from ſuch officer as the emperor of Ruſſia may direct to deliver the ſame, to be again placed among the ſhips compoſing his majeſty's fleet employed in the Mediterranean.

A new war having now taken place in India, with Tippoo Saib, Serringapatam, his capital, was taken, and himſelf killed in the aſſault. The earl of Mornington (ſince created marquis Welleſley) had made diſpoſitions for counteracting the views of Tippoo; the ſultan having received a ſmall force from the Mauritius, and expected further aſſiſtance from an attack of the Engliſh. Eighteen thouſand effective men, of whom twelve thouſand were natives of India, marched from the Coromandel coaſt, under the command of lieutenant-general Harris; and, forming a junction with the troops of the Nizam, reduced ſome inconſiderable forts on the frontiers of

Maiſſour. Tippoo, about the ſame time, attacked at Sidaſir, a brigade of the army which had been furniſhed by the governor of Bombay, and was commanded by lieutenant-general James Stuart. Notwithſtanding the great ſuperiority of the aſſailants, in point of number, they were routed, with a loſs which far exceeded that of their antagoniſts.

Tippoo now haſtened to meet the grand army, and encountered the right wing near Malavelli. The engagement, though not ſanguinary, terminated in the defeat of the Maiſſourians. On the approach of general Harris to Seringapatam, another conteſt occurred to his army. He then commenced the ſiege of the town, and his enterprize was zealouſly promoted by the Bombay forces.

The ſultan neither obſtructed the march of his enemies, or intercepted their ſupplies of proviſions; an inattention which enabled them to carry on their operations with vigour and alacrity. Serjeant Graham led the forlorn hope with a cheerful countenance, but he received a ſhot through the head while he was fixing the colour-ſtaff on the breach. The alarm attending this circumſtance, having roufed the ſultan, he haſtened along the rampart, and ſaw himſelf purſued by the grenadiers who had ruſhed through the breach. He endeavoured to rally the fugitives, and to check the intruders; but without ſucceſs, though he impeded their progreſs for a time. Retiring to the gate of the inner fort, the ſultan received ſeveral wounds, and while he was aiming a blow at a ſoldier who was ſeizing his ſword-belt, a ball ſtruck him on the temple, and put a period to his life. The garriſon no longer oppoſed; and the victorious officers eagerly repreſſed the violence of their men. The moſt rigid diſcipline could not prevent irregular acts of depredation; but the riches of the palace were reſerved for regular diſtribution.

A quadruple diviſion of the country was reſolved on: the Eaſt India company obtained additional territory by this conqueſt; other parts were allotted to the Nizam and the Mahrattas; and the remaining portion of the tyrant's dominions was beſtowed on a prince of that family which had been deprived of its power, by Hyder's uſurpation. By this ſucceſsful enterprize, the Britiſh power in the eaſt was eſtabliſhed upon a permanent foundation.

An expedition was about this time fitted out in the Weſt Indies, under the command of lieutenant-general Trigge, and vice-admiral lord Hugh Seymour, conſiſting of two ſhips of the line, five frigates, and ſeveral tranſports: it arrived on the ſixteenth of Auguſt, off the mouth of the river Surinam; when the fort New Amſterdam, and the town of Paramaribo, the capital of the Dutch colony of Surinam, ſurrendered by capitulation to the Britiſh commanders without attempting any reſiſtance.

But the principal military operation undertaken by Great Britain, in this year, was the expedition fitted out to reſcue the United Provinces from French [illegible] a long courſe of preparation, and a [illegible] aſſiſted by unfavourable weather, a [illegible] place on the coaſt of North Holland. Seven [illegible]s, compoſed of French and Dutch, [illegible] the invaders, who with difficulty gained the advantage. The enemy had about one thouſand killed or wounded, and the Britiſh conſtituents about four hundred and fifty. Sir Ralph Abercrombie intended to attack the Helder fort the next morning; but it was [illegible] in the night, leaving our troops a conſ[illegible] train of artillery. A naval magazine was alſo [illegible], and thirteen ſhips of war, with three Indiamen, were taken without reſiſtance.

After making judicious arrangements, vice-admiral Mitchell immediately ſtood down into the Texel, and offered battle to the Dutch fleet lying there; the whole of which, conſiſting of twelve ſhips of war, ſurrendered to the Britiſh admiral, the Dutch ſailors refuſing to fight, and compelling their officers to give up their ſhips for the ſervice of the prince of Orange. Eight of the twelve ſhips mounted from fifty-four to ſeventy-four guns.

The Hollanders, however, were adverſe to the reſtoration of the Stadtholder; few of them ſubmitted to the intruders, the majority threatening a ſtrenuous oppoſition. For ſeveral days, the invading troops could find no ſhelter but by digging trenches in the ſand; though they afterwards obtained more comfortable quarters. While they were waiting for reinforcements, they were vigorouſly attacked by about twelve thouſand men; but the Engliſh defended themſelves ſo reſolutely, that eight hundred of the aſſailants were killed or wounded, while only four hundred ſuffered on the part of the opponents. The guards acquired great honour in this engagement.

The duke of York now arrived in Holland with three brigades, and took the command of the army: a Ruſſian army alſo diſembarked. The allied hoſt now amounting to thirty-five thouſand men, the duke and general d'Herman were eager for an action. The Ruſſians began with great impetuoſity, making great havoc, and puſhing forward to Bergen: Abercrombie's column penetrated to Hoorn; and the other two columns were ſucceſsful in their attacks. But the raſhneſs of the Ruſſians expoſed them to unneceſſary danger, and obliged the whole force to retreat. About two thouſand of the enemy were killed or wounded, and three thouſand taken priſoners. Upwards of one thouſand Britiſh ſoldiers were killed, wounded, or captured; and of the Ruſſians about two thouſand.

In another conteſt, the army moved to the attack in four columns, under Abercrombie, d'Eſſen, Dundas, and Pulteney. The hoſtile force conſiſted of twenty-

twenty-five thouſand, including French and Dutch; the former were commanded by general Brune, and the latter by Daendels. The main body of the firſt column were not much oppoſed in the early part of the day; but, when ſir Ralph approached Egmont, he met with violent oppoſition from a ſtrong corps of French infantry, aided by a body of cavalry, and a train of artillery upon the beach. A ſmart conflict took place in the vicinity of Bergen: the brigades of major-general Coote, and the earl of Chatham, charged the enemy in flank and rear, and occaſioned a confuſed retreat.

At length the cavalry were baffled in an attack upon the Britiſh horſe-artillery, and were gallantly driven towards Egmont, by lord Paget, with conſiderable loſs. Night terminated the engagement, and the troops reſted upon their arms. At day-break, the Engliſh and Ruſſians were enabled to take ſeveral poſts, in conſequence of the retreat of the enemy. The number of killed and wounded of the Britiſh combatants, amounted to one thouſand three hundred and fifty: other accounts ſay, one thouſand five hundred and fifty. Six hundred Ruſſians were killed or captured; but, the loſs of the French and Dutch greatly exceeded this calculation.

The Ruſſians had a conſiderable ſhare in a conflict which happened on the ſixth of October: they were ſo vigorouſly reſiſted by the enemy, that ſir Ralph Abercrombie found it neceſſary to advance with a ſtrong body to their relief. The action, from that moment, became general along the line, from Limmen to the ſea; but the invaders were left maſters of the field. Of the Ruſſians, about three hundred and eighty were killed, and ſeven hundred and thirty-five wounded. Of the Britiſh, about one hundred were killed, and ſeven hundred and twenty-five wounded: ſix hundred were alſo miſſing.

The army of general Brune was rendered formidable after this action, as a conſiderable body of men had now joined it. This conſideration, added to the ruined ſtate of the roads, and the difficulty of procuring ſupplies and accommodation for the ſoldiers, induced the officers to reſolve on a retreat. A convention was ſpeedily adjuſted between the commanders of the oppoſite armies. The principal of which were, that eight thouſand of French and Batavian priſoners, taken before that campaign, ſhould be reſtored to their reſpective countries: that the combined Engliſh and Ruſſian army ſhould evacuate the territory, coaſts, iſlands, and internal navigation of the Dutch republic, by the thirtieth of November, 1799, without committing any deva&ſtation by inundations, cutting the dykes, or otherwiſe injuring the ſources of navigation: and that the mounted batteries taken poſſeſſion of at the Helder, or at other poſitions, ſhould be reſtored in the ſtate in which they were taken; or, in caſe of improvement, in the ſtate in which they then were, together with all the Dutch artillery taken in them.

The exertions of our brave countrymen in this diſaſtrous expedition, demand our higheſt praiſe: but the enterprize was cenſurable on many accounts, and reflects no credit on the ſagacity of Mr. Dundas who projected it.

Thus terminated an expedition, the failure of which, when planned, was conſidered as almoſt impoſſible; and which, in fact, commenced with ſuch brilliant advantages, and ſo fair a proſpect of ultimate ſucceſs. It muſt not, however, be forgotten, that the capture of the Dutch fleet almoſt annihilated the naval power of the new Batavian republic, and more permanently ſecured to Britain the ſovereignty of the ſeas, which is her only protection, the ſource of all her wealth and all her glory.

On the fifteenth of May *, during the field-day of the grenadier battalion of the foot guards, in Hyde Park, a ſhot was accidentally diſcharged from the ranks, which unfortunately wounded a gentleman of the name of Ongley, who was among the ſpectators. The ſhot perforated Mr. Ongley's thigh, but did not injure the bone or arteries. His majeſty directed the military ſurgeon preſent to examine and dreſs Mr. Ongley's wound, and was much gratified by the favourable report made by Mr. Nixon, the ſurgeon of the grenadiers. His majeſty, on coming from the field, ſent his commands to Mr. Keate, the ſurgeon-general, and Mr. Ruſh, the inſpector of hoſpitals, to attend Mr. Ongley during the progreſs of his cure.

On the ſucceeding day, the following article was diſpatched to the reſpective conductors of newſpapers:—"May the ſixteenth, We have authority to "ſtate, that the misfortune which happened yeſterday "morning, at the field-day of the grenadier battalion of guards, in Hyde Park, aroſe entirely from "accident. A due regard to the anxiety that every "individual of the battalion feels, that this matter "ſhould be properly underſtood, is our inducement "for giving this ſtatement to the public."

The coincidence of this event, with the atrocious attempt at night in the theatre, tended to ſtrengthen an opinion, previouſly entertained by ſome, that it was not entirely the effect of accident, but aroſe from a deſign againſt his majeſty's ſacred perſon. There is no reaſon, however, to ſuppoſe this was the caſe: the king was within twenty yards of the battalion, and about eight yards, upon a parallel line, from the gentleman who was wounded. His majeſty was on horſeback, and the muſket which fired the ball, muſt not only have been pointed low, but could not have been directed againſt his perſon.

Every loyal heart was filled with grief and indignation on hearing of the danger to which his majeſty's life was afterwards expoſed, and from which providentially eſcaped. The king and queen, and

* A. D. 1800.

and the princeſſes Auguſta, Elizabeth, Mary, and Amelia, with their uſual attendants, honoured the theatre with their preſence to ſee a comedy. Juſt as his majeſty had entered the box, and while he was bowing to the audience with his uſual condeſcenſion, a perſon who ſat in the ſecond row from the orcheſtra, but towards the middle of the pit, ſtood up, and levelling a horſe-piſtol towards the king's box, fired it; but, providentially, a gentleman who ſat next him, (Mr. Holroyd, of Scotland Yard), had the preſence of mind to raiſe the arm of the aſſaſſin, ſo as to direct the contents of the piſtol towards the roof of the box. The audience continued for a few ſeconds in a mute agony of ſuſpence. The queen was at that inſtant making her entry; and the curtain riſing, as generally arranged on ſuch occaſions, his majeſty waved his hand, as a ſignal to diſſuade his royal conſort from her immediate appearance; and, inſtantly ſtanding erect, raiſed his right hand to his breaſt, and continued for ſome time in a bowing attitude to the ſpectators, to remove their perturbation of mind for his ſafety. Her majeſty now entered, and appeared much agitated, claſping her hands with great emotion. On the entry of the princeſſes, the confuſion had not ſubſided; and, on being informed of the cauſe, Auguſta fainted, but was ſoon recovered by the tender aſſiduities of her ſiſter Elizabeth, and the ladies in waiting. Princeſs Mary alſo ſwooned at the alarming communication, and her recovery was effected by the ſame ſalutary means. The offender was immediately ſeized, and hurried over the paliſadoes, into the muſic-room.

Some confuſion enſued for a time, but one of the comedians aſſerting that the aſſaſſin was in ſafe cuſtody, the performances were ſuffered to go on without further interruption. Mr. Tamplite, a trumpeter in the band, who aſſiſted in taking the offender over the orcheſtra, recognized him to be a ſoldier, and pulling open his coat, found he had on a military waiſtcoat, with the button of the fifteenth light dragoons. On being queſtioned by Mr. Sheridan, he ſaid, "he had no objection to tell who he was—it was not over yet—there was a great deal more, and worſe to be done. His name was James Hadfield; he had ſerved his time to a working ſilverſmith, but had enliſted into the fifteenth light dragoons, and had fought for his king and country." At this time the prince of Wales and duke of York entered the room. He immediately turned to the duke, and ſaid, "I know your royal highneſs—God bleſs you! I have ſerved with your highneſs, and (pointing to a deep cut over his eye, and another long ſcar on his cheek, ſaid) I got theſe, and more than theſe, in fighting by your ſide. At Lincelles, I was left three hours among the dead in a ditch, and was taken priſoner by the French. I had my arm broken by a ſhot; and eight ſabre wounds in my head; but I recovered, and here I am."

He now began to ſhew manifeſt ſigns of mental derangement. Being aſked who his father was, he ſaid, "he had been poſtillion to ſome duke;" but could not ſay to what duke. He talked in a miſterious way of dreams, and of a great commiſſion he had received in his ſleep; that he knew he was to be a martyr, and was to be perſecuted like his great maſter Jeſus Chriſt.—William Wake, the perſon of whom he had bought the piſtols, being brought into the room, was examined. He ſaid that the priſoner had bought a pair of piſtols of him, and that he had ſaid they were for his young maſter, who would give him a blunderbuſs for them; but he had not yet got the blunderbuſs. He knew very little of Hadfield, but knew where he worked, and had heard a good character of him; but that the leaſt ſtrong liquor affected his head. Several perſons, from the houſe of Mrs. Maſon, his acquaintance, confirmed this fact; and ſaid, they aſcribed it to the very ſevere wounds he had received in the head. Search being afterwards made for the ſlugs, a mark was diſcovered in the top of the canopy over the royal box; and, in the orcheſtra below, a flattened and irregular piece of lead was found, ſuppoſed to have recoiled from the place where it ſtruck. It was fortunate that, at this theatre, the royal box is elevated more than fifteen feet above the pit.

A loyal and affectionate addreſs of congratulation, of the lords and commons, was unanimouſly agreed to be preſented to his majeſty, on his happy eſcape from the effects of lamentable inſanity; and the city of London, in common council aſſembled, reſolved to addreſs his majeſty on the ſame providential occaſion.

James Hadfield was afterwards tried for this offence, before lord Kenyon, in the court of King's Bench; when the chief juſtice expreſſed his full conviction of his inſanity: but in the preſent caſe, which alike concerns the king upon his throne, and the beggar at his gate, he could not think of diſcharging him: he muſt be diſpoſed of, added he, in ſuch a manner, that relief may be adminiſtered to his unfortunate caſe. My brothers agree in thinking with me, that he was not ſo far under the guidance of reaſon, as to be capable of knowing what he did: therefore the court are of opinion, that he ſhould be carried to the late place of confinement, till he can be farther diſpoſed of. He was therefore conducted to a coach, and conveyed back to priſon.

Though the proceedings of the Britiſh parliament relative to an union with Ireland, were rendered abortive by the oppoſition of the Iriſh legiſlature in 1799, that buſineſs was formally introduced into the parliament of Ireland, on the fifth of February 1800, by a meſſage from the lord lieutenant, in which his excellency

excellency ſtated, that he had it in command from his majeſty, to acquaint both houſes of legiſlature, with the reſolutions of the Britiſh parliament, and to expreſs his wiſh that they would take the important meaſure into their moſt ſerious conſideration. After a ſpirited debate, the miniſtry prevailed by a majority of forty-three. The great abilities of Mr. Grattan were eminently exerted on this intereſting occaſion. In a debate which occurred on the ſeventeenth of February, on propoſing the firſt article of the union, he oppoſed the meaſure with ſuch a degree of vehemence, that the chancellor of the exchequer (Mr. Corry) accuſed him of aſſociating with traitors, and of diſaffection to the government. The reply of Mr. Grattan was ſo pointed and ſevere, that the chancellor conceived himſelf under a neceſſity of reſenting it by a challenge. A duel was the conſequence: five ſhots were exchanged, and the chancellor was wounded in the arm. The queſtion was carried by a majority of one hundred and ſixty-one againſt one hundred and fifteen; and as the diſcuſſion proceeded, the numbers of the oppoſition appeared to diminiſh. The laſt ſtruggle was made on the thirteenth, when ſir John Parnell, who had reſigned the office of chancellor of the exchequer, moved to petition his majeſty to call a new parliament, that the ſenſe of their conſtituents might be more fully aſcertained; but this motion was overruled by a majority of forty-ſix.

During theſe proceedings, the buſineſs proceeded with little oppoſition in the houſe of lords, and on the twenty-fourth of March, both houſes adopted the whole of the articles of union, with very inconſiderable alterations. In the courſe of a few days, both houſes repaired to the lord lieutenant with a joint addreſs, which was afterwards tranſmitted to Great Britain, and no time was loſt by the miniſter in ſubmitting the meaſures again to the Britiſh parliament, which, after a minute diſcuſſion, and very ſpirited debates in both houſes, were ſanctioned by a great majority; and, on the ſecond of July, the royal aſſent was given for a legiſlative union with Ireland, the articles of which were to the following effect:

That the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland ſhall, on the firſt day of January, 1801, and ever after, be united into one kindgom, by the name of the *United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland*; that of the peers of Ireland at the time of the union, four ſpiritual lords, by rotation of ſeſſions, and twenty-eight temporal peers for life, ſhall be the number to ſit and vote in the houſe of lords; and one hundred commoners, viz. two for each county of Ireland; two for the city of Dublin; two for the city of Cork; and one for each of the thirty-two moſt conſiderable cities, towns, and boroughs, be the number of repreſentatives of Ireland, in the houſe of commons of the parliament of the united kingdom.

The progreſs of the bill of union in England, was not marked with the aſperity of altercation which it had received in Ireland; and after beſtowing on it the royal aſſent, the king declared, that he ſhould "ever conſider this great meaſure, as the happieſt event of his reign."

By theſe articles, it was alſo provided, that, for the ſpace of twenty years after the union takes place, the contribution of Great Britain and Ireland reſpectively, towards the expenditure of the united kingdom in each year, ſhall be declared in the proportion of fifteen parts for Great Britain, and two parts for Ireland; this proportion, at the expiration of that time, to be ſubject to reviſion and regulation from other conſiderations.

The Britiſh parliament met early, chiefly for the purpoſe of enabling his majeſty to avail himſelf of the voluntary ſervices of the militia, to ſupply the army in Holland. A bill for that purpoſe was ſpeedily enacted, though violently oppoſed by ſeveral members. After ſome financial arrangements, an adjournment was ordered; and, during the receſs, ſome important communications occurred between the French and Engliſh government.

We ſhall now return to the theatre of war in Egypt, and endeavour to preſent our readers with a connected ſeries of the tranſactions of Bonaparte, from the defeat of the French fleet at the mouth of the Nile. But before we enter on this popular narrative, it may be neceſſary to ſtate the probable motives which induced him to engage in ſo vaſt an enterprize.

The French directory, to captivate the multitude, lulled them into a belief of the frantic reſolution of an invaſion of England; but that project was ſoon changed for another almoſt as abſurd. The attack of England was found to be totally impracticable: the fleet which were deſtined to convey the troops, expected nothing but defeat, from the acknowledged ſuperiority of the Britiſh navy, and they were anxious to prevent ſo dreadful a calamity. To avoid theſe difficulties, and find occupation for the active and daring ſpirit of Bonaparte, an expedition was planned to diſpatch him to a diſtant ſhore, where his ſucceſs or misfortune would be leſs important in its conſequences.

The conſummate vanity of this enterpriſing officer was a convenient inſtrument in the hands of deſigning men; and the deliverer of the Eaſt, a title then ſuggeſted to him, was too pompous for him to reſiſt. The ſcheme was obliquely intimated to the council of five hundred, by Eſchaſſereaux, in a ſpeech on the ſubject of colonization. The ſole object appears to have been the eſtabliſhment of a colony in Egypt, and "to regenerate a country which was the firſt theatre of civiliſation in the univerſe."

While preparations were ſecretly making for the expedition, the public were amuſed with ridiculous

ſtories of rafts which were conſtructing for the invaſion of England, and troops were collected on the northern coaſt of France, while the navy of the republic were ſecretly repairing to Toulon. At length Bonaparte embarked on board the fleet, and proceeded to Malta, which ſurrendered after a ſlight reſiſtance, he then proceeded on his voyage, and diſembarked his troops in Egypt, in the month of July, 1798. After the reduction of Alexandria *, Roſetta, and other fortreſſes, he proceeded to attack Cairo, which was defended by Mourad Bey, with a conſiderable body of Mamelukes. On the twenty-third, the place was attacked and carried, though the Mamelukes exhibited determined valour. At Cairo, a proclamation was iſſued, appointing a proviſional government for Egypt, in which the general promiſed to ſecure the pacha of Egypt in all his dignity and power. The beys, however, attempted to rally, and collected a conſiderable force near Cairo. On the twenty-fifth, the French general attacked one of the poſts at Embabe, when three hundred of the enemy were killed. The celebrated battle of the Pyramids was fought on the ſucceeding day, which decided the fate of Egypt. Twenty-three beys, with all their forces, were completely defeated; two thouſand of the Mamelukes were ſlain, and all their camels and baggage taken; while the loſs of the French was only eſtimated at twenty or thirty killed, and one hundred and twenty wounded.

The ſubjugation of Egypt was now ſuppoſed to be complete; but England could not politically ſuffer the eſtabliſhment of a colony ſo near her Eaſt India poſſeſſions, and had therefore concerted with the Porte, a project of general attack, to expel thoſe dangerous neighbours from their new conqueſts. The principal preparations were made in Syria, under the care of the pacha of Djezzar, who was to be ſupported by an army to traverſe Aſia Minor. The attack on the frontiers of Egypt, on the ſide of the deſert of Syria, was to be favoured by a ſtrong diverſion towards the mouths of the Nile, and by different attacks executed by the wrecks of Mourad Bey's army in Upper Egypt, united to other hoſtile parties.

To direct the execution of this vaſt plan, commodore Sir Sidney Smith had left Portſmouth the preceding autumn, on board the Tiger, and proceeded to the Levant, where he haſtened the preparations for the campaign in Egypt. Commodore Hood continued to block up, with four ſhips of the line, and five frigates, the port of Alexandria, and the mouths of the Nile.

Bonaparte, informed that the arrival of commodore Smith was to be the ſignal of offenſive operations, reſolved to march into Syria, to deſtroy the preparations made by Djezzar. The two months which intervened, from the entire ſubmiſſion of Egypt, to the moment when the troops deſtined for the expedition of Syria were to march, were employed in finiſhing military ſurveys, confided to dif-

* Bonaparte on landing in Egypt, iſſued the following proclamation:

For a long time the Beys which have governed Egypt, have inſulted the French nation, and oppreſſed its merchants. The hour of their chaſtiſement is arrived.

For a long time this vile heap of ſlaves, purchaſed in Caucaſus and Georgia, have tyrannized over the faireſt part of the world. But God, on whom every thing depends, has ordained that their dominion ſhould be at an end.

People of Egypt! they will tell you that I am come to deſtroy your religion; but do not believe them. Anſwer them on the contrary, that I am come to reſtore to you your rights—to puniſh your uſurpers; and that I reſpect, more than the Mamelukes, God, his prophet, and the Alcoran. Tell them, that all men are equal in the ſight of God—that wiſdom, talents, and virtue, form the ſole difference between them.—Then what talents, what wiſdom, what virtue diſtinguiſh you Mamelukes? For what excluſive quality are they to poſſeſs every thing which renders life happy and pleaſant? Yet is there a good eſtate, it belongs to the Mamelukes.—Is there a fair ſlave, a fine houſe, or a handſome houſe, it belongs to the Mamelukes. If Egypt is their farm, let them ſhew the leaſe which God has given to them. But God is juſt and merciful to the people. All the Egyptians ſhall be called upon to wield all employments. The moſt wiſe, the moſt informed, and the moſt virtuous ſhall govern, and the people ſhall be happy.

There have been formerly amongſt you great cities, great canals, and great commerce. What has deſtroyed all theſe, if it be not the avarice, the injuſtice, and the tyranny of the Mamelukes?—Cadis, Cheiks, Imans, Scorbadgis, tell the people we are the friends of the true Muſſelmen. We have deſtroyed the knights of Malta, becauſe thoſe ſenſeleſs men believed that it was the will of God that they ſhould make war upon the Muſſelmen. We have annihilated the power of the Pope of Rome, becauſe he ſaid it was juſt to make war upon Muſſelmen. We have for ages been the friends of the grand ſeignior (may God accompliſh his deſires!) and the enemy of his enemies. The Mamelukes, on the contrary, have they not revolted againſt the authority of the grand ſeignior, which they continue to deſpiſe?—They acknowledge nothing but their own caprices.

Thrice happy will be thoſe who ſhall be with us; they ſhall proſper in their rank and fortunes. Happy are thoſe who ſhall remain neuter; they will have time to know us, and they will ſide with us. But misfortune, threefold misfortune to thoſe who ſhall take arms for the Mamelukes, and fight againſt us. There ſhall be no hope for them; they all ſhall periſh.

It thus concludes:—Every man ſhall exclaim, glory to the Sultan, glory to the French army, his friends. Malediction to the Mamelukes, and happineſs to the people of Egypt.

(Signed) BONAPARTE.

ferent

ferent officers, and in journies, which the ſcientific members of the different claſſes of the inſtitute had undertaken.

During this ſurvey, Bonaparte was informed of the movements of Djezzar, whom the grand ſignior had named pacha of Egypt. He had already ſent a body of troops towards El-Ariſch, at the entrance of the deſert, on the ſide of Egypt. This general received orders to occupy and fortify Cathich, and general la Grange marched, with a demi-brigade, to take poſſeſſion of this poſt on the ſame day that Bonaparte returned to Cairo; where he gave his laſt orders for the organization and march of the army of Syria, and regulated the commands of the troops which were to remain in Egypt. This army conſiſted of four diviſions of infantry, under the generals Kleber, Bonn, Lannes, and Regnier, amounting to ten thouſand, beſides cavalry, and artillery. The difficulty of tranſporting the artillery, conſtrained Bonaparte to provide theſe different diviſions with pieces much below the ordinary proportion.

The garriſons which were to remain in Lower Egypt, were formed of the nineteenth demi-brigade, three battalions of the expedition of Syria, the nautic and Malteſe legions; and the depots of cavalry. General Dugua had the command of Cairo, general Menou was ſtationed at Damietta. Adjutant-general Almeiras received, with the command of Damietta, orders to haſten the finiſhing of the fortifications. Alexandria, which was threatened by the Engliſh, and alſo menaced with the plague, was entruſted to general Marmont. General Deſaix remained with his army in Upper Egypt, to keep in awe the remains of the Mamelukes, and hinder Mourad Bey from taking advantage of the expedition into Syria.

General Kleber's diviſion embarked at Damietta, and was tranſported to Tinch, on the lake Menzala. When the general arrived at Cathich, he was joined by general Regnier's advanced guard, and marched on to El-Ariſch, the fortreſs of which was garriſoned by two thouſand troops of the pacha of St. John d'Acre. The village of El-Ariſch was carried with the bayonet, by Regnier's diviſion; the Arnauts and Mangrabins, who defended it, after having made a brave reſiſtance, withdrew precipitately into the fort. Hardly was it blocked up by Regnier's diviſion, when a reinforcement of infantry and cavalry, eſcorting a convoy of proviſions, appeared in ſight of El-Ariſch, and encamped on a riſing ground. Kleber came up at that moment, and approved of Regnier's project of ſurpriſing the camp of the Mamelukes during the night. This attack ſucceeded; the camp was carried, the corps of infantry cut in pieces, taken, or deſtroyed. A number of horſes, camels, ſtores, and proviſions, and the whole of the convoy fell into the hands of the French. The two other diviſions of the army formed their junction, a few days after, at El-Ariſch, and were joined at length, by Bonaparte. The fort of El-Ariſch was cannonaded, and ſurrendered in two days.

The artillery neceſſary for the reduction of St. John d'Acre, could be tranſported only by ſea, and Bonaparte had ventured its embarkation from Alexandria. Vice-admiral Perrée, with three frigates, had ſailed during the night, to eſcort the gun-boats, and had orders to cruize before Jaffa. The ſecrecy and promptitude of the preparations for the expedition of Syria, and the celerity of the attack, ſurprized the Turks.

At Conſtantinople, the Engliſh, notwithſtanding the new alliance, the important ſupport of their naval forces, and the activity of ſir Sidney Smith, could not obtain the means for the entire execution of the plan concerted for the attack on Egypt. By judicious management, however, Paſſwan Oglow, who claimed from the Turkiſh government to renew the haticheri T granted to his anceſtors, became reconciled. The Ottoman Porte, now found itſelf relieved from a dangerous enemy, and concluded a treaty with Paſſwan, who ſwore ſolemnly on the Koran to be faithful to his engagements, and never to give cauſe of diſcontent to the Porte. A free pardon was alſo extended to Paſſwan, and he obtained the dignity of pacha.

Sir Sidney Smith, in the mean time, gained intelligence of the firſt movements of Bonaparte, and endeavoured to counter-act his deſigns, by making attempts on Alexandria, which he bombarded, without further injury to the French, than ſinking two tranſports. After this fruitleſs enterprize, he ſailed to the aſſiſtance of the pacha of Syria, who at firſt did not think of defending himſelf in St. John d'Acre, meaning only to ſecure his retreat, and to convey away his women and treaſure. The commodore anchored, with three frigates, in the road of Caiffa.

Kleber, with his diviſion, was miſled by the guides: the two diviſions which followed him, were drawn aſtray by the tracks of the firſt. It was not till after forty-eight hours toil, and enduring the torments of burning thirſt, that they reached the Kan Jonneſſe, the firſt village of Paleſtine, on leaving the deſert, whence they diſcovered the cultivated plains of Gaza.

A corps of Mamelukes, under the command of Abdalla Pacha, which had encamped before Kan Jodneſſe, had fallen back on Gaza: thither Bonaparte repaired, drove away the Mamelukes, and took poſſeſſion of the town, where he found very conſiderable magazines of proviſions, as well as ſtores.

It was at the town of Jaffa, anciently called Joppa, that Bonaparte met with the firſt reſiſtance: the way to it was covered with hillocks of moving ſand, which the cavalry traverſed with difficulty; the camels ſlowly and painfully proceeded, and for about three leagues it was neceſſary to treble the teams to the artillery.

Hordes

Hordes of Arabs hovered around the army, without, however, doing any injury; and the advanced guard under Kleber, reached the town on the third day. Jaffa was found to be surrounded with a wall without ditches, flanked by good towers mounting cannon. Two forts defended the port and the road, and it appeared well armed. The garrison having retired within the place, the main attack was made on the south side. The whole army having come up, and batteries being established, a practicable breach was soon effected, and the town taken by assault.

Many of the garrison were put to the sword; but the greater part flying into the mosques, and imploring mercy from their pursuers, their lives were granted. Three days afterwards, Bonaparte, who had expressed much resentment at the compassion manifested by his troops, and determined to relieve himself from the maintenance and care of *three thousand eight hundred prisoners**, ordered them to be marched to a rising ground near Jaffa; where a division of French infantry formed against them. When the Turks had entered into their fatal alignment, and the mournful preparations were completed, the signal gun fired. Vollies of musquetry and grape instantly played against them; and Bonaparte, who had been regarding the scene through a telescope, when he saw the smoke ascending, could not restrain his joy, but broke out into exclamations of approval. Kleber had remonstrated in the most strenuous manner, and the officer of the etat major who commanded (for the general to whom the regiment belonged was absent) even refused to execute the order without a written instruction: but Bonaparte was too cautious, and sent Berthier to enforce obedience. When the Turks had all fallen, the French troops humanely endeavoured to put a period to the sufferings of the wounded; but some time elapsed before the bayonet could finish what the fire had not destroyed, and probably several languished many days in agony.

Their bones still lie in heaps, and are shewn to every traveller who arrives; nor can they be confounded with those who perished in the assault, as this field of butchery lies a mile from the town.

The accumulation of unburied bodies occasioned the visitation of the plague, by which a great number of French soldiers were soon infected, the hospital crowded, and the medical staff embarrassed. In this crisis the Machiavelian, or rather diabolical genius of Bonaparte was again employed in extricating himself from difficulty, by an act at which the blood freezes, and which snatches at once the robe and the diadem, the wreath and the mail, from the body and brow of the offender, divests him of all the splendid additions conferred by fortune and by fame, and shews naked and unmasked, the form and countenance of the conqueror of Egypt. "Finding," says sir Robert Wilson† "that his hospitals at Jaffa were "crowded with sick, he sent for a physician, whose "name should be inscribed in letters of gold, but "which from weighty reasons cannot be here in-"serted: on his arrival, he entered into a long con-"versation with him respecting the danger of con-"tagion; concluding at last with the remark, that "something must be done to remedy the evil, and "that the destruction of the sick at present in the "hospital was the only measure which could be "adopted. The physician, alarmed at the proposal, "bold in the confidence of virtue, and the cause of "humanity, remonstrated vehemently, represent-"ing the cruelty, as well as the atrocity, of such a "murder; but finding that Bonaparte persevered "and menaced, he indignantly left the tent with "this memorable observation: Neither my prin-"ciples, nor the character of my profession, will "allow me to become a human butcher; and, Ge-"neral, if such qualities as you insinuate are ne-"cessary to form a great man, I thank my God "that I do not possess them: Bonaparte was not to "be diverted from his object by moral considera-"tions; he persevered, and found an apothecary, "who (dreading the weight of power, but who has "since made some atonement to his mind by une-"quivocally confessing the fact) consented to be-"come his agent, and to administer poison to the "sick. Opium at night was distributed in grati-"fying food; the wretched unsuspecting victims "banqueted; and in a few hours five hundred and "eighty soldiers, who had suffered so much for their "country, perished thus miserably by the order of "its idol‡.

The efforts of sophistry have been employed, in vain, in indirect denials, or futile palliations of this atrocious fact. The only plausible excuse alledged is, that part of the garrison of El-Arisch was found in Jaffa; but even this was an extraordinary plea for him to advance in the face of his own army, where a corps called "the marine legion," was entirely formed of prisoners upon parole, liberated after the battle of the Nile. *See Cooper Willyam's Voyage up the Mediterranean.*

After making Joppa and its port the principal depôt for the artillery and stores which he expected from Damietta and Alexandria, Bonaparte marched upon St. John d'Acre, with the three divisions of Kicher, Bon, and Lannes. That of Regnier composed the rear-guard, at two days' distance from the army, which he had orders to rejoin at St. John d'Acre. The French advanced guard discovered near Zetta, a body of cavalry under Abdalla Pacha,

* *Adolphus's History of France*, ii, 616.

† In his History of the Expediton to Egypt.

‡ See also Dr. Wittman's Travels in Asiatic Turkey, Syria, and Egypt, p. 128.

who

who, to retard the march of the army, had taken a poſition on the heights of Korſum, flanking himſelf by the mountain of Naplouſium, the ancient Samaria, on which ſeveral thouſand Naplouſians were poſted.

While Kleber, Bon, and Murat, endeavoured to bring Abdalla to an engagement, which he avoided, Lannes' diviſion marched upon the right, and cut off the pacha from the Naplouſians; the latter fled; but the light infantry, who purſued them, having entangled themſelves in the defiles, the Naplouſians, rallied, and attacked in their turn, purſuing the French to the outlines of the defiles. Barthelemy the commander of the demi-brigade was killed. Two days after, Kleber took poſſeſſion of Caiffa, at the foot of Mount Carmel. The advanced guard of this diviſion diſcovered, on arriving at Caiffa, the diviſion of the Engliſh ſquadron which had caſt anchor. The boats of the Tiger, which was one of the ſhips, approached the coaſt, reconnoitred their advanced guard, at the foot of Mount Carmel, and endeavoured, by their fire, to haraſs them.

Sir Sidney Smith had elevated the courage of the pacha of St. John d'Acre, by ſending him an old ancient engineer, who had facilitated his deliverance from the Temple. Colonel Phillipeaux, cauſed the fortreſs to be repaired; and the captain of the Theſeus furniſhed him with many neceſſary materials for the reparation of this ancient bulwark of Syria. At this inſtant the fleet of gun-boats, which had on board the greateſt part of Bonaparte's battering pieces, and his ſtores, fell into the hands of the Engliſh. This loſs was irreparable to the French, and decided the fate of St. John d'Acre. The cannon and ſtores were inſtantly landed, and the veſſels that tranſported them were armed and employed to haraſs the French poſts, and to diſturb their convoys and communications.

Bonaparte having drawn back the external poſts, encamped his army on an inſulated height, bordering upon the ſea, which commands, on the weſtern ſide, a plain of about a league and three quarters, bounded by the mountains ſituated between St. John d'Acre, and the river Jordan. After taking poſſeſſion of Saffet, Nazareth, and Schafilham, to clear the paſſes on the road to Damaſcus and Caffarelli, he reconnoitered St. John d'Acre more accurately with his officers of artillery, and came to a reſolution of attacking the front on the eaſt of the town. The trench was opened at nine hundred feet from the place, and the French proceeded with ſuch activity, that the ninth day, after the opening of the trench, batteries and counter-batteries, mounted as at Jaffa, had pierced the tower, while a branch of the mine had been puſhed on to blow up the counterſcarp. The mine was ſprung, but it only made a hole in the glacis: the French thought the counterſcarp injured. The ditch appeared to be of no conſiderable depth, but they found another of about fifteen feet deep, which was almoſt half filled up with the rubbiſh of the breach; they plunged into it, but found themſelves ſeparated by the counterſcarp from the troops which were to ſupport them. Mailly, Laſcelles, and Langier, the officers who headed the attack, all periſhed. The Turks, who had abandoned the tower, re-entered it, and the French retreated to their trenches.

The failure of ſucceſs in this firſt attack, and the hopes which Djezzar entertained of being ſupported by a body of Naplouſians and Mangrabins, induced him to make ſeveral briſk ſallies, in which he was repulſed with conſiderable loſs. Bonaparte had not yet received the heavy artillery, for which he had ſent to Damietta, to replace that which he had loſt. He once more endeavoured to open a breach in the ſame tower, which the Turks had filled with wood, bales of cotton, and bags of earth: the tower was ſet on fire, but all attempts to reach it were ineffectual.

At length ſir Sidney Smith, in concert with Djezzar, made a conſiderable ſally in three columns, at the head of which were the marines. The intention was to deſtroy the works neareſt the place, and chiefly the mine, which led under the counterſcarp: this perilous attack was entruſted to the gallant captain Aldfield, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the taking of the Cape of Good Hope: he broke the head of the column of the centre, and threw himſelf firſt on the entrance of the mine; where he was mortally wounded, and carried off by the French grenadiers. He expired in the arms of the enemy, amidſt the warmeſt teſtimonies of their regard and eſteem. The three columns received much injury by the fire from the batteries and parallels, and the intermediary ſpace was ſtrewed with their dead.

The Engliſh had the misfortune to behold, under their colours, united to thoſe of Djezzar, the French, who were wounded and priſoners, maſſacred in cold blood by the Turks, a practice too common among barbarians. Sir Sidney Smith had ſoftened the fate of French priſoners at Conſtantinople, he muſt therefore have lamented the multiplied horrors which were committed under his inſpection at St. John d'Acre.

The aſſembling of the corps of Mamelukes having become very conſiderable, it was thought neceſſary to ſend againſt them a corps of obſervation, which was entruſted to general Kleber. The firſt troops of this numerous Turkiſh army had already paſſed the river Jordan. General Junot endeavoured to reach them with his light infantry, and a few cavalry, when he was ſurrounded and attacked by about three thouſand horſe, and made his retreat to Kaff Cana.

Kleber left the camp of St. John d'Acre, with the remainder of his diviſion, to join general Junot at Nazareth; and directing his march upon the heights of Louby, reached Sed-Jara, when four thouſand

Turkiſh and Arabian cavalry, ſurrounded the French, and were preparing to charge them. Kleber routed the Turkiſh cavalry, which fled acroſs the Jordan. A few days after, the whole of the army deſtined to relieve St. John d'Acre, formed its junction in the plain of Fouli.

The French, after uſeleſs prodigies of valour, which cannot here be particularized, were obliged to yield to ſuperior numbers, and to the reſolution which the Turks diſplayed amidſt their ruins. From their high walls, they perſevered in a well-directed and deſtructive fire. After their multiplied and irreparable loſſes, it was found almoſt impoſſible to reduce a place defended with ſo much intrepidity, ſupported and protected by ſir Sidney Smith's ſquadron.

Bonaparte, whom Fortune had ſo often favoured, could not reconcile himſelf to yield, for once, to her arbitrary will. He was anxious to try again the chance of arms, and marched at two in the morning, on the tenth of May, to the foot of the breach, which was mounted by the grenadiers of the ſeventy-fifth and nineteenth demi-brigades, and the carabineers of the ſecond of light infantry. His intention was to ſurprize the Turks, and to eſtabliſh himſelf in force in the breach. General Verdier marched at the head of the grenadiers; the firſt poſts were killed on the ſpot, but the garriſon held firm behind the new entrenchments, which ſtopped his impetuous attack, and forced the French to retreat. They renewed it the ſame evening, and the grenadiers of the twenty-fifth demi-brigade, having requeſted to mount to the aſſault, the combat began again on the breach with redoubled fury. The beſieged, warned of this laſt attack, had reinforced a ſecond and third line of artillery, which the grenadiers could not force.

In theſe aſſaults, the loſs on each ſide was conſiderable, but that of the French was exceſſive on this day. Adjutant-general Fouler, Venoux, and general Bon, were killed, and many other field-officers dangerouſly wounded. The laſt attack deſerves ſevere cenſure, and is ſaid to have occaſioned much diſcontent in the army, who, ardent in following their general in all perilous enterpriſes, were indignant at ſo uſeleſs a waſte of life, when the object became wholly unattainable. Determined, at length, to raiſe the ſiege, Bonaparte firſt ordered his ſick and wounded to be ſent away. To keep the beſieged in check, he made uſe of the reſt of his ammunition, and increaſed the fire of his cannon and mortars. Djezzar remarking theſe diſpoſitions for retreat, made frequent ſallies, which were repulſed with vigour. The aſpect of the field of carnage was horrible; the ditches, and the reverſes of the parapets were filled with the ſlain; the air was infected, and the propoſition for a ſuſpenſion of arms to bury the dead, remained unanſwered.

Bonaparte, in a proclamation, announced to his army the raiſing of the ſiege, and reſolved to return to Egypt, to defend its approach, in the ſeaſon of landing, againſt the forces aſſembled at Rhodes. The raiſing of the ſiege was executed in good order, and the very day on which the army began its march, general Le Grange repulſed two ſallies, and forced the Turks back into the town. General Lannes' diviſion led the march, Regnier's diviſion evacuated the trenches. Kleber formed a ſtrong rear-guard, whilſt general Gunot covered the left flank. Bonaparte threw into the ſea the pieces of artillery, which he could not carry back through the deſert, and embraced every means of tranſporting to Jaffa his field-pieces, and his ſick and wounded.

This convoy ſailed from Jaffa a few days after, for Damietta, but fell into the hands of the Engliſh commodore, who, having received intelligence of the retreat, ſent in chaſe of the three French frigates, and lay along the coaſt to haraſs the march.

Djezzar knew not till day-break that the trenches were evacuated: the Turks took poſſeſſion of the works, and, following the traces of the army, found a few pieces of the artillery buried in the ſand. The French army continued its march, ravaging the country, and depriving the Turks of thoſe reſources which might poſſibly have been ſerviceable to them in their approach to the frontiers of Egypt. Kleber formed the rear with his diviſion, which, after croſſing the deſerts, embarked at Tinah, for Damietta. Bonaparte left a ſtrong garriſon at Cattich, and entered Cairo with his army, twenty-ſix days after the raiſing of the ſiege.

Thus terminated the campaign of Syria; and, notwithſtanding his misfortunes at the ſiege of St. John d'Acre, loſing battle, and by ſickneſs, almoſt a quarter of his troops, Bonaparte was ſatisfied that he had fulfilled the principal object of his expedition, by weakening the army of the enemy, and retarding its operations during the moſt favourable ſeaſon.

Sir Sidney Smith, purſuing with ardour the execution of the plan of campaign againſt Egypt, found an increaſe of zeal and activity on the part of the Ottomans. Seid Muſtapha Pacha aſſembled in the Iſle of Rhodes, the troops deſtined for the attack of Alexandria: European officers directed the details of the enterprize, and the combined Engliſh and Turkiſh fleet only waited for a convoy which the Captain Pacha, anchored in the Dardanelles, was to diſpatch to Rhodes.

Before the return of the French army from Syria into the ſtrong places of Lower Egypt, general Dugua, commander of Cairo, had detached Lanuſſe, Duranteau, and d'Eſtrees, againſt different hordes of Arabs, whom they ſurprized and defeated in ſeveral rencounters. Acts of rigour were exerciſed; villages were conſumed to ſtifle the ſedition;

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the preſence of Bonaparte completely re-eſtabliſhed order. He applied himſelf principally to repair the loſſes ſuſtained by the four diviſions, and the cavalry which had marched with him into Syria. He completed the different corps, and ſo perfectly re-eſtabliſhed their organization, that within three weeks after the return of thoſe troops to their quarters, they were in a condition to undertake new operations.

The movements of the Mamelukes and the Arabs proclaimed the projects of the allies, and the approach of their fleet. Deſaix, who was charged with the expulſion of the Mamelukes from Upper Egypt, was preparing for an expedition into the Oäſis, when he was informed that the Mamelukes had been remarkably hoſtile, and formed themſelves into two diviſions; part of them having endeavoured to form a junction with Ibrahim Bey, and the others to form a junction with the Arabs. Theſe two corps of Mamelukes did not reach their deſtination; the firſt was ſurprized at Sababier, by general le Grange; their camp baggage, and ſeventeen hundred camels fell into the hands of the French, the remainder were diſperſed in the deſert. Mourad Bey, having been preceded on the Natron Lakes by general Murat, who, after having driven away the bands of Arabs, marched to meet him, retreated towards the pyramids of Gizeh.

Bonaparte, informed of this countermarch, conceived it practicable to cut off the retreat of Mourad Bey, and marched from Cairo with his ſelect troops, ordering general Murat to come and join him: he reached the pyramids the day that Mourad Bey had left them, on his retreat to Fayum: but now a more ſerious buſineſs demanded his attention; he had received advice from Alexandria, that a Turkiſh fleet of one hundred ſail had anchored in the road of Aboukir; and another diſpatch informed him that a body of three thouſand Turks had landed with artillery on the ſhore of the peninſula, and carried by ſcalade the fort of Aboukir. Bonaparte diſpatched orders to all his generals to march towards the place of landing, and to watch the Mamelukes and Arabs. The advanced guard of general Murat, had orders to paſs the Nile, and the moveable column which general Menou had marched upon the Natron Lakes, with the park of artillery and the ſtaff, formed their junction at Rhamania.

Under Egypt was occupied by Deſaix, who continued the purſuit of Mourad Bey. He had orders to watch the poſition of Cairo, and conſult his operations with general Dugua, and general Regnier. Bonaparte ordered Kleber to march upon Roſetta, with a part of his diviſion, and ſent reinforcements to that place, under the orders of general Menou.

The Turks, after the ſurrender of fort Aboukir, had landed their artillery, having poſſeſſion of the peninſula, and had begun to entrench themſelves and form magazines: they had opened a communication with Roſetta, by cutting the pontoons, and their force, which increaſed daily, was eſtimated at about fifteen thouſand men; but they appeared to be waiting for ſtill greater reinforcements, and the junction concerted with Mourad Bey, in order to inveſt Alexandria.

Bonaparte took poſt at the village of Birket, at the point of one of the angles of the Lake Madie; and, ſeeing that the Turks thought only of fortifying and maintaining themſelves in the peninſula, he determined to attack them. The army, after having quitted the poſition of Birket, aſſembled at the wells between Alexandria and Aboukir: Bonaparte, having tranſported his head quarters to Alexandria, and ſurveyed the new works which general Marmont had improved, formed his diſpoſition of attack. Kleber had followed the movement of the army, with a part of his diviſion; and general Menou undertook to cannonade ſuch little embarkations as the Turks might ſend into the lake to haraſs him on his left.

Muſtapha Pacha defended the entrance of the peninſula, by two lines of troops, and by imperfect intrenchments. He had placed his firſt line half a league in front of the fort of Aboukir; the right of this line was flanked by the ſea, and occupied by about one thouſand men: a village at a ſmall diſtance was defended by a corps of one thouſand men, and four pieces of cannon. The left of this firſt line was detached and inſulated at the diſtance of twelve hundred yards before the centre; and a few gun-boats, drawn up on the inner ſhore, flanked on the left the interval between the firſt and ſecond line. The latter was more advantageouſly poſted: the centre occupied the redoubt, which had been taken from the French at the moment of landing, and which had ſince been connected with the ſea-ſhore by an entrenchment, behind which was the right: the left occupied the mounds of ſand, and the internal ſhore was flanked by the gun-boats. Seven thouſand men, and twelve pieces of cannon, defended this ſecond line. The ſquadron was anchored at a league and a half diſtant in the road of Aboukir.

Early in the morning, the French army, which was only two hours diſtant from the firſt poſts of the Turks, began its march in two columns, preceded by a ſtrong advanced guard. As ſoon as the armies were in ſight of each other, Bonaparte formed his columns of attack, and general d'Eſtaign carried with the bayonet the entrenched height, which formed the ſupport of the right of the Turks. At the ſame time Lannes' diviſion marched upon the left of the firſt line: general Murat cut off the retreat of the two wings, which were attacked by detached ſquadrons, and marched right to the centre with his cavalry. Almoſt the whole of the firſt line, diſlodged and ſurrounded by this manœuvre, periſhed by the

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fire, or were drowned: a part only of the right fell back on the village, which was attacked and carried. The Turks were purſued to their ſecond poſition, which was much ſtronger than the firſt. The redoubt formed the head of this poſition, which the pacha, who had no other retreat, was prepared to defend with vigour, having ſtill eight or nine thouſand men left.

Bonaparte, perceiving the principal force of the Turks was at the centre, changed his diſpoſition. He detached his cavalry to the right, and directed the attacks of the infantry on the entrenchments of their right, diſpoſing a reſerve to ſtorm the redoubt, at the moment when the attacks by the left wings ſhould have ſucceeded. After briſkly cannonading the redoubt and the entrenchments, he began the ſtorm. General Fugieres, at the head of the eighteenth demi-brigade, marched a column along the ſhore: the Turks, ſeeing the French approach the entrenchments, ſallied out, and attacked the columns: the combatants fought man to man, and the Turks were repulſed—the French followed them, and threw themſelves into the entrenchments; but they were ſtopped by the fire of the redoubt. General Fugieres loſt an arm, and the column was forced to fall back to the village. The cavalry, which had come up to the redoubt, had charged ſeveral times with impetuoſity; but they could not get forwards, nor ſuſtain the heavy fire of the redoubt, and that of the gun-boats. Duvivier was killed; adjutant-general Roiza, and Beſſieres renewed the attack. Leture ſprung firſt into the entrenchment, without being followed, and was killed.

To decide the action, Bonaparte ordered general Lannes to march to the redoubt at the head of two battalions: ſeizing the moment when the Turks ſallied from their entrenchments, he attacked the redoubt; the battalion of the twenty-ſecond and twenty-ninth demi-brigades leaped into the ditch, climbed the parapet, and carried the work. Muſtapha Pacha now ſtrove, but in vain, to rally his troops, which were forced on every point. General Murat traverſed the poſitions of the Turks, and puſhing as far as the ditches of the fort of Aboukir, completed the confuſion that had taken place in their ranks. The Turks fled on every ſide, and threw themſelves into the ſea: the greater part could not reach their veſſels, and the remainder of the army, except the garriſon, ſurrounded and taken with Muſtapha Pacha, periſhed in the waves.

This victory was attended with conſiderable loſs to the French, who had a great number wounded; among whom was general Murat, and the chief of brigade Cretin, who died of their wounds. The fort of Aboukir, ſummoned to ſurrender the day after the battle, was defended with deſperate fury; the Turks ſcorning the idea of a capitulation with arms in hands. After eight days of fierce bombardment, however, when the caſtle was nothing but a heap of ruins, the ſon of the pacha, his hyaln, and two thouſand men, threw down their arms, and ſurrendered priſoners: the French found in the fort [illegible] men killed, and three hundred [illegible].

Smith, it is ſaid, arriving at Aboukir [illegible] tail of the convoy, was a witneſs of this retreat, without having it in his power, as at St. John d'Acre, to revive the hopes of the Turks. His ſquadron, united to that of Fetah Bey, ſerved only to gather up the wrecks of an expedition from which the Porte had expected the extermination of the remains of the French army.

On the day after the battle, Bonaparte returned to Alexandria: he had received intelligence of the firſt reverſe which the armies of the republic had experienced in Italy, and on the Rhine, and of the ſtruggles which were taking place in France. Reſolving to return to Europe, he meditated on his departure in ſecret. Thinking the victory of Aboukir was an honourable termination of the war in the Eaſt, he conſecrated the memory of the principal officers he had loſt there as well as at the ſiege of St. John d'Acre, by annexing their names to different forts repaired, or newly conſtructed for the defence of the town and ports of Alexandria.

On his return to Cairo, he employed himſelf in re-eſtabliſhing the police of the country, and cultivated the affections of the people by new attentions to their religious prejudices. Two commiſſions of artiſts left Cairo, with a ſtrong eſcort, to viſit the monuments of Upper Egypt. To accompliſh other deſigns, Bonaparte ventured to quit his army, and truſt his fortune to the waves: he diſcloſed his projects only to Berthier; and gave orders to admiral Gantheaume to prepare two frigates, without informing him of the deſtination of thoſe veſſels: the perſons on whom he conferred the dangerous favour of accompanying him, were the generals, Lannes, Marmont, Murat, and Andreoſſi; together with Monge and Berthollet: Baſſieres, and his guides, received ſealed notes, which they were to open at a certain day, hour, and place. A ſimilar packet, to be opened twenty-four hours after the departure of the veſſels, was deſtined for general Kleber, containing his nomination to the chief command, and to Deſaix that of Upper Egypt.

It was not till the twenty-fourth of Auguſt, that Bonaparte, waiting for a favourable wind, left the road of Aboukir, and ſailed for the iſland of Corſica. He anchored at Ajaccio, the firſt of September, and left it ſeven days after. His two frigates having been chaſed by an Engliſh ſquadron, he could not ſuffer admiral Gantheaume, who ſaw no hopes of ſafety, to turn back to Corſica, but was reſolved to truſt to fortune. He avoided the roads of Toulon, on account of the cruizers which might be hov[illegible]

round it, entered the port of Frejus; and landed on the fourteenth of September, the forty-seventh day after his departure from Egypt.

Such, however, is the account given by general Berthier, on his return from Egypt with Bonaparte.

A new revolution now took place in the government of France. Bonaparte on his return from Egypt, displaced the directory, diſſolved the council of elders*, and aſſumed a kind of dictatorial power, under the title of *First Conſul*, according to a new conſtitution which he and the intriguing Sieyes had procured to be framed and accepted. To indnce the people to conſent to this change, by which he was inveſted with the ſupreme authority, he promiſed to take effectual meaſures to terminate the miſeries and calamities of war. In purſuance of this promiſe, on the very day on which he entered on his new dignity, he addreſſed a diſpatch immediately to the king of Great Britain, in which he expreſſed a wiſh to contribute effectually to a general pacification; and in a ſecond communication afterwards tranſmitted by M. Talleyrand, to the Engliſh miniſtry, propoſed "an immediate ſuſpenſion of arms, and that plenipotentiaries on each ſide ſhould repair to Dunkirk, or any other town as advantageouſly ſituated, for the quickneſs of the reſpective communications; and who ſhould ſeduloufly apply themſelves to effect the re-eſtabliſhment of peace and harmony between the French republic and England." The Britiſh miniſtry, however, manifeſted no inclination to accede to the overture, conceiving perhaps, that the new government of France had not yet acquired ſufficient ſtability to engage in a treaty; and encouraged by the ſucceſs which had attended the arms of the allies in the preceding campaign, they hoped they ſhould be able ſtill more effectually to humble and weaken France by a continuance of the war.

Soon after the conſular government had been eſtabliſhed in France, the ſtate of the newly acquired poſſeſſions in Egypt became deplorable. The diſtractions in Syria, between the grand vizier, who commanded the Ottoman army, and Djezzar, the pacha of St. John d'Acre, had ſuſpended, for a time, the fate of the French army. Djezzar, who would have fallen an eaſy prey to the impetuoſity of the French army under Bonaparte, had not the valour of ſir Sidney Smith relieved him from all apprehenſion. He directed his arms againſt his deliverers, and the grand vizier was compelled, for a time, to employ his forces in oppoſing the hoſtilities of this rebellious and ungrateful ſubject. At this epoch a correſpondence commenced between ſir Sidney Smith, as miniſter plenipotentiary of his Britannic majeſty near the Ottoman Porte, and the French general Kleber. Sir Sidney, in an epiſtle to the general, informed him, that a peace could never be effected till Egypt was evacuated, but that it might be accelerated by the ſpeedy execution of that preliminary to any negotiation; and expreſſed his wiſhes that their official communications might be productive of the evacuation of that country, which would lead the way to a definitive arrangement.

To the letter of the Engliſh plenipotentiary general Kleber ſignified his diſpoſition to engage in ſuch a negociation; and, after ſome delay, a conference was held between the commiſſaries appointed by Kleber, and ſir Sidney Smith, on board the Tiger. During theſe tranſactions, the grand vizier ſent detachments from his army encamped at Gaza, to beſiege El-Ariſch, of which he obtained poſſeſſion the ſeventh day after the attack. An armiſtice had been adjuſted in the interval, but the veſſel which was diſpatched with the notice, having been prevented by a tempeſt from approaching the coaſt, the ſiege and capture of this avant-poſt of Egypt took place. After ſeveral conferences, and a ſeries of correſpondence, Kleber finding that no other conditions could be obtained, than the free evacuation of Egypt, agreed to a definitive arrangement for this object. Being thus critically ſituated, having an immenſe multitude to oppoſe without, and enemies within, hardly leſs formidable in the diſaffection of the Egyptians, and in the plague which had begun its ravages, and which daily diminiſhed his army, he gave orders to aſſent to a convention for the evacuation of the country, which was ſigned at the camp of the grand vizier, before El-Ariſch, the twenty-fourth of January, 1800.

As lord Grenville's anſwer to the notes tranſmitted by Bonaparte to the king and the Engliſh miniſtry, peremptorily refuſed all negociations for peace, except on the condition of the re-eſtabliſhment of mo-

* The manner of Bonaparte's diſſolving the council of elders, was truly embarraſſing, and forms a ſubject which we have repreſented, in one of our embelliſhments. When Bonaparte preſented himſelf at the door of the aſſembly, accompanied by ſeveral officers and grenadiers, he advanced towards the preſident. A vehement agitation immediately aroſe among part of the members, who darted precipitately from their ſeats towards Bonaparte, inſulted him, and puſhed him back with violence: at this inſtant he was aſſailed by cries from different parts of the hall, of "Down with the tyrant! kill him! outlaw him! This is the moment to deliver France!" A member attempted to ſtab him with a dagger, but the blow was warded off by a grenadier. The vehemence of the members was not confined to words: ſeveral ſtarted from their ſeats, and ruſhed towards the door, imprecating vengeance, and practiſing menacing geſticulations. Bonaparte ſtood ſpeechleſs, but the officers and grenadiers who were behind him, ſuppoſing him to be in danger, gathered round him, and drew him out of the room, trembling and almoſt ſuffocated with paſſion; but, with his uſual addreſs, a few days relieved him from theſe apparent inſurmountable difficulties.

narchy, it was evident that hoſtilities muſt immediately enſue: but while the French nation were waiting ſome dire diſaſters from the menaces of the confederated parties, the Ruſſian army, to which ſo much importance had been attached the preceding year, and which, it was confidently ſtated, was ſhortly to be renewed with at leaſt fifty thouſand men, began its retreat into Poland, in conſequence of peremptory orders from the emperor Paul, which reached general Suwarrow about the middle of January. But though the emperor of Ruſſia's continental co-operation was to be leſs extenſive than the laſt campaign, the emperor of Germany continued a faithful ally. Bonaparte, when he lured the Britiſh miniſtry to negociation, had adopted the ſame experiment on the Auſtrian cabinet, through the means of the archduke Charles, whoſe pacific intentions were then well known. But all the efforts of prince Charles were defeated by the hoſtile reſolutions of the empreſs and the miniſter Thugut. The meſſage of the king of Great Britain to the parliament, of the thirteenth of February, ſtating, that his majeſty was at that moment, employed in making engagements with the emperor of Germany, the elector of Bavaria, and other princes of the empire, to ſupport the common cauſe, and aſking preliminary ſupplies alſo confirmed the deſigns of the Britiſh cabinet; and every proſpect of peace vaniſhed, on the arrival of general Kray, the ſixteenth of February, to ſuperſede the archduke Charles in the command of the army in Suabia. As appeal was again made to the ſword, the French government, conquered in negociation, was obliged to accept the challenge, and the greateſt preparations were made for opening the campaign with vigour.

Genoa was now the moſt important place in Italy, in the poſſeſſion of the French; and it was as much the object of the ambition of the houſe of Auſtria, as it was that of the ſolicitude of the French republic. When Maſſena was appointed to the command of the republican army in Italy, he found it in a moſt deplorable condition; not only reduced to half its number by the ſword, but ſo oppreſſed with diſeaſe and famine, that the loſs ſuſtained by theſe dire ravages, during a winter's abode in the territories of Genoa, amounted nearly to twenty thouſand men; he had therefore, in a great meaſure, to re-create the army of which he went to take the command; and this, by prudence and perſeverance, he in ſome degree effected. Maſſena had applied for a reinforcement, but inſtead of the ſixty thouſand men he had been promiſed, he found himſelf with only twenty-four thouſand, which he organiſed as well as he was able, but the French army was ſo ſituated, that they had only the choice of two evils, that of entering the field againſt a very ſuperior force, under the command of Melas, or of being blocked up in Genoa, which was deſtitute of proviſions, and which, if not relieved, muſt infallibly be reduced by famine.

The appearance of the Britiſh fleet before Genoa on the 5th of April, was the ſignal for the commencement of hoſtilities. The communication by ſea was now cut off. A few days preceding, a certain quantity of wheat and other proviſions had entered Genoa; had the blockade therefore taken place ſooner, the town muſt have immediately ſurrendered. Though the Auſtrians were far ſuperior in number to the French, the latter achieved prodigies of valour, encountering at the ſame time a more formidable enemy, which was famine. The Auſtrians were not exempt from thoſe dire effects; for as the reſidence of the priſoners in Genoa, to which they had been ſent by the French, might have been attended with danger, in the ſtate of deſpair to which the people were driven; Maſſena ſent them on board veſſels in the port, and included them in the liſt of the people to whom the Ligurian government was commiſſioned to diſtribute proviſions. Of this diſtribution, wretched as it was, it might readily be ſuppoſed, that theſe unfortunate men were not equally partakers. Hardly can an idea be formed of the intenſe hunger to which they became a prey. Their ſhoes and knapſacks, converted into food, ſerved for a momentary prolongation of their miſeries; and ſuch was the ſtate of deſperation to which they were driven, that the government could not venture to ſend any one on board, leſt the meſſenger ſhould become the victim of their raging appetites. Their lamentations reſounded throughout the port, aſſailing the ears of wretches hardly more fortunate than themſelves. At length, the miſerable victims expired in great numbers, amidſt the moſt deplorable ſufferings, and many ſhrunk from them, by ſeeking a voluntary death in the waves which waſhed their veſſels.

Maſſena, when reduced to the defenſive, neglected not any opportunity of harraſſing by ſallies from his lines, the enemy by whom he was ſurrounded. In one of theſe engagements, the Auſtrians loſt upwards of four thouſand men; but an engagement, in which the French general loſt three of his beſt commanders, among whom was general Soult, terminated all farther operations on his part, and the Auſtrians had now penetrated to the walls of Genoa, without meeting with any further effective reſiſtance. The French territory was then invaded by the Imperialiſts, and Melas, the Auſtrian general, left in poſſeſſion of the whole department of the Maritime Alps; ſo that the Auſtrians had gained the entire poſſeſſion of Italy, except the city of Genoa.

The campaign on the Rhine began towards the latter end of April. General Moreau, whoſe military ſkill had been demonſtrated on many occaſions, on reading his orders, diſpatched a courier to Paris, ſignifying, that if theſe orders were to be rigidly followed,

followed, he muſt decline the place of in chief, and take a ſecondary ſituation. He accompanied his meſſage with a plan of his own formation; his diſmiſſion was refuſed, and the execution of the plan ſubmitted to the courage and ſkill of the framer. The paſſage of the Rhine into the Brifgaw was a military ſtratagem to draw the attention of the Imperialiſts to that point; and Kray was ſo little prepared for the manœuvres of Moreau, that a paſſage was effected without any conſiderable loſs. The French commander Lecourbe had taken a poſition on the right ſide, and after an engagement, in which he made eight hundred priſoners, gained poſſeſſion, by capitulation, of the otherwiſe impregnable fortreſs of Hohentwell.

Lecourbe, according to orders, directed his courſe on the rear of the Auſtrian army at Stockach, while Moreau, collecting his centre and left diviſions, marched upon the village of Engen, where general Kray, no longer deceived with reſpect to the plan of attack, had aſſembled the main of his army. Lecourbe, in his march, met with a diviſion of the Auſtrians near Stockach, which he attacked, routed, and purſued beyond the town. Moreau, willing to favour this movement, attacked the Auſtrians at Engen, and after a deſperate engagement, ſeized all the poſts of the Imperialiſts, who, half ſurrounded, made their retreat during the night into Moſkirch. The loſs of the Auſtrians on this day, amounted to upwards of ten thouſand men, of which four thouſand were priſoners. As this mode of attack had been unſuſpected, and conſequently unprovided for, the loſs of magazines and baggage was immenſe.

At length a ſucceſſion of defeats compelled general Kray to concentrate his forces around Ulm, while general Moreau eſtabliſhed his head quarters at Meuningen, occupying the country between the rivers Yell and Lech. In this poſition, two diviſions of the French army ſuſtained an attack from the whole force of general Kray. After an obſtinate reſiſtance, the French reſumed the offenſive, and forced the Auſtrians to a precipitate retreat across the Danube during the night, adding two thouſand priſoners to thoſe already taken. Another engagement enſued, the conſequence of which was, that the retreat of the Auſtrians to the left of the Danube, made the French maſters of the electorate of Bavaria to the right; Ulm was inveſted, and their head quarters eſtabliſhed without further oppoſition at Munich.

The French army of reſerve, which had been forming at Dijon, now began its march towards Italy. It was compoſed of fifty thouſand men, and received reinforcements daily. The exiſtence of ſuch an army near Dijon was not generally credited; and the enemy fell into the ſnare which had been prepared for them. The chief conſul, who had publicly declared his intention of taking the command, while the ſituation of the army at Genoa required his immediate aſſiſtance, ſeemed to countenance the deluſion, by remaining at Paris. Bonaparte left that city on the fifth of May, and arrived at Dijon, from whence, after paſſing in review the troops cantoned there, he proceeded to Genoa. Remaining a ſhort time in the Pays de Vaud, he joined the army of reſerve, who were aſſembled at the fort of Mount St. Bernard. The progreſs and victories of the French army exceeded all conception. They paſſed the Alps, obtained the battle of Romano; paſſed the river Teſſino, entered the city of Milan, and took Pavia and Piacenza. In order to enter the valley of Aoſta, Bonaparte found it neceſſary to traverſe, for more than twenty Italian miles, the mountain called the Great Saint Bernard, ſituated between thoſe of Simplon and Mont Blanc. From Martinach to St. Peter's, the road, though extremely bad, was not abſolutely untrodden; human abodes, vegetation, and paſturage were found: but after paſſing this region, nature preſented no object to the eye, but ſnow and naked rocks. From Saint Peter's, it is about three leagues to the ſummit of St. Bernard, by a road which is impaſſable by two men a-breaſt.

A monaſtery preſents itſelf at the top of this mountain, from the founder of which it derives its name. The tenants, highly celebrated for reſcuing and reſtoring travellers who have ſtrayed, or are benumbed, or even buried in the ſnow, were on this occaſion made auxiliaries to Bonaparte, who was not now to be taught how much any circumſtance, producing an appearance of dramatic effect, would animate his own followers, and impoſe on the reſt of mankind. The progreſs of the ſoldiery had hitherto been extremely ſingular. For tranſporting the artillery, general Marmont, and brigadier general Gaſſendi, contrived two ingenious devices: the firſt was, to hollow out trunks of trees like canoes, in which were depoſited the artillery and mortars, then a hundred men harneſſing themſelves to a cable, dragged the piece along, while others, furniſhed with handſpikes, to prevent its falling over the precipices, directed its courſe. The other expedient was the uſe of ſledges on caſtors; the gun-carriages being taken to pieces, were tranſported ſeparately, except the carriages of four-pounders, which were placed on a kind of litter, and conveyed entire. The caiſſons were emptied, and the ammunition, ſtowed in cheſts, borne by men or mules. Every particular in the expedition hitherto favoured of romance: the ſolitude of the ſcene, the concurrence of individual efforts to the general advantage, which conſtituted every man a hero; the ſingularity of the route, and the importance of its reſults, all aided the prediſpoſition to lofty contemplations, which the moſt judicious travellers have obſerved to prevail in mountainous countries. While the troops were thus animated, and their imaginations exalted, Bonaparte had

had contrived that even the ordinary solace of eating, should harmonize with the general sublimity of the region and sentiment. By his orders, and at his expence, the monks of Saint Bernard had prepared a feast for the whole army; and when the fatigued soldiers reached the heights of the monastic abode, tables spread, as if by enchantment, on the snow, and well furnished with viands, and delicious wines, were suddenly beheld; and the holy fathers humbly solicited the army to partake of their humble fare.

In descending from St. Bernard to Verney, the first village in Piedmont, fatigue was diminished, but danger augmented. For about a league, a road is formed on a rugged mountain; the horseman there must lead or follow his beast, as he cannot walk a-breast without the peril of falling into an abyss: on one side, the road is bounded with tremendous precipices; on the other, mountains of snow, suspended over the head of the passenger, threaten to descend in thundering avelanches, and bury him, and every opposing object, in their irresistible course. In the descent, some of the soldiers adopted the scheme of sliding over the polished snow, to abridge their toil. The general himself, it is said, set the example; and many who followed it, reached in a few minutes, a small plain at the bottom, at which they could not have arrived by the regular path, in less time than several hours. During this whole journey, no other loss was sustained than a piece of artillery, and three men carried away by an avelanche, and four or five horses, by falling down the precipices. As they descended, the air gradually became milder, and grass and flowers again relieved their eyes; and in half an hour afterwards, the heat was found to be intolerable: in consequence of which the army experienced, in one day, the three seasons of winter, spring, and summer. Soon after this adventure, the French received intelligence, by means of the intercepted correspondence of the Austrian general Melas, of the fate of their army in Genoa.

It was not till every hope of succour had vanished, and the French general Massena had seen fifteen thousand of the inhabitants of Genoa perish from absolute

that he would deign to enter into a negociation for the delivery of the place. This negociation was concluded on the fourth of May, the principal article of which stated, that the army of Genoa, amounting to upwards of eight thousand men, should enter France by the way of Nice, and the sick be conveyed by sea to Antibes; and that the Genoese and other Italian inhabitants of Genoa, should be permitted to remove themselves and their effects where they might think proper.

The Austrian general Otto, with thirty battalions, quitted Genoa, to oppose the progress of the French army, that was marching towards Piedmont. The Austrians were in possession of Castleggio, which they defended with upwards of fifteen thousand men. The shock was dreadful, and victory was a long time doubtful. Castleggio was taken and re-taken several times. The Austrians at length gave way, leaving behind them about three thousand dead and wounded, with five thousand prisoners, and were pursued by the French as far as Voghera.

This victory was in a few days followed by a greater. Unable to impede the progress of the French by partial detachments, general Melas, who was now blockaded in Piedmont, assembled the whole of his forces between Alessandria and Tortona, that he might crush the enemy by one stroke, or open himself a way across the French army, to join the Austrian divisions on the Mincio. After detaching different corps from the main army, to strengthen various posts, and defend the passages of the river, Bonaparte, with the remainder, marched to meet the Austrians at Alessandria: the French accordingly met the advanced guard of the Austrians at St. Julian's, which they evacuated to take post at Marengo; from which post they were driven, and compelled to retire beyond the Bormida. The French were at first surprized at seeing the Austrians abandon a situation in which they had so great a superiority of numbers, and it was conjectured that they intended either to pass the Po, or the Tessino, or to march by the territory of Genoa and Bobbio.

But while these positions were made to frustrate these attempts, the advanced guard of the French was attacked, and the Austrians, by the display of their forces, manifested their intention of giving battle. The troops under the orders of general Victor were immediately ranged for engagement; a part formed the centre, which occupied the village of Marengo; the other composed the left wing, extending to the Bormida, and general Lanne's division the right wing. The army, formed in two lines, had its wings supported with heavy cavalry.

The Austrians began the engagement on all points. The centre of the French was soon compelled to fall back, and the Austrians advanced upon Marengo. A dreadful carnage ensued; but the Austrians, reinforced, continued to advance, and gained possession of the village. Part of the centre of the French gave way, and quitted the field in disorder. The right wing was attacked by two lines of infantry, which marched against it with a formidable artillery. On the point of being flanked by a considerable body, they were supported for a moment by a brigade of dragoons; but the retreat of the centre obliged it, at length, to follow the same movement. The army could only be saved by the body of reserve under general Desaix. This division was not yet ready for action, and Bonaparte, seeing the necessity of gaining time, advanced towards the right wing, in order to retard its movement. The retreat was, however, made under the fire of eighty pieces of artillery. The carnage was again dreadful, but the

French preſerved their ranks, and inſtantly ſupplied the place of thoſe who fell by freſh troops.

Victory now ſeemed to declare in favour of the Auſtrians, whoſe numerous cavalry covered the plain, ſupported by ſeveral ſquadrons of light artillery At this critical moment, the grenadiers of the conſular guard marched to ſupport the right, the only column that had continued firm. They advanced, and reſolutely ſuſtained three ſucceſſive charges. At this moment, came up Monier's diviſion, which made part of the corps de reſerve: This diviſion was ordered to attack the battalions which protected the Auſtrian cavalry, part of which were in purſuit of the centre and left of the French. At the plain of St. Juliano, the reſerve under Deſaix was drawn up in two lines, ſupported by the artillery under Marmont, and by the cavalry under Kellerman. Behind this corps the fugitives of the centre and left formed; the preſence of Bonaparte, who rapidly flew from rank to rank, re-eanimated the ſoldiers, and at four in the afternoon, the battle which had raged for ſeven hours, was recommenced with vigour.

The Auſtrians, ſecure of the victory, having routed two-thirds of the French army, intended to ſurround the remainder, not conſidering the diviſion yet unattacked. They had improvidently waſted their ſtrength, and ſcattered their battalions, in the eagerneſs of purſuit. Bonaparte inſtantly perceived the advantages which this eagerneſs gave him. Deſaix at the head of his legion, impetuouſly ruſhed forwards among the victorious battalions, whom he charged with the bayonet. The remainder of the diviſion followed this movement, and the whole army, catching the enthuſiaſm, advanced to the charge. The Auſtrians, aſtoniſhed at this ſudden exploſion, withdrew their artillery, and the infantry began to give way. At this moment Deſaix fell. The loſs of whom, inſtead of diſconcerting, only heightened the ardour of the troops into a furv to avenge his death. The bayonet, which had driven back the firſt line of the Auſtrians, could not pierce the ſecond. The reſiſtance of the Auſtrians checked for a moment the French in their career, and the event of the day was ſtill doubtful; but its fate was at length fixed by general Kellerman, who, ordering a charge of cavalry, threw the Auſtrians into diſorder, and made ſix thouſand men priſoners, among whom were the general Zagg, general St. Julien, and many other officers of diſtinction.

A third line of Auſtrian infantry remained as a corps de reſerve, ſupported by the reſt of the artillery, and the whole of the cavalry. Againſt this laſt diviſion, the right wing of the French advanced, with the grenadiers of the conſular guard, and ſupported by the artillery. The Auſtrian line ſtill maintained its ground; but the French cavalry, under Murat, having charged the Auſtrian cavalry, the latter gave way, and was completely routed. Night only terminated the carnage and purſuit.

The French boaſt of having wounded, killed, and taken about fifteen thouſand men; the victory was ſignal on their part, but their loſs was equal to that of the army they had to combat. As far as glory belongs to theſe actions, hiſtory will record this battle as honourable to both parties. It would be endleſs to enumerate the particular traits of heroiſm which was this day exhibited. On the next, general Melas, finding his ſituation no longer tenable, propoſed an armiſtice, which was accepted by Bonaparte. The principal conditions of this armiſtice were the free paſſage of the Auſtrians into the territory of Mantua, Tuſcany, and Ancona, and the ſurrender of the whole of Piedmont and Genoa to the French. The armiſtice, which was concluded for Italy alone, was to continue till an anſwer could be returned from the court of Vienna.

The general of the imperial army in Germany endeavoured to take advantage of this armiſtice in Italy, to ſtop the progreſs of the troops under Moreau; but the French general had not liſtened to the propoſition; on the contrary, finding himſelf in poſſeſſion of the capital, and the principal part of Bavaria, Moreau detached Lecourbe towards the Tyrol, to ſeize on the Voralberg and the Griſons, and form a junction with the army of Italy. A ſuſpenſion of arms having again been made, and Count St. Julien having arrived at Paris in July with propoſals for peace, ſuppoſed to be from the imperial cabinet, an armiſtice was at length concluded for the armies in Germany, leaving for the line of demarcation the poſts occupied by the reſpective armies.

During theſe tranſactions, intelligence arrived in Europe of the ſudden and extraordinary change of affairs in Egypt. The arrival of the troops according to the terms of capitulation between General Kleber, the grand vizier, and ſir Sidney Smith, had been daily expected, and the iſle of Hyeres had been nominated for the performance of quarantine. No doubt had been entertained, but the Britiſh cabinet would readily aſſent to the terms agreed on and ſigned by the plenipotentiary; and though the inſtructions which lord Keith (late ſir George Elphinſtone) had received and tranſmitted, deſtroyed or ſuſpended this hope, the grand vizier and the French general continued on good terms, conceiving that the Britiſh cabinet would not perſevere in its determination. They had even concerted proviſionary meaſures, but a difficulty occurred which hindered the effect of thoſe reciprocal diſpoſitions. The grand vizier, already maſter of Salahich, Catichobs, Belbois, Damietta, a part of the Delta, and Upper Egypt, evacuated in virtue of the convention, required the French to deliver up to him the citadel of Cairo, of which they were ſtill in poſſeſſion. Kleber refuſed

refuſed to abandon the only fortified place which was left him after Alexandria. His refuſal was communicated to the grand vizier, with his reſolution to reſume hoſtilities; for which he prepared his army, by communicating the ignominious propoſitions in the letter from lord Keith.

The French, equally indignant with their general, regardleſs of the ſuperiority of numbers they had to encounter, and the difficulty of their poſition, began to cannonade on the twentieth of March, at break of day, the Turkiſh advanced poſts at Maturia, two leagues from Cairo. The grand vizier drew out his army, and occupied the ground between that poſt and the village Elhauca. The French army, conſiſting of fifteen thouſand men, including the cavalry on dromedaries, was ranged in two lines, and extended half a league towards Boulac. The Turkiſh cavalry, at firſt made ſome partial attacks on the French infantry, but without much effect. The Janiſſaries, oppoſed to the left wing of the French, advanced next, and attacked with great bravery, but, wanting artillery and ammunition, they were ſpeedily obliged to fall back. Towards noon the French advanced on the whole line with a terrible fire of artillery and muſquetry; this briſk attack threw the Turks into diſorder, and inſtantly the whole army, conſiſting of forty thouſand men, fled in all directions. The grand vizier withdrew to his camp, but was obliged to abandon it the ſame day, the French having advanced in two oblique lines to cut off his retreat. The route then became general. Nineteen pieces of cannon and a part of the camp fell into the hands of the conquerors, whoſe loſs was but trivial, as they met with a feeble reſiſtance. The loſs of the Turks amounted to eight thouſand men killed or wounded, excluſive of thoſe who periſhed in the deſert. At the beginning of the action, Nazon Pacha and Murad Bey paſſed the rear of the republican army into Cairo, where they maſſacred whatever French they found, and ſlaughtered numbers of the Greeks and Copts. Kleber declined any further purſuit of the Turkiſh army, inveſted the city of Cairo, which was in revolt againſt him, and, having taken poſſeſſion, puniſhed in an exemplary manner the cruelties which had been exerciſed againſt the partizans of the French.

The propoſals of peace, which in July had been preſented in Paris by Count St. Julien, had been the ſubject of frequent negotiations between the French cabinet and the court of Vienna. Whatever might be the hopes or ſecret views of that court, the refuſal of the ratification of the preliminaries was intimated in a note from the Britiſh government, which inſiſted that a miniſter ſhould be ſent to the congreſs at Luneville, conjointly with the plenipotentiaries of the emperor.

The hoſtilities of the Engliſh in this year, were principally connected with the maritime ſervice. A deſcent on the coaſt of Bretagne was reſolved on, the forts of Quiberon were deſtroyed, and other embarkations were adopted injurious to the French. From the Dutch, the iſland of Goree was taken, as well as the American iſland of Curacoa. Ferrol was threatened by a Britiſh armament; but, though the invaders obtained the neighbouring heights by repelling the Spaniards, they were diſcouraged from attacking the place. Cadiz which had alſo been menaced, was ſaved by the ſame improbability of ſucceſs, and the danger of being infected with a contagious diſeaſe, which was then prevalent in the garriſon, and among the inhabitants.

Riots aroſe, about this time in England, occaſioned chiefly by the high price of corn. At Birmingham, and many other provincial towns, depredations, and acts of violence were committed. The metropolis was for ſeveral days alarmed by clamorous multitudes, but the chief magiſtrate, by his firmneſs and judicious conduct, prevented further outrages.

To alleviate the preſſure of dearth, the king propoſed to the parliament, that the moſt ample encouragement ſhould be given to the importation of every ſpecies of grain, and that meaſures ſhould be taken for the extenſion and improvement of agriculture. A proclamation, recommending œconomy, was iſſued by his majeſty, exhorting "all maſters of families "to reduce the conſumption of bread by at leaſt "one third of the quantity conſumed in former "times, and in no caſe to ſuffer the ſame to exceed "one quartern loaf for each perſon in each week; "to abſtain from the uſe of flour in paſtry; and re"ſtrict the conſumption of oats and other grain for "the ſubſiſtence of horſes." Three bills were inſtantly prepared, prohibiting the uſe of grain in diſtillation, and the exportation of proviſions of any denomination.

A diſpatch from ſir Hyde Parker, received at the Admiralty-office on the twenty-ſeventh of January, 1800, announced that captain Hamilton of the Sur prize, formed a reſolution of attempting to cut out, by the boats of his majeſty's ſhip under his command, the Hermione from the harbour of Porto Cavall, which had formerly belonged to his majeſty; nor was he induced to abandon his project, though two hundred pieces of cannon were mounted on the batteries. He turned the hands up, to acquaint the officers and ſhip's company of his intentions to lead them to the attack, which was heartily returned with three cheers, and that they would all follow to a man: the boats, containing one hundred men, including officers, at half paſt twelve in the morning of the twenty-fifth (after having beat the launch of the ſhip, which carried a twenty-four pounder and twenty men, and receiving ſeveral guns and ſmall arms from the frigate) boarded: the forecaſtle was

taken

taken poſſeſſion of without much reſiſtance; the quarter-deck diſputed the point a quarter of an hour, where a dreadful carnage took place; the main-deck held out much longer, and with equal ſlaughter; they laſt of all retreated to the 'tween decks, and continued firing till their ammunition was expended: then, and not till then, did they cry for quarter. At two o'clock they were completely in poſſeſſion of the Hermione. She was nearly ready for ſea, mounting forty-four guns, with a ſhip's company of three hundred and twenty-one officers and ſailors, and fifty-ſix ſoldiers. Every officer and man behaved with an uncommon degree of valour and exertion.

The French and Imperial armies were now preparing to open the campaign a ſecond time. The ſituation of affairs roufed the imperial court to a ſeeming temporary effort of perſonal courage. The emperor ſignified his reſolution of putting himſelf, with his brother the archduke John, at the head of the army; hoping that this example, together with the general danger, would reanimate the courage of the Germans, and engage the ſubjects of the empire to join themſelves to his imperial majeſty, to ſecure an honourable peace.

Conforming to the reſcript of the imperial miniſter to the diet, the emperor, and his brother the archduke John, repaired to the army, where the latter entered on his office as commander in chief. On his arrival in this character, he received a letter from general Moreau, which had juſt been tranſmitted from Paris, and which he thus literally tranſcribed: "Inform the general who commands the Auſtrian army, that the emperor refuſes to ratify the preliminaries of peace, and that you are obliged to recommence hoſtilities. You may, however, agree to an armiſtice of a month, on condition that places of ſurety be immediately put into your poſſeſſion." General Moreau at the ſame time ſent an officer to ſtate the terms of this new armiſtice, or notify the commencement of hoſtilities the following day. A nearer review of the ſtate of his forces, and the peremptory demand of General Moreau, induced the emperor to adopt more pacific ſentiments; in conſequence of which, the interview between the archduke John and the French general, Lahorne, ended in an arrangement for another armiſtice, which included the armies of Italy alſo, and was to terminate in forty-five days, if no definitive arrangements took place in the mean time. The treaty was ſigned at Hohenlinden on the twentieth of September.

During theſe pacific proceedings in Germany, a negotiation for peace was opened at London. In the beginning of Auguſt, Mr. Thugut, the emperor's prime-miniſter, had addreſſed a note to M. Talleyrand, in which he tranſmitted by order of his imperial majeſty, an invitation to the Firſt Conſul to nominate plenipotentiaries to treat on this ſubject; declaring at the ſame time that his Britannic majeſty was diſpoſed to concur in this negotiation, as had been announced in a note of Lord Minto's, the Engliſh miniſter at Vienna. Lord Minto had therein declared that his Britannic majeſty was ready to ſend his plenipotentiaries to treat of peace, in concert with the emperor, as ſoon as the French government ſhould have ſignified its intention of entering into negotiation with the cabinet of St. James's. The French government immediately diſpatched to M. Otto, commiſſary for the exchange of priſoners in England, a copy of the propoſitions made by the cabinet of Vienna, with inſtructions to enter into a negotiation with the Engliſh miniſtry.

M. Otto communicated his inſtructions to lord Grenville, the moſt important of which was, that he was authoriſed to propoſe and conclude a general armiſtice between the armies and fleets of the ſtates implicated in the treaty. The commiſſioners met on the twenty-eighth of Auguſt, but the reſult of this negotiation was unfavourable to peace. The French inſiſted on a naval armiſtice, and demanded great preliminary advantages, declaring they would not conſent to a general treaty, unleſs theſe requiſitions ſhould be complied with. The ſpirit of the court revolted from this propoſal, and the conference and correſpondence ended. The rupture of this negotiation was followed by that of the continental armiſtice, which had not afforded time to the belligerent powers to recruit their ſhattered forces, in order to renew the conteſt.

The winter campaign opened in November, when the Auſtrians at firſt gained ſome advantage, but were at length overcome by the ſkill and proweſs of General Moreau. Prompted by ſome inconſiderable ſucceſſes, the Imperialiſts were induced to abandon their ſtrong poſitions on the river Inn, where they might have made a long reſiſtance. Leaving this advantageous poſition, they marched upon the army of the French, ſtationed near the village of Hohenlinden. Morcau, who had waited for them in the poſitions he had taken, met the attack as if he had intended only to keep himſelf on the defenſive, and this heſitation in the French general was conſtrued by the Auſtrians into a diſinclination to come to a deciſive action; but this error was not of long duration. While the Auſtrians, confident of victory, were endeavouring to force Moreau to ſome determinate purpoſe, they were aſtoniſhed to find a French diviſion in their rear, led on by Richepanſe and Decaer. For this moment of ſurpriſe and confuſion Morcau had waited. This moment of heſitation in the Auſtrian army was the ſignal for attack: the French generals Grenier and Ney, poured down their diviſions on the Auſtrian lines, and met theſe of Richepanſe and Decaer. Theſe laſt diviſions having innumerable obſtacles to encounter, had performed prodigies of valour.

Richepanſe,

Richepanſe, cut off from the reſt of his diviſion, without looking behind him, had marched with five or ſix battalions into the midſt of the Auſtrians. The imperial army, ſurpriſed, broken, and overwhelmed, endeavoured to retreat; but, ingulphed in defiles and woods, and ſurrounded by enemies, no mode of eſcaping or rallying preſented itſelf, and in the ſpace of a league and a half the carnage was tremendous. The centre of the Auſtrian army had fled or periſhed. The defeat of the centre conſequently drew on that of the wings. The French remained maſters of the field, with eighty pieces of cannon, two hundred caiſſons, ten thouſand priſoners, and a conſiderable number of officers, among whom were three generals.

This victory decided the campaign in favour of the French, and the battle of Hohenlinden, and the paſſage of the Inn, had thrown not only the court of Vienna, but alſo the capital, into the greateſt confuſion, and, in proportion to the preſumption of the former, was now its terror and dread of ſeeing the French ſoon at the gates. One reſource yet remained, ſince that of arms had proved ineffectual; and of that the imperial court was ſufficiently prudent at this criſis to take advantage.

Prince Charles, who quitted the command of the army at the opening of the campaign, and who retreated into honourable exile, as governor of Bohemia, for declaring his opinion reſpecting the events of the war, which the reſult had juſtified, was again reſorted to as the ſaviour of his country. The court had flattered itſelf that his preſence and efforts would once more eſtabliſh an equilibrium of force with the French, and conceived hopes that its military affairs were yet retrievable.—This charm was now diſſolved: the prince, though adored by the army, perceived that this allurement was departed; and the ſoldier of every rank hailed his return, not as the hero who was to lead them to victory, but as the herald who was to conduct them to peace. The archduke, whatever hopes he might entertain at the moment of his recal, ſaw, on his arrival at the army, that they were deſtitute of foundation. Before, however, he reſolved on making a ſubmiſſion, which, from various circumſtances, he preſumed muſt be almoſt unconditional, he reſolved on making a laſt attempt. This attempt was unſucceſsful; the Auſtrians were ſeverely defeated, and, after loſing about eight thouſand men, withdrew in diſorder behind the Ens. This event convinced the imperial cabinet of the truth of what the archduke had repeatedly aſſerted, in his correſpondence, from the time of his recal, that there was no ſafety for the Auſtrian monarchy, but in peace, at any rate; ſince, in the ſpace of twenty days, the army had loſt ſeventy leagues of ground, twenty-five thouſand priſoners, fifteen thouſand killed or wounded, one hundred-and-forty pieces of cannon, and immenſe magazines of all deſcriptions, while the enemy was in a poſition to dictate orders to the capital. An armiſtice was therefore offered, on the twenty-ſeventh of December, and accepted by Moreau, on condition that peace ſhould, without delay, follow this third ceſſation of hoſtilities. A convention was ſoon after agreed on for the ſame purpoſe in Italy between the generals Bellegarde and Brune, in which the Auſtrians ceded to the French the fortified places they had left behind them untaken, including Mantua, which was given up by the ſubſequent convention of Luneville *.

The

* About this time, Bonaparte, deſerting the accuſtomed forms of diplomatic proceeding, addreſſed a letter to the king of Great Britain, which was incloſed in one from Talleyrand to lord Grenville. He aſked, whether the war was to be eternal? Whether the two powerful nations of France and Great Britain could not come to a mutual underſtanding? And expected this overture to be conſidered as a proof of his deſire to contribute efficaciouſly for the ſecond time, to a general pacification. Lord Grenville anſwered Talleyrand, by obſerving, that the king, ſeeing no reaſon for departing from the forms of tranſacting affairs between foreign ſtates, which prevailed throughout Europe, had directed him to anſwer the propoſitions of the firſt conſul, by a note to his miniſter. He traced the conduct of France from the origin of the exiſting hoſtilities, and noticed the repeated aſſurances made by every ſucceeding government of pacific intentions, while all their acts were replete with war. The new government had given no proofs of a diſpoſition to adopt a different ſyſtem, nor could any aſſurance be given of its ſtability. The beſt aſſurance which Great Britain could receive of the formation of a regular government in France, would be the reſtoration of that race of princes, who, for ſo many ages, preſerved the French nation in internal proſperity, and in conſideration and reſpect among foreign powers. But, though ſuch an event would obviate every obſtacle, his majeſty did not conſider it indiſpenſable to the attainment of a ſafe and durable peace; but whenever he ſhould be of opinion that the ſecurity of his own dominions, and thoſe of his allies, and the general ſecurity of Europe, could be attained, he would eagerly ſeize the opportunity to concert with his allies, the means of an immediate and general pacification. Hitherto no ſuch ſecurity exiſted; and nothing remained for him but to proſecute, in conjunction with the other powers, a juſt and defenſive war.

At the cloſe of this year, a plan was ſaid to be formed for the aſſaſſination of the firſt conſul, whoſe conduct had procured him many enemies. It was propoſed to be carried into execution by means of gun-powder, and the conſtruction of what has ſince been termed the *infernal machine*. This machine was nothing more than a barrel filled with gun-powder, in which was to be inſerted a match, to produce the explofion at a calculated moment. This barrel was conveyed in a cart, into the Rue Nicaiſe, in the evening of the twenty-fourth of December, when it was known the chief conſul intended to be at the opera. The Rue Nicaiſe being a narrow ſtreet, leading from the Thuilleries

The negotiations at Luneville were now carried on with conſiderable diſpatch. The French army, by the convention of the late armiſtice, poſſeſſing part of the hereditary dominions of the houſe of Auſtria, within thirty leagues of the capital, and maſters of the whole of Italy, gave the republic a decided preponderance with reſpect to the conditions of peace, which were rather dictated than diſcuſſed. By this treaty, the emperor formally ratified the ceſſion of the Belgic provinces, renounced by the treaty of Campo Formio. The whole of the country, left of the Rhine, forming the four new departments, and which had been hitherto previouſly governed by the French, the ceſſion of which had been ſtipulated for, and aſſented to, at the congreſs of Raſtadt, was given up; henceforth the Rhine, from Switzerland to Holland, ſhould conſequently form the limits of the German empire and the French republic. In Italy, the poſſeſſion of the Imperial fiefs was confirmed to the Ligurian republic, and the Ciſalpine, which terminated at the river Mirren, was enlarged to the banks of the Adige, including Verona. In conſequence of theſe and other ceſſions, the emperor was permitted to remain in poſſeſſion of Iſtria, Dalmatia, the Venetian iſlands in the Adriatic depending on thoſe countries, and of the ſtate of Venice, as far as the Adige. Such were the principal articles of this treaty, which was declared to be made in common with the Swiſs, Dutch, Ciſalpine, and Ligurian republics. It was ſigned at Luneville, by count Cobentzel on the part of the emperor, and Joſeph Bonaparte on the part of the French republic, and was to be ratified in thirty days*.

This

Thuilleries to the opera, it was ſuppoſed he would paſs through it at a certain time after he had aſcended his carriage; but, leſt the velocity of his horſes and the burning of the match ſhould not keep in uniſon, the cart with the machine was ſo placed as to impede the paſſage. The coachman not only drove unuſually faſt, but had the addreſs, in driving through the ſtreet, to paſs the cart which was intended to obſtruct the way. The conſul and his ſuite had proceeded to another ſtreet before the exploſion took place, which, failing in the purpoſe for which it was deſigned, was deſtructive to thoſe who were in its neighbourhood, killing ſome, wounding others, and ſhattering the buildings to their foundations. This attempt was at firſt attributed to the royaliſt party, but it was ſoon agreed that none were capable of conceiving or executing ſuch a project, but the Jacobins. An exemplary puniſhment was therefore declared neceſſary, and thoſe who firſt ſuffered for this act, were two individuals, in whoſe poſſeſſion were found a barrel of powder and ſome combuſtible machinery; and ſome of theſe not being able to give a ſatisfactory account, they were ſentenced to be ſhot, and afterwards ſuffered that puniſhment. The further reſearches of the prefect of the police, warranted a concluſion, that it was certainly a Jacobin conſpiracy, in conſequence of which one hundred and thirty-two were arreſted; and, though there was not any ſpecific charge againſt theſe individuals, and it was impoſſible to convict them by a regular trial, an act of police baniſhed them beyond the ſeas.

* At the court at St. James's, the firſt of January, 1801, preſent the king's moſt excellent majeſty in council, his majeſty was pleaſed to appoint by proclamation, that "the royal ſtyle and titles ſhall henceforth be accepted, "taken, and uſed, in manner and form following: that is "to ſay, the ſame ſhall be expreſſed in the Latin tongue, "by theſe words: *Georgius Tertius, Dei Gratiâ, Britanniarum Rex, Fidei Defenſor*; and in the Engliſh tongue, "by theſe words:—*George the Third, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith.* And that the arms or enſigns armorial of the ſaid united kingdom, ſhall be quarterly, 'firſt and fourth England; ſecond Scotland; third Ireland. And it is our will and pleaſure, that there ſhall "be borne therewith, on an eſcutcheon of pretence, the "arms of our dominions in Germany, enſigned with the electoral bonnet. And it is our will and pleaſure, that the ſtandard of the ſaid united kingdom, ſhall be the 'ſame quarterings as are herein-before declared to be 'the arms or enſigns armorial of the ſaid united king-'dom, with the eſcutcheon of pretence thereon, herein-'before deſcribed; and that the union flag ſhall be 'azure, the croſſes-ſaltire of St. Andrew and St. Patrick 'quarterly, per ſaltire counter-changed, argent and 'gules; the latter fimbriated of the ſecond, ſurmounted 'by the croſs of St. George of the third fimbriated as the ſaltire."

On the third of February, his majeſty's council took the oaths, as privy councillors, for the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; and his majeſty received the great ſeal from the lord chancellor, and cauſing it to be defaced, preſented to him a new great ſeal for the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

It is alſo required, by his majeſty's royal proclamation, that the following alterations be made in the book of Common Prayer.—In the title page, inſtead of *the Church of England*, inſert, "of the United Church of England and Ireland."

In the prayer for the high court of parliament, inſtead of *our ſovereign and his kingdoms*, read, "his dominions."

In the firſt prayer to be uſed at ſea, inſtead of his *kingdoms*, read, "his dominions."

In the form and manner of making, ordaining, and conſecrating of biſhops, prieſts, and deacons, inſtead of the order of, *the church of England*, read, "of the united church of England and Ireland."

In the preface of the ſaid form, in two places, inſtead of, *church of England*, read, "in the united church of England and Ireland."

In the occaſional offices, twenty-fifth of October, the king's acceſſion, inſtead of *theſe realms*, read, "this realm."

In the collect, before the epiſtle, inſtead of *theſe kingdoms*, read, "this united kingdom."

This year† was introduced by a circumſtance which ultimately produced other intereſting events. An adminiſtration, which had exiſted upwards of ſeventeen years, and had baffled, and at length ſubdued, a moſt formidable oppoſition, was ſuddenly diſſolved; and on the eleventh of January, Mr. Pitt gave in his reſignation to his majeſty, which was immediately followed by that of lord Grenville, earl Spencer, the lord chancellor, Mr. Dundas, and Mr. Windham. Mr. Pitt declared, that he thought himſelf bound by his duty, his conſcience, and his honour, to reſign that ſituation, in which he had not full liberty to purſue his ideas of equity and public benefit. The oſtenſible ground of reſignation was the unfortunate queſtion of catholic emancipation, as it has been termed. In his ardour for accompliſhing the projected union, Mr. Pitt, it is ſaid, had engaged to the Iriſh catholics to achieve for them their object, if the act of union ſhould meet with no oppoſition on their parts; and he took one of the earlieſt opportunities of bringing it forward in the cabinet council. The Engliſh clergy dreaded the increaſe of popery; and the Iriſh proteſtants were alarmed at the idea of having to encounter a Popiſh judge upon the bench, ſupported by a popiſh jury, ſummoned by a popiſh ſheriff. Through what channel his majeſty was influenced to oppoſe the meaſure, we are ignorant; but it is generally underſtood that, through his interference, the plan of the miniſter was defeated: and this was immediately followed by his reſignation, and that of moſt of his colleagues.

Of the character of this long adminiſtration, an impartial judgment will be formed by poſterity. The retainers of a miniſter may erect ſtatues, and pour out the grateful incenſe of adulation before that idol which has been the tutelar deity of their fortune; but it is the page of hiſtory, which alone will erect a durable monument, and which will conſecrate the name of a miniſter to honour and immortality. To Mr. Pitt's adminiſtration, the impartial hiſtorian cannot accord the praiſe of political conſiſtency, of extended views, of liberal principles, and an enlarged and beneficial ſyſtem of policy. He entered upon his political career too early in life, and with a degree of popularity which was calculated to intoxicate an inexperienced mind. Early involved in the vortex of public buſineſs, his talents wanted the ſevere exerciſe of ſtudy to improve and mature them. He was deficient in ſome of the rudimental knowledge of a ſtateſman. Thus thrown prematurely into public life, gifted by nature with extraordinary talents, among the firſt of which we may mention a fluent, copious, and impreſſive eloquence; he was nevertheleſs an unfiniſhed politician. He would have excelled as an aſſociate, though he was perhaps unequal to the ſituation of a principal: he was calculated for an admirable partizan, though he wanted the knowledge and capacity of a general. His meaſures therefore diſplayed the impetuoſity, but not the vigour of youth; they had all the ſtratagem, but not the judgment of the experienced ſtateſman. They were calculated to excite admiration, rather than to inſure approbation; and, while we were aſtoniſhed at the boldneſs of the deſign, we ſometimes beheld, with diſappointment, a poverty of execution. He entered upon undertakings of the greateſt magnitude, without ſufficient information, and he abandoned them, becauſe he had not calculated upon the difficulties that were to be encountered. In every thing, his object was to be diſtinguiſhed; in every thing he muſt be a prominent character. Thus the ſtateſman was loſt in the projector; and in too eagerly purſuing fame, he loſt that greatneſs, to which, with more ſober counſels, he might have attained.

But the errors of Mr. Pitt were rather errors of judgment than of principle. We deſpiſe the factious calumny which would aſcribe to him a deliberate plan to overthrow the liberties of his country. He diſapproved of liberty only when it oppoſed his views; and he ſported occaſionally with the conſtitution of his country, only to ſerve the little purpoſes of party, the exigencies of the moment. He laviſhed the honours of the peerage with an unſparing hand; though the ſyſtem of bribery, under the colour of participating in the loan, was laid aſide; nor does it appear, on the whole, that the penſion liſt was immoderately enlarged during his adminiſtration.

So far from charging this adminiſtration with purſuing deſpotiſm on a ſyſtem, it is lamented that they were totally without any plan or ſyſtem whatever. Mr. Pitt's adminiſtration was beſt characterized by a favourite phraſe of his own,—*exiſting circumſtances*. His firſt political project was a parliamentary reform, but he diſcovered that *exiſting circumſtances* would not admit it. He undertook to extinguiſh the national debt; he concluded by doubling it. He gloried in being the miniſter of peace; and ſoon after manifeſted an inordinate paſſion for war. Thus one part of his adminiſtration was a contradiction of another; one ſyſtem ſerved as a practical refutation of the preceding: a meaſure of

For the preachers, inſtead of *king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland*, ſay, "king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland"

And no edition of the book of Common Prayer, ſhall be hereafter printed without theſe amendments; and until copies of ſuch edition may be had, parſons, vicars, &c. are required, (to prevent miſtakes) with the pen, to correct and amend all ſuch prayers in their church books, according to the above directions: and the biſhops are enjoined to take care, that obedience be paid to the ſame accordingly, within their reſpective dioceſes.

† A. D. 1801.

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the higheſt national importance, which had been ordered in the afternoon, has been revoked the ſucceeding morning.

The ſame inconſiſtency is obſervable in the cauſes, or rather excuſes for the late war. At one time, it was a war voluntarily undertaken for religion, monarchy, and ſocial order; at another, we were forced into it by the aggreſſion of our adverſaries. At one period, it was proſecuted to procure indemnity for the paſt, and ſecurity for the future: at another, for the expreſs purpoſe of reſtoring the houſe of Bourbon. In the negotiation at Paris, the *ſine quâ non* was the reſtoration of the Netherlands to the emperor of Germany: in the anſwer to the overture of Bonaparte, it was the re-eſtabliſhment of monarchy in France. Contrary to the policy of all ſagacious ſtateſmen, who embrace the moment of good fortune to ſecure the moſt advantageous terms, our miniſters were haughty and inſolent in ſucceſs, and abject in ill fortune; they negotiated only when their allies were beaten off the field.

The character of Mr. Pitt's adminiſtration has been groſsly miſtaken by both parties. He was neither the knight errant of deſpotiſm, nor the cool and crafty politician. His proceedings were more the effect of impulſe than of meditation. He has been extolled as a profound financier; the fact, however, has rather been aſſerted than proved. It is generally underſtood, that, of three plans for the liquidation of the national debt, preſented by the late Dr. Price, he made choice of the worſt; a circumſtance that argues little for either his knowledge or his judgment in that department. His firſt eſſay in taxation, which was termed the commutation tax, was a palpable blunder in finance, and anſwered no beneficial purpoſe to any part of the nation, except the India company. The other taxes, which he from time to time impoſed, evinced no genius for finance. They conſiſted either in augmentations of exiſting taxes, or in fantaſtical forms of taxation which have been found either impolitic or unproductive. Among theſe may be enumerated the taxes on ſhops, watches, maid ſervants, hair-powder, armorial bearings, &c. A great and maſterly genius for finance might certainly, in ſo long a ſpace of time as ſeventeen years, have projected ſomething of a more novel and intereſting nature.

Such appears to be the impartial outline of the character of this adminiſtration. Mr. Pitt is neither to be regarded as the ſaviour of his country, or the enemy of its liberties. His adminiſtration will be known to poſterity chiefly by its profuſion; and the miſchiefs which the nation has to regret from it are two hundred and eighty millions added to the national debt, the exiſting taxes nearly doubled, and the neceſſaries of life (from theſe cauſes, and the unneceſſary extenſion of paper credit) raiſed to an exorbitant rate.

It was a conſiderable time before the new miniſterial arrangements were announced. A new miniſtry was formed by the nomination of lord Eldon to the office of lord high chancellor; of lord St. Vincent to that of the firſt lord of the admiralty; of lord Hawkeſbury to that of ſecretary of ſtate for the foreign department; of lord Pelham, to that of ſecretary of ſtate for the home department; and of colonel Yorke to that of ſecretary at war. Lord Eldon was ſucceeded by ſir Richard Pepper Arden, now created lord Alvanley, as chief juſtice of the common pleas; and Mr. Addington *, by ſir John Mitford, as ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, though that gentleman ſtrongly intimated, that he did not conſider this dignity as the *ne plus ultra* of his ambition, but merely as an avenue to other dignities and emoluments: ſir William Grant was appointed maſter of the rolls, and Mr. Law and Mr. Percival, attorney and ſolicitor-generals. But before the new miniſters could regularly enter upon their reſpective offices, and before their appointment was announced in the Gazette, his majeſty was ſeized with a febrile indiſpoſition, and continued ſo far indiſpoſed, as to be unable to tranſact public buſineſs, till the middle of the month of March. Till that period, the old miniſters continued to hold the reins of government, with the exception only of lord St. Vincent and lord Hawkeſbury, who had been inducted into office previous to his majeſty's indiſpoſition.

A vacancy having happened in the repreſentation of the borough of Old Sarum, John Horne Tooke, eſquire, was named its repreſentative by the proprietor, lord Camelford †. When Mr. Tooke had taken the oaths at the table, lord Temple gave notice that he ſhould move for his expulſion. The matter was, however, deferred till the ſixth of May, and during

* After ſome deliberation, his majeſty ſelected Mr. Addington for the office of firſt lord of the treaſury and chancellor of the exchequer. That gentleman had long been intimately acquainted with Mr. Pitt, whoſe influence had raiſed him to the chair of the houſe of commons.

† This eccentric young nobleman, after performing a principal character in many tumults and commotions, for ſome of which he had ſuffered temporary impriſonment, provoked captain Beſt of the navy to give him a challenge, a duel enſued, and the iraſcible peer, experienced that death he had frequently ſought. A bullet from the piſtol of his adverſary, terminated his exiſtence on the eighth of March, 1804.

The following anecdote of this young nobleman may perhaps be found intereſting. On the thirteenth of January, 1798, died, at Engliſh Harbour, Antigua, Charles Paterſon, eſquire, firſt lieutenant of his majeſty's ſhip Perdrix. This event was occaſioned by a diſpute between the deceaſed and lord Camelford, upon the right of commanding at Engliſh Harbour. Lord Camelford commanded his majeſty's ſloop of war the Favourite, by virtue of an order or warrant from admiral Hervey; and

during the interval, a committee had been appointed to ſearch for precedents, and report on the caſe. On that day, lord Temple brought forward his motion, and ſupported it with conſiderable ability. Mr. Tooke adduced many cogent arguments to eſtabliſh his right to a ſeat. Mr. Tooke, after ridiculing the officious zeal of lord Temple, and his parade of hiſtoric learning, expreſſed a willingneſs to co-operate with him in a general bill for the excluſion of the clergy, if it ſhould afford him a proſpect of the increaſe of moral and religious wiſdom; but he was inimical to the practice of puniſhing an individual by an *ex poſt facto* law. Though Mr. Tooke maintained that nothing but poſitive aſſertion, unſupported by eccleſiaſtical law, church hiſtory, or parliamentary precedent, had proceeded from its advocates, it paſſed through both houſes. He was ſupported by Mr. Erſkine, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Grey; and oppoſed by ſir William Scott, and the attorney and ſolicitor-general. The motion was then carried by a majority of forty-one*.

In conſequence of which, a bill was introduced, declaring the clergy ineligible to the houſe of commons; but not any debate of importance took place, till the ſecond reading in the houſe of lords, on the fifteenth of June, when lord Thurlow cited various legal authorities decidedly againſt the bill; and he was followed, in ſimilar arguments, by the lords Moira, Carliſle, and Holland. The bill was ſtrenuouſly ſupported by the lord chancellor, the biſhop of Rocheſter, and other noble lords; and being read a ſecond time, was afterwards paſſed into a law. But it may not be improper to obſerve, that, by a ſpecific clauſe, it was prevented from expelling Mr. Tooke from the exiſting parliament.

The ſuſpenſion of the habeas corpus act was moved and carried in both houſes, according to annual cuſtom, for ſeveral years; as was the bill for the continuance of martial law in Ireland. This meaſure was followed by the introduction of a bill of indemnity in favour of the late adminiſtration, which, after ſome debate, paſſed both houſes.

On the ſecond of July, the ſeſſion was cloſed by commiſſion, his majeſty being then abſent at Weymouth. The lord chancellor addreſſed the two houſes in an appropriate ſpeech. He expatiated with ſome exultation, on the late victories; and added, that they derived peculiar value in his majeſty's eſtimation, from their tendency to facilitate the reſtoration of peace. This inſpired a public confidence that peace would be a deſirable object of the new adminiſtration, in which the people of this country were not diſappointed; that object was obtained, though, unfortunately, it was of ſhort duration. Let us now advert to the affairs of the continent.

Notwithſtanding the chancellor's addreſs to the imperial parliament, peace with France, at this time, appeared more impracticable than at any former period of the war. The diſguſt excited by the rejection of Bonaparte's overture, on his aſſuming the government of France, was heightened by the breach of a treaty concluded by ſir Sidney Smith, and by an order iſſued for ſeizing the fiſhing boats off the French coaſts: beſides, France was now powerfully ſtrengthened by the alliance of Ruſſia; and a formidable confederacy of the maritime powers of the north, threatened the annihilation of the naval empire of Great Britain.

To prevent the active co-operation of Denmark in the deſigns of Ruſſia, a conſiderable armament was fitted out in the Britiſh ports, under the command of ſir Hyde Parker and lord Nelſon. When this fleet approached Copenhagen, about the middle of March, the Danes appeared to have made very formidable diſpoſitions.

The defenſive arrangements of the Danes were

and Mr. Paterſon, (though an older lieutenant than lord Camelford) had lately ſerved on board that ſhip under his command; but, having been removed to the Perdrix, and lord Camelford not having a commiſſion as maſter and commander, Mr. Paterſon being then at Engliſh Harbour, ſuppoſed himſelf to be the commanding officer, and under that idea, iſſued ſome orders to lord Camelford, which were anſwered by other orders from lord Camelford to Mr. Paterſon. Upon Mr. Paterſon's refuſal to obey theſe orders, a lieutenant and a party of marines were ſent to put him under arreſt, when Mr. Paterſon prepared for reſiſtance, and ordered the crew of the Perdrix to arm in his defence. But before any conflict took place, lord Camelford arrived, went up to Mr. Paterſon, demanded if he would obey his orders or not; and, upon being anſwered in the negative, he *immediately ſhot him dead* upon the ſpot. A court martial was at ſome time afterwards held on board the Invincible, in Fort Royal Bay, Martinique, when the court, being duly ſworn, proceeded to try lord Camelford; and they were unanimouſly of opinion, that, "the very extraordinary and manifeſt diſobedience of lieutenant Paterſon, both before and at the inſtant of his death, to the orders of lord Camelford, the ſenior officer at Engliſh Harbour, at that time, and the violent meaſures taken by lieutenant Paterſon to reſiſt the ſame, by arming the Perdrix's ſhip's company, were acts of mutiny highly injurious to the diſcipline of his majeſty's ſervice. The court do therefore unanimouſly adjudge, that the right honourable lord Camelford be honourably acquitted."

* The caſe of the famous Dr. Walker was well known, who bravely defended Londonderry, during its ſiege by James the Second. King William was anxious to reward him with a biſhopric: the biſhops interfered, and gave it as their opinion, that notwithſtanding he had performed great ſervices, his hands had been embrued in blood, he could not therefore be made a biſhop. King William remunerated him another way, and gave him a regiment; and the doctor, then created colonel Walker, was afterwards killed, fighting gallantly by his ſide.

well

well calculated to inſpire terror. The approaches to Copenhagen were ſkilfully and judiciouſly fortified; batteries of cannon and mortars were erected on the ſhore wherever they could be rendered efficacious. Amatz, and the Crown Iſlands, were ſtrengthened and improved by a variety of works: a chain, and a fort built on piles, protected the mouth of the harbour; and a line of ſhipping was an additional buttreſs to its ſupport.

The admiral having ordered an attack from the ſouthward, lord Nelſon advanced with twelve ſhips of the line, and four frigates, attended by ſome ſloops, fire-ſhips, and bomb-veſſels; but two of the large ſhips ran aground, from the extreme intricacy of the navigation, and another was obliged to caſt anchor at a conſiderable diſtance from her intended ſtation. Captain Murray, in the Edgar, gallantly led the van. The Monarch ſuſtained the moſt deſtructive fire, Moſſe, the commander, being killed, and about fifty of his men. Captain Riou was alſo killed; the battle raging for three hours, with great ſlaughter on both ſides. Of the Engliſh, upwards of two hundred and fifty were killed, and of the Danes, about five hundred. The wounded on each ſide were more numerous. Some of our ſhips were much damaged; and ſeventeen Daniſh veſſels, including floating batteries, were ſunk, captured, or deſtroyed.

After the termination of the conteſt, lord Nelſon threatened to burn the floating batteries, without ſparing even the priſoners on board, if the enemy did not inſtantly ceaſe firing. This menace produced a ceſſation of hoſtilities, and an armiſtice was ſoon after concluded with the Daniſh court.

About the middle of April, the Britiſh fleet appeared off the entrance of Carlſcrona, a port in Sweden; and the admiral informed the governor, that the court of Denmark, having concluded an armiſtice, by which the unfortunate diſpute with the court of St. James's had been accommodated, he was directed to require an explicit anſwer from his Swediſh majeſty, relative to his intention of adhering or abandoning the hoſtile meaſures he had taken in conjunction with Ruſſia. An official anſwer to this demand was communicated from the king of Sweden to ſir Hyde Parker, intimating, that his Swediſh majeſty would not fail to perform the engagements entered into with his allies; but that he would not refuſe to hearken to equitable propoſals, made by deputies properly authoriſed to regulate the matters in diſpute.

The termination of this conteſt is not to be attributed either to the battle of Copenhagen, or to the victorious progreſs of the Britiſh fleet; but to an event which had juſt before taken place, which produced an almoſt inſtantaneous revolution in the politics of the north—the death of the emperor Paul, who had acted ſo verſatile a part on the political ſtage, from the period when he aſcended the Ruſſian throne. Reſpecting the cauſe and manner of his death, a cautious ſilence was maintained in Ruſſia *. Of his character, but little is to be ſaid. He was a ſtrange compound of inconſiſtencies: from the conſideration of the moſt important enterprizes, he would deſcend to the moſt trivial narratives. He was capricious in the extreme, and equally credulous and ſuſpicious. His conduct was marked by an eccentricity, which not unjuſtly induced a ſuſpicion of mental derangement. His benignity to Koſciuſko, and the Poliſh inſurgents, formed an extraordinary contraſt to his embarking in the coalition againſt France, which was ſucceeded by another wonderful change, in his deſertion of the coaleſced powers, his alliance with Bonaparte, and his quarrel with England. The ſame eccentricity which ſignalized his character in his foreign tranſactions, diſtinguiſhed his domeſtic policy, and many of his acts can only be characterized as the capricious outrages of a tyrant. His mortal career was too ſoon terminated to admit of a clear developement of his character; but it may confidently be predicted that he would not have lived either to his own honour, or the benefit of his own country. His want of ſteadineſs and principle deprived him of reſpect; and his arbitrary proceedings excited general diſguſt and odium. His death was unlamented, and his ſon Alexander aſcended the throne, amidſt the unbounded acclamations of his people.

The conduct of Alexander, his eldeſt ſon, who ſucceeded him, was, on his acceſſion to power, characterized at leaſt by an apparent moderation, which formed a contraſt to the haſty violence of his predeceſſor. The new emperor diſclaimed the politics of his father. Soon after a ceſſation of arms, and the general outline of a pacific accommodation, were agreed on between the Ruſſian court and ſir Hyde Parker; and lord St. Helens was diſpatched from our court, with ample powers to terminate the diſpute. In the mean time, the embargo on the Britiſh ſhips detained in the ports of Ruſſia was removed; and this honourable conduct was anſwered by a correſpondent liberality on the part of Great Britain. Under theſe favourable auſpices the negociation commenced, and, it was natural to conclude that each party would be diſpoſed to concede a little, and ſuch indeed was the reſult. One ſtipulation in the treaty deſerves particular commendation, that of the confining the right of ſearch to the ſhips employed entirely in the ſervice of government. Thus, by the diſſolution of this confederacy, one of the

* Authentic accounts inform us, that he was ſtrangled in his own palace, on the twenty-fourth of March, by order of count Zouboff.

great obſtacles to a peace between Great Britain and the French government was happily removed.

The vigilance of miniſters having, about this time, obtained certain information of the renewal of ſeditious practices, which had been checked by coercive laws, the *Habeas Corpus* act was again ſuſpended, and a bill re-enacted to prevent treaſonable and ſeditious meetings. Martial law was alſo continued in Ireland, by ſtatute, as the union had not perfectly tranquillized that country.

In conſequence of the breach of the treaty between general Kleber and ſir Sidney Smith, a conſiderable force had been diſpatched from Great Britain, under admiral lord Keith and general Abercromby, which, after unexpected delays, arrived off Alexandria on the firſt of March. On the following day, the fleet made ſail for the bay of Aboukir, and anchored there. Till the ſeventh, the ſea ran ſo high, that the diſembarkation could not be effected; but on that day the firſt diviſion accompliſhed their landing, in the face of a body of French, who were evidently aware of their intention, and were poſted in force, with conſiderable advantages of poſition. The front of the diſembarkation was narrow, and a hill, which commanded the whole, appeared almoſt inacceſſible; yet the Britiſh troops aſcended it, under the fire of grape-ſhot, with the utmoſt intrepidity, and forced the French to retire, leaving behind them ſeveral pieces of artillery, and a number of horſes, though upwards of ſeven hundred of our men, ſailors included, were killed or wounded in this adventurous ſervice. The troops which landed on the eighth of March, advanced three miles the ſame day; and on the twelfth, the whole army moved forward, and came within ſight of the French, who were formed advantageouſly on a ridge, with their left to the canal of Alexandria, and their right towards the ſea.

A reſolution having been formed to commence the attack on the thirteenth, the Britiſh army marched in two lines by the left, with an intention of turning the right flank of the enemy. The attack was in ſome meaſure anticipated by the French, who deſcended from the heights on which they were formed, and attacked the leading brigades of both lines. The Britiſh troops were therefore obliged to change their poſition, and the reſt of the army immediately followed their example. The Britiſh advanced guard ſuffered conſiderably, but after a ſevere conflict, victory declared in favour of the Britiſh troops. The loſs of the French muſt of courſe have been alſo conſiderable. Sir Ralph Abercombie took with him from England, upwards of fifteen thouſand infantry and cavalry, and with the ſeamen, who from the official returns appear to have been engaged, the troops in the whole, muſt have amounted to that number. One hundred and fifty of the Engliſh and their aſſociates were killed, and about one thouſand one hundred wounded.

The Britiſh army purſued their ſucceſſes with vigour; and on the twenty-firſt of March, a more memorable conflict occurred, with a ſimilar event, at the diſtance of about four miles from Alexandria. It commenced before day-light in the morning, by a falſe attack on the left of the Engliſh, under major-general Craddock, in which the French were repulſed. But the moſt vigorous efforts of the enemy were directed to the right of the Engliſh army, which they endeavoured to turn. The attack, on that point, was gallantly begun by the French infantry, ſuſtained by a ſtrong body of cavalry, who charged in columns. The conteſt was remarkably obſtinate. The French were twice repulſed, and their cavalry were repeatedly mixed with the Britiſh infantry; but at length gave way. While this was paſſing on the right, the French attempted to penetrate the centre of the Britiſh army, with a column of infantry, who were alſo repulſed, and obliged to retreat. A corps of light troops, however, advanced, ſupported by infantry and cavalry, to check the left of the Engliſh, which was the weakeſt of the whole line; but all their efforts were ineffectual, and the Britiſh forces remained maſter of the field. The loſs on our ſide, in killed, wounded, and miſſing, amounted to upwards of fifteen hundred; that of the French was eſtimated at three thouſand.

Sir Ralph Abercrombie, who was never known to ſhrink, was vigorouſly engaged in the heat of action on the right, when he received a mortal wound in the thigh, though he continued in the field till the battle ceaſed to rage. His military fame ſtands deſervedly high, and his character as a man extremely amiable.

We cannot therefore avoid remarking, that the ſevereſt loſs the Britiſh nation experienced on that day, muſt be that of their gallant and accompliſhed commander. In the expedition to Holland, he ſo eminently diſplayed his great military talents, as even to be diſtinguiſhed by the reluctant praiſes of the hoſtile generals. The battle near Alexandria was obtained principally by the excellent diſpoſitions he planned, previous to the action. Of his ability as a military commander, were there no other inſtance, this expedition, which proved fatal to his life, but which eſtabliſhed his reputation, would be a ſufficient evidence. The independence of his character was evinced by his conduct in Ireland. His modeſty was equal to his talents, and while he was regarded as a ſtrict diſciplinarian, he had the ſingular felicity of ſtill conciliating the eſteem of his ſoldiers. In this action, major-general Moore, and ſir Sidney Smith, were alſo wounded. The French general Reille was left dead on the field, and generals Lanuſſe and Roget afterwards died of their wounds.

Theſe actions were deciſive of the fate of Egypt. After the death of ſir Ralph Abercrombie, general Hutchinſon

Hutchinſon aſſumed the chief command of the Britiſh forces, and proceeded towards Alexandria, where the principal force of the enemy was yet concentrated.

In the mean time, the town and caſtle of Roſetta was taken by a diviſion of the Britiſh army, under colonel Spencer, aided by a body of Turks. The French garriſon, conſiſting of about eight hundred men, made but a feeble reſiſtance, and retired to the right bank of the Nile, leaving a few men killed and taken priſoners.

During theſe tranſactions in the vicinity of Alexandria, admiral Blanket, with a conſiderable force from the Eaſt Indies, landed at Suez. The admiral was ſeparated from the reſt of his ſquadron in the dangerous and difficult paſſage of the Red Sea; but, before the concluſion of April, was joined by large reinforcements, commanded by general Baird, colonels Wellesley, Murray, and others.

As Cairo was a capital object with the allies, a force was detached for its reduction. On the ninth of May, general Hutchinſon, with four thouſand Britiſh, and an equal number of Turks, attacked the French near Rahmanieh, which, on the following day, ſurrendered to the victors. The French were driven in, and in the night retreated towards Cairo, leaving a ſmall garriſon at Rahmanieh, which, on the following day, ſurrendered to the victors. About the ſame time, a body of French and Copts, who had moved forward from Cairo to attack the Turks, were defeated by the grand vizier, aſſiſted by colonel Murray, and other Britiſh officers.

It was about the middle of June, before the Britiſh army, under general Hutchinſon, reached the vicinity of Cairo. He found the works very much extended, though the garriſon did not conſiſt of more than four or five thouſand men. The captain pacha, at the ſame time, inveſted Gizeh, a kind of ſuburb on the left canal of the Nile, and the grand vizier took a poſition within cannon-ſhot of the city. Thus inveſted on every ſide, Beillard, the French commandant, ſent a flag of truce to the Engliſh general, offering to treat for the evacution of Cairo, upon certain conditions. The terms adjuſted were not diſhonourable to the enemy. It was agreed that all the French forces ſhould evacuate the city of Cairo, the citadel, the town and forts of Boulas, and all the other parts of Egypt, except Alexandria; that they ſhould proceed by land to Roſetta, with their arms, baggage, artillery, and ammunition, and ſhould afterwards be conveyed, at the expence of the allied powers, to ſome of the ſouthern ports of France; that every perſon attached to the French army ſhould have the ſame indulgencies as the ſoldiery; and that, immediately after the ratification, the priſoners on both ſides ſhall be releaſed.

The reduction of Alexandria was yet to be accompliſhed. With the aſſiſtance of lord Keith, general Hutchinſon directed the ſiege. Some heights in front of the entrenched poſition of the enemy were fortified: the fort of Marabout was ſucceſsfully attacked both by ſea and land; and major-general Coote defeated a ſtrong corps on the weſtern ſide of the town. "The managements of that excellent "officer," ſays general Hutchinſon, in his official diſpatch, "appear to have been able and judicious, "and were attended with the moſt complete ſuc"ceſs; he drove the enemy every where, though "ſtrongly poſted, and in a country which oppoſed "uncommon obſtacles to the progreſs of troops: "The French ſuffered extremely in the action, and "retreated in much confuſion, leaving their wound"ed, and ſeven pieces of cannon behind them." Other acts of vigorous hoſtility ſubdued the firmneſs of Menou, who yielded the place upon honourable conditions.

When near the completion of the negotiation between the hoſtile governments, the menace of an invaſion from France induced the Britiſh nation to adopt judicious ſchemes of defence; and lord Nelſon was directed to ſail towards the French coaſt to impede or deſtroy the preparations of the enemy. Arriving off Boulogne, he attempted to demoliſh the armed veſſels in that port, a few of which were ſunk or diſabled; but a more ſerious attack was meditated, when he had reinforced his armament. The boats deſtined for boarding the flotilla were diſpatched in the night, in four diviſions, and reſpectively conducted by the captains Somerville, Parker, Cotgrave, and Jones: other boats, containing howitzers, were detached under captain Conn, to aſſiſt in the hazardous enterprize. Parker's diviſion firſt approached the enemy*, and began the attack with undaunted bravery; but an unforeſeen and unexpected obſtacle baffled his ſtrenuous exertions: a very ſtrong netting was traced up to the lower yards of the French veſſels, which were firmly faſtened with chains to each other, as well as to the ground. So irreſiſtible was the foe, thus guarded, that two thirds of the crew of the boat in which he acted, were repelled in attempting to board a large brig, by a tremendous diſcharge of cannon and muſquetry. Many of the aſſailants were killed, and many more wounded and mutilated. A ſhot carried away the leg and part of the thigh of the gallant captain. Somerville ſilenced the fire of a brig near the pier head; but, inſtead of bringing her off, he found it a difficult taſk to ſecure the retreat of his own boats. Cotgrave, after great exertion, was deprived of the ſervices of many of his men, by the fire from the ſhore and the flotilla. Jones was ſo obſtructed by the tide, that he could not approach till break of day, when the other captains were returning: he therefore did not attempt any hoſtile acts. The failure of ſucceſs in this enterprize was much lamented, while the zeal and courage diſplayed in it were much admired. Lord Nelſon informs us, that one hundred and ſeventy-

* A. D. 1801.

venty-two of our men were either killed or wounded. Captain Parker died of his wounds after the return of the fleet to the Downs *.

The negotiations with France which commenced early in the ſummer, were conducted with equal ability and moderation. The diſſolution of the northern confederacy, and the ſucceſſes in Egypt, had removed the greateſt obſtacles, and adminiſtration embraced the favourable opportunity which theſe circumſtances preſented. The iſland of Malta was to be evacuated by the Britiſh troops, and reſtored to the order of St. John of Jeruſalem. Egypt was to be reſtored to the Ottoman Porte. The territory of Portugal was to be maintained in its integrity, and the French were to evacuate the territories of Rome and Naples. The republic of the Seven Iſlands was to be recognized by France. The fiſhery at Newfoundland was to be eſtabliſhed on its former baſis; and, finally, the Engliſh and French plenipotentiaries were to be named by the contracting parties, to repair to Amiens, to proceed with the formation of a definitive treaty, in concert with the allies of the contracting parties.

When theſe particulars were announced in England, emotions of joy were excited in the nation from a different cauſe. A negotiation had long taken place between M. Otto and lord Hawkeſbury, and, when it was generally underſtood that ſome important diſputes were yet unſettled, which would probably preclude an accommodation without an additional year of hoſtile exertion, preliminary articles were actually ſigned.

By theſe preliminaries, which were executed in London †, by lord Hawkeſbury, on the part of his Britannic majeſty, and by M. Otto, on the part of the French republic, it was ſtipulated that the king of Great Britain ſhould reſtore all the poſſeſſions occupied or conquered by his forces during the war, except the iſland of Trinidad, and the Dutch poſſeſſions in Ceylon: that, in the port of the Cape of Good Hope, each of the contracting parties ſhould enjoy the ſame advantages: that the territories of the Ottoman emperor, including Egypt, ſhould remain entire, as they were before the commencement of the war: that the republic of the Seven United iſlands ſhould be recognized by the republic of France: that the French troops ſhould evacuate the territories of Rome and Naples: that Malta ſhould be evacuated by the Britiſh troops, and be again poſſeſſed by the knights of Saint John of Jeruſalem: and that the queen of Portugal ſhould not loſe any part of her dominions.

When his majeſty communicated the particulars of theſe preliminaries to the parliament, he ſuppoſed they would manifeſt the juſtice and moderation of his views, and be conducive to the ſubſtantial intereſts of this country: but they were far from being generally approved; though the addreſs for the ſpeech was not oppoſed in either houſe.

Mr. Windham cenſured the terms of the peace. Mr. Sheridan qualified his diſapprobation with the following remark.—"It is a peace, of which every man is glad, but of which no man is proud." Earl Spencer ſaid they were inadequate to our juſt expectations; and lord Temple averred, that a continuation of the war would have been leſs dangerous than ſuch a peace. But, notwithſtanding theſe and a variety of other cenſures, an approving addreſs was voted by a majority of one hundred and four peers.

In the lower houſe, Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox voted for it; the latter declaring, "that we could not "have inſiſted on better terms without great riſk of "a rupture of the negotiation." The approvers, however, were more numerous than the cenſurers; for the houſe, without a diviſion, agreed to addreſs the king in favour of the preliminaries.

A mutiny aroſe, about this time, in Bantry Bay, the crew of the Temeraire having proteſted againſt ſerving in the Weſt Indies; but the vigilance of the officers prevented its extending to a very alarming height: twenty of the offenders were tried by a court-martial at Portſmouth, and eleven ſuffered capital puniſhment ‡.

Impartial juſtice was alſo evinced in the conviction of lieutenant-colonel Wall, who, when governor of Goree, had occaſioned the death of a ſerjeant, by unwarrantable cruelty. Juſtice was tardy, on this occaſion, for upwards of nineteen years intervened between the ſurrender and the trial.

Before the definitive treaty was perfectly adjuſted, a great force was thought neceſſary for the national defence, as, from a tedious and unneceſſary delay, the pacific inclinations of the firſt conſul of France

* The following is a copy of the inſcription intended for the monument of captain Parker, erected at Deal, by rear-admiral Thornborough:

The remains of Captain Edward Thornborough Parker, of the Royal Navy, are here interred.

He was ſelected by lord viſcount Nelſon, and received the command of a diviſion of the fleet, for the purpoſe of attempting to cut out or deſtroy the French ſhips in Boulogne harbour. In the gallant execution of this arduous enterprize, in the night of the fifteenth of Auguſt, 1801, he was wounded by a muſket-ſhot, which, on the twenty-ſeventh of September following, terminated a career of glory, moſt auſpiciouſly begun, in the twenty-ſecond year of his age.

Eheu! quam multis flebilis occidit!

This ſtone records a gallant hero's name,
Whoſe youthful boſom glow'd with virtue's flame:
A nation heard with tears his mournful doom;
The flow'r of valour wither'd in its bloom.

† A. D. 1802. ‡ Ibid.

began

began to be doubted. At length, however, the treaty was ſigned at Amiens by the marquis Cornwallis and Joſeph Bonaparte, which differed from the preliminaries in the following points. A part of Portugueſe Guiana was yielded to the French by a new regulation of the boundaries. Reſpecting Malta, it provided that no French or Engliſh tongue, or claſs of knights ſhould be allowed; that half the ſoldiers in the garriſon ſhould be natives, and the reſt ſhould be ſupplied for a time by the king of Naples; that the independence of the iſland under the ſway of the knights, ſhould be guaranteed by France, Great Britain, Auſtria, Spain, Ruſſia, and Pruſſia; and its ports ſhould be free to all nations. It was alſo agreed that the prince of Orange ſhould be compenſated for his loſs of property and power; and that perſons who ſhall in future be accuſed of murder, forgery, or fraudulent bankruptcy, ſhould be ſurrendered to the demands of each party.

The plenipotentiaries named by the ſaid parties were the following. On the part of the French republic, Joſeph Bonaparte: on the part of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the marquis Cornwallis: on that of the king of Spain, don Azara: and, on the part of the Batavian republic, the baron Schimmelpennick. After a conference held ſtatedly at Amiens, from the month of October, 1801, to the month of March, 1802, during which the public mind was greatly agitated; the treaty, conformably to the preliminaries, was ſigned by the reſpective plenipotentiaries, on the twenty-ſeventh of March; and thus terminated, for a ſhort ſpace, a war which had been attended with an unparalleled profuſion of blood and treaſure.

A diſpatch arrived from port Antonio, ſent by lieutenant Johnſtone, of the Lark, relating a brilliant little exploit performed by the two boats of that veſſel. After chaſing a Spaniſh privateer the whole afternoon, cloſe in with the Cuba ſhore, till dark, ſhe took ſhelter within the portillo receſs. Lieutenant Johnſtone then ſent lieutenant Paſley and Mr. M'Cloud, midſhipman, with the yawl and cutter, and ſixteen men in each. About half paſt ten, Mr. Paſley found her at anchor in the place he expected: ſhe was waiting the attack in readineſs, which ſhe commenced by a diſcharge from one nine and two four pounders, which ſeverely wounded ſeveral in each boat. They boarded her, however, and, after a ſevere conteſt, they carried her. She proved to be the Eſperance, from St. Jago, commanded by Joſeph Collit, and had on board, when the action commenced, forty-five men, twenty-one of whom were killed, and ſix wounded. The captain and all the officers, were among the former.

On the third of March, a great national loſs was ſuſtained in the death of the duke of Bedford, in the thirty-ſeventh year of his age. His grace was in ſuch perfect health on the Friday morning preceding his diſſolution, as to have played at tennis during the early part of it. The duke continued ſenſible to the laſt moment, and ſubmitted to an operation which was recommended by Dr. Hallifax, and ſir James Earle, though only temporary relief could be expected from it. His grace, however, requeſted to be indulged with two hours for ſome neceſſary arrangements of his papers. The operation was then performed, and he died, as above ſtated, after an illneſs of four days, to the great regret of his family and friends, and of many hundreds who were fed by his bounty and encouragement. His favourite purſuit was agriculture, and the encouragement of thoſe uſeful arts that may be juſtly called the baſement pillars of every well-regulated ſtate: his princely fortune enabled him to carry theſe purſuits to an extent, that gradually evinced the incalculable powers of art, when called forth in aid of nature.

The duke of Bedford's will was ſhort, of which the following is a copy. "I, Francis, duke of Bed-
" ford, do give unto my brother John Ruſſell, all
" my perſonal property. Dated this twenty-ſeventh
" of February, 1802. BEDFORD."

It is remarkable, that there has been no regular ſucceſſion in the illuſtrious family of Bedford. The earls and dukes have all been brothers, couſins, or grandſons, of their immediate predeceſſors.

Mr. Fox, in moving for a new writ for Taviſtock, in the room of lord John Ruſſell, now duke of Bedford, pronounced the following *eloge* on the departed duke. In making this motion, he ſaid, he felt impreſſed by feelings to which he could ſcarce give utterance, when he conſidered the character, the high merits, and the general eſteem in which the duke of Bedford was held. He was ſure that the houſe would permit him to ſay, that a more dignified, exalted, and univerſally reſpected nobleman, never exiſted. He was a man of the moſt ſound mind, profound judgment, and general knowledge, of which this country at any time could boaſt. The whole tenor of his life had been to benefit his fellow creatures.

Frequent accidents happen on the Kentiſh coaſt; but a very deplorable one occurred in the early part of March. The hoy named Margate, of Margate, John Goodborn, captain, very deeply laden with corn for the London market, having a crew of four men, with twenty-eight paſſengers, ſailed from the harbour in moderate weather, at three on Saturday afternoon, and came to an anchor in the roads, till near nine in the evening, when they again got under ſail, and ſoon after the weather began to be very tempeſtuous; but they continued working againſt the wind, and notwithſtanding the utmoſt exertions of the crew, the veſſel ſtriking the ground, the rudder was off, and ſhe became totally unmanageable. At length the ſcene became truly horrible, as a dreadful ſea was breaking over the hoy every moment, and

the women and children were loud and vehement in their lamentations. Five of the paſſengers, and four of the crew, ſought ſhelter in the ſhrouds, where they continued till the water was ſo lowered, that they could get on ſhore about five in the morning. The ſcene which the morning preſented to numerous ſpectators from Margate and the neighbouring villages, cannot poſſibly be deſcribed; as within the length of a mile and a half, ſixteen men and women lay dead on the ſhore; and very ſoon after ſeven other paſſengers were taken in the ſame ſtate from the cabin, making in the whole twenty-three perſons.

A miſs Cherrill, had, about this time, been falſely and ſlanderouſly accuſed, by a Mr. Cherrill, her relation, of being pregnant by Mr. Adams. The young lady commenced an action againſt him in the court of King's Bench, to recover a compenſation in damages for a ſpecific injury in ſuch an imputation on her character. Several witneſſes proving that ſuch defamatory words were ſpoken of the plaintiff; the learned judge informed the jury, that however ſhameful, cowardly, and deteſtable the conduct of the defendant was, in publiſhing ſuch malicious and unfounded ſlanders, ſtill the plaintiff was by law bound to eſtabliſh a ſpecific damage, in order to be entitled to a verdict. He then ſubmitted to the jury whether thoſe reports were not the cauſe by which ſhe loſt her ſervice. Verdict for the defendant. Damages forty pounds.

On the twenty-ninth of March, at nine in the morning, arrived Mr. Moore, aſſiſtant ſecretary to marquis Cornwallis, with the definitive treaty of peace; which was ſigned at Amiens, at four in the afternoon of the twenty-ſeventh inſtant, by the plenipotentiary of his majeſty, and by the plenipotentiaries of France, Spain, and the Batavian republic. And on the twenty-firſt of April, the honourable Henry Pierrepoint, diſpatched by Andrew Merry, eſquire, his majeſty's miniſter plenipotentiary to the French republic, arrived with the ratification by the firſt conſul of the French republic, of the definitive treaty, ſigned the twenty-ſeventh of March; which was exchanged with Mr. Merry, againſt that of his majeſty, on the eighteenth of April, at Paris, by the plenipotentiary of the French republic.

Among the innumerable inſtances of deception, that of pretending to foretel future events is now very much practiſed. A hand-bill of one of thoſe pretended fortune-tellers was lately ſent to a magiſtrate for Middleſex; the top of which was thus decorated with large letters. "Mrs. D. mantua-maker and aſtrologer." It then ſtated, that ſhe bought and ſold all ſorts of ladies' wearing apparel, and anſwered all lawful queſtions gratis, in every thing the ladies deſired to know, and aſſured thoſe who favour her with their commands, that ſhe would give ſatisfaction. It was requeſted, that thoſe who favoured her with calling, would only inquire for the mantua-maker. The magiſtrate ſent the bill to the public-office, Bow Street, when the juſtices of that office employed a woman to go as directed by the bill, to No. 8, Gilbert Street, Bloomſbury, under pretence of having her fortune told. When ſhe got an interview of the learned lady, ſhe told her ſhe was married, that her huſband was abroad, that ſhe had not heard from him for ſuch a length of time, ſhe was afraid he was dead. She wiſhed to know what was become of him, as ſhe was greatly concerned reſpecting his fate. The learned lady then pretended to make ſome calculations, and informed her that her huſband was alive and well, and would return to England in a few months; but he would die in a ſhort time after his return; that ſhe would have another offer in marriage, which ſhe adviſed her to accept, as ſhe might depend ſhe would have no more children. The woman then informed her that ſhe was engaged in a law ſuit, and was aſſured by the learned lady, that it would be decided in her favour. For all this important information, the woman paid two ſhillings. On this an information was grounded, and Sayers and Townſend went with a warrant and took her into cuſtody. They found in the room two young ladies, genteely dreſſed, who were alſo taken into cuſtody; and, on an inveſtigation before the magiſtrate, they were found to be the daughters of a very reſpectable gentleman reſident a few miles from London. They confeſſed that they came to London for the expreſs purpoſe of conſulting Mrs. D. One of them, twenty-two years of age, was lately married, and was anxious to know whether her huſband was true to her. The other, about ſeventeen, wiſhed to know if ſhe ſhould have a huſband, and if it would be ſoon? The magiſtrate, after giving them a ſuitable admonition for their folly and credulity, adviſed one to go home to her huſband, and the other to attend to the advice of her parents, inſtead of liſtening to the deceiving folly of Mrs. D. The aſtrologer was committed to the houſe of correction as a rogue and vagabond.

The following intereſting trial holds forth a tale of depravity and ſeduction, which may induce the too credulous fair to guard againſt the baſe ſeducer. In the ſheriffs' court, an action was brought as a writ of inquiry, to recover damages which the plaintiff claimed for the ſeduction of her daughter by the defendant. The plaintiff, Mrs. Theodoſia Barriff, was the widow of an officer, who had eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf, and the daughter of an American loyaliſt. At the concluſion of the American war, they came over to this country, and reſided in the neighbourhood of Blackheath, where they lived ſeveral years, in a genteel ſtyle, on an annuity of four hundred pounds, on their joint lives. Mr. Barriff dying, left his wife, and a daughter, then eleven years of age. This young lady was beautiful, highly

highly accomplished, and well educated. About four years afterwards, she accompanied her mother to Ascot Heath races, and the defendant, Mr. Hollamby, was introduced to them at the house of an acquaintance, where they resided during their excursion. The defendant paid very particular attention to Miss Barriff, and expressed an earnest wish to be united to her in marriage. He afterwards visited her at her mother's house, and made formal proposals to her; to which the mother, finding his connections respectable, and his prospects flattering, readily gave her consent. The courtship continued till the next summer, when the day for the celebration of the nuptials was fixed upon. Preliminaries being thus settled, no suspicions of a dishonourable intention were entertained, and it was thought unnecessary to impose any restraint upon the parties. In July following, Mr. Hollamby invited Miss Barriff and her mother to accompany him with a party to Vauxhall. Mrs. Barriff, being indisposed, declined going, but her daughter went. The remainder of the case was stated by Miss Barriff herself, who twice fainted while she related her story. She accompanied the defendant to Vauxhall, where they met his party, none of whom she knew. About eleven o'clock they supped in a box. Mr. Hollamby pressed her much to drink wine. Several of the company, consisting of ladies and gentlemen, became elevated, and drank her health as Mrs. Hollamby: her spirits were raised, and she was persuaded to drink a glass of Champaigne. Soon after, she found herself indisposed, and, wishing to retire, the defendant handed her into a carriage, and ordered the coachman to drive to Blackheath. She grew worse, and became totally insensible. When she recovered, she perceived herself in a bed-chamber, with the defendant near her. She was conscious of her situation, and the outrage she had sustained. She swooned, and was a long time before she recovered. The defendant endeavoured to appease her, assuring her that the marriage should take place on the day appointed. She consented to remain there till the morning, on condition that he quitted the room. He did so, and she threw herself on the bed in a state of distraction and despair. The next morning she returned to her mother, and related all the circumstances that had passed. Mr. Hollamby never afterwards approached her mother's house; but paid his addresses to a young lady of fortune in London. Mrs. Barriff waited on the father of this lady, and acquainted him with the dishonourable conduct of the defendant; in consequence of which, he forbade his visits to his daughter. The jury gave the plaintiff a verdict, with a thousand pounds damages.

A tribute of respect is due to the memory of Miss Wilkes, daughter of the celebrated John Wilkes, formerly chamberlain of the city of London. Between eleven and twelve o'clock at night, on the twelfth of March, 1802, she called up her servants, and in less than an hour, expired. She was pretty far advanced in years, and for a considerable time had been deprived of her voice; though she afterwards recovered it in some degree, but spoke in a harsh discordant manner. Her mind had been sedulously cultivated by her father, and she was generally reputed a sensible, well-bred, and accomplished woman. Filial affection was always a striking feature in her character, and she eminently displayed this virtue in a generous use of her *independent* fortune, in support of her father, during many severe embarrassments which his profuse style of living had brought upon him. It was generally understood that she possessed many of her father's manuscripts, with which she intended to gratify the public; among which were his private and political life, in two distinct works; as well as many poetical imitations of classic authors. Miss Wilkes moved in circles of elegance and fashion, in which her superior talents, knowledge of the world, and easy manners, rendered her very acceptable*.

On the twenty-second of April, his majesty issued a proclamation, declaring the conclusion of the war with

* The Paris papers, about this period, published copies of the letters which passed between the French generals Regnier, Destaign, and Menou, on the subject of Egypt, and which led to the unfortunate duel between Regnier and Destaign, which terminated in the death of Destaign. The points of this correspondence were briefly as follow: General Regnier having, in his observations on Egypt, lately published, accused Destaign of retiring from the field in consequence of a very slight wound, the latter sent him a challenge. The letter of the former, in answer to Destaign, contained this remarkable passage: "General Regnier ought to fight no man but general Menou, on the subject of the affairs of Egypt. As a general, he ought to refuse that honour to a contemptible fellow, but as a private individual, he will be at the gate Chaillot, of the *Bois de Boulogne*, at seven o'clock in the morning."

The result was, that they met, and Destaign was killed. Regnier then sent a very violent letter to Menou, in which he accuses him of mental derangement, in yielding to the artifices of an *intriguant*, and ensuring unmerited success to the English. In the course of this epistle, he says, "A simple narrative of events, and of your conduct, is enough to load you with infamy; and should your name be transmitted to posterity, it will be classed with those whose memory historians have preserved, in order to contrast their character with the talents and the virtues of the great men, who have sometimes betrayed the same indulgence which Bonaparte has been pleased to bestow on you."

After accusing Menou of ingratitude, he concludes with the following violent declamation:—"Should you continue to vegetate under the infamy to which public opinion must consign you, I will cease to notice the

remains

with the French republic, his Catholic majesty, and the Batavian republic; and, on the same day, another proclamation, appointing and commanding that a general thanksgiving to Almighty God for these his mercies, be observed, on Tuesday, the first of June.

Bonaparte having formed a resolution of re-establishing the Catholic religion in France, that ceremony was performed on the eighteenth at Paris, with a degree of splendour perhaps unprecedented even in that capital. The street from the Thuilleries to Notre Dame, was doubly lined with soldiers; a guard of gendarmerie and grenadier guards preceded the berlin of the chief consul, which was drawn by eight horses: those of the other two consuls, had each six horses; and forty carriages, containing the ambassadors, counsellors of state, and ministers, together with five carriages for the most distinguished generals, were each drawn by four horses. The procession occupied an hour and a half to the church, where the primary authorities, &c. were assembled. A box, decorated with gold and jewels, and raised about ten feet, received the consuls, whilst the Pope's legate and the two archbishops sat in another opposite to them. Bonaparte went through all the ceremonies of solemn mass, the soldiers presenting arms at those parts in which the people bow. A box was erected for the foreign ministers, and another for the family of the chief consul, whose mother, sitting to the right of madame Bonaparte, beheld her five sons assisting at the solemnity; which was closed by the *Te Deum* of Paesiello. Among the consecrations was the sword of Bonaparte, the hilt of which is mounted with the jewels formerly belonging to the crown, the famous Pitt diamond appearing on the top.

M. de Boisgelin, late archbishop of Aix, who preached before the first consul on the tenth, is the same prelate who, when Louis XIV. was crowned at Rheims, delivered a discourse analogous to the solemnity *!

On the twenty-ninth of April, the ceremony of proclaiming peace took place, with the accustomed solemnity. The populace began to assemble so early as six o'clock in the morning, in every situation that could command the most distant prospect of the cavalcade; and, as the town was never known to be so full, the crowd was immense. The tops of the houses were covered with spectators. The heralds were richly dressed, and their horses gaily caparisoned.

But, amidst the gaudy trappings and immoderate rejoicings of the living, on the return of peace, the unhallowed practices of those who violate the rites of sepulture, received a check. Joseph Naples was indicted for stealing dead bodies from the Spa Field burying-ground, of which the prisoner was the grave-digger; and also for stealing the caps, pillows, shrouds, nails, screws, and coffin-plates, together with the coffins wherein they had been buried. The prisoner's counsel, Mr. Const, endeavoured to palliate the offence, by expatiating on the necessity of the practice of dissection, as it was the principal source from which our professional men could acquire knowledge. The fact, however, being proved, the jury pronounced the defendant guilty; in consequence of which, he was sentenced to be imprisoned two years in the house of correction.

In the court of Common Pleas, the special verdict in the case of lord Nelson *v.* lord Saint Vincent was argued on the seventeenth of May. The cause of action was prize-money, proceeding from a capture made by a frigate of the Mediterranean squadron, after lord St. Vincent had quitted the fleet and sailed for England: the fleet was actually under the command of lord Nelson, when the capture was made. On the part of lord Nelson, it was contended, that the instant lord St. Vincent quitted the fleet, the admiral who commanded it was entitled to the admiral's share of prize-money. On the part to lord St. Vincent, it was replied, that there could be but one commander in chief of a squadron; and that till lord St. Vincent resigned the command, or was superseded, the responsibility of that situation, and the profits, belonged to him, and were not affected by his returning to England for his health.

Addresses of congratulation to the king on the definitive treaty of peace, were inserted, about this time, in the London Gazette, from the cities of Bath, Gloucester, Coventry, Hereford, Wells, Winchester; the counties of Northumberland, Surry, Norfolk, Somerset, Devon; the towns of Southampton, Beverley, Stirling, Ashburton, Dumfermline, Queens-ferry, Torrington, Banbury, Scarborough, Yarmouth, Callington, Birmingham, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Kingston-on-Thames, Pool, Liverpool, and

" remains of a life, sullied by so many acts of perfidy and baseness; but should you again, by your intrigues, succeed in puffing yourself into notice, be assured, you shall not be able to avoid me, even should you be dastard enough to solicit an order for our separation."

In consequence of this letter, more blood-shed was to be apprehended; to prevent which, Regnier was ordered to retire to the distance of thirty leagues from the capital

* A most horrible transaction took place at Rosetta, about this period. Several unfortunate girls, natives of the country, to the number of about thirty, who had been in keeping by English officers and others, were, at the moment of their being deserted by their lovers, deliberately murdered by the Turks, and then cast into the Nile. A similar act was perpetrated at Cairo, when the place was evacuated by the French; and it was supposed that many wretched females at Alexandria would share the same fate on the departure of the English troops.

the

the Proteſtant diſſenting miniſters of London and Weſtminſter.

The king was pleaſed to grant to the right honourable Horatio, viſcount and baron Nelſon of the Nile, and of Burnham Thorpe, in the county of Norfolk, knight of the Bath, and vice-admiral of the blue (alſo duke of Bronte in Sicily, and grand croſs of the order of St. Ferdinand, and of merit) his royal licence to receive and wear the inſignia of the order of the creſcent, which the grand ſignior has tranſmitted to him.

He alſo granted to major-general ſir Eyre Coote, knight of the bath, his royal licence to receive and wear the inſignia of the order of the creſcent, which the grand ſignior hath tranſmitted to him *.

Adultery continued to be the rage among the pampered and exalted ranks of ſociety. In the caſe of the reverend Mr. Markham *v.* Fawcet, judgment was ſuffered to go by default, and the damages had been laid at twenty thouſand pounds, againſt the defendant, for criminal converſation with the plaintiff's wife. Mr. Erſkine ſtated, that the plaintiff was the third ſon of the archbiſhop of York. In 1789, he married his preſent wife, Miſs Sutton, the daughter of ſir Richard Sutton, baronet. The plaintiff and defendant had been bred together, at Weſtminſter ſchool, and in college. After they had left college, and the plaintiff had retired, with his wife and family, to his living in Yorkſhire, the defendant unhappily came into the ſame neighbourhood to reſide. The plaintiff eſteemed him as a brother, and admitted him into his family as ſuch. No ſuſpicions were excited by any part of the behaviour of the defendant, Mr. Fawcet; and, dreadful it was to relate, that the criminal intercourſe exiſted five years antecedent to its diſcovery, and that at the period of the diſcovery, Mrs. Markham had become the mother of nine children. The plaintiff was thus not only deprived of his conjugal felicity, but was placed in a ſituation with regard to his children too horrible to deſcribe. The adultery having been admitted, there was no evidence to that point. The archbiſhop of York, the biſhop of Norwich, ſir William Foulis, and ſeveral other witneſſes, depoſed to the happy and affectionate manner, in which Mr. and Mrs. Markham lived together, before ſhe became the victim of the defendant's ſeducive arts. The under-ſheriff recapitulated the evidence, and the jury, after retiring about an hour, returned with a verdict for the plaintiff. Damages, ſeven thouſand pounds.

The navy and army eſtimates were moved on the ninth of June, in the houſe of commons. Seventy thouſand ſeamen and marines were voted for the remainder of the year: but Mr. Addington obſerved, "that this was far beyond the peace eſtabliſhment, which probably would not amount to more than thirty thouſand. It was thought unavoidably neceſſary to continue the preſent high number, in conſequence of ſo many ſhips of war being in diſtant ſtations abroad. The army eſtimates voted, however, ſeem to approach very near to the actual peace eſtabliſhment, and probably they will no further vary hereafter, than in certain regulations, which cannot now be made. The number of men voted, is of cavalry fourteen thouſand, comprehending thirty regiments; of infantry, nearly fifty thouſand, comprehending ſeventy regiments, beſides the guards, making a total of about ſeventy thouſand men, at an expence of two millions and a half annually. The duke of York to continue commander in chief, with three lieutenant and four major-generals under him; beſides one lieutenant-general for Scotland, and one for Ireland. This eſtabliſhment of the regulars of the army, is as low as any one expected; but it is not to be regarded as a final arrangement †."

To

* The Turkey company alſo manifeſted their gratitude to ſir Sidney Smith, by preſenting him with the freedom of the company, and a magnificent piece of plate, in the form of a vaſe, highly decorated; the top terminating with the figure of an alligator, and one ſide bearing the following inſcription:—"Preſented by the governor and "company of merchants of England, trading into the "Levant ſeas, to captain ſir William Sidney Smith, of "his majeſty's navy, knight of the royal Swediſh order "of the ſword, as an acknowledgment for the ſignal ſervices rendered to his country, by his unparalleled defence of the ancient and important town of St. Jean d'Acre, when, with a ſmall band of Britiſh ſeamen, co-operating with the efforts of the Turkiſh garriſon, he enabled that feeble and ill-conſtructed fortreſs to withſtand, for the ſpace of ſixty-nine days, the repeated and obſtinate attacks of an enemy, formidable from numbers and diſcipline, accuſtomed to unvarying ſucceſs, and led on by Bonaparte in perſon; thereby totally defeating the object of that general's expedi-

"tion, and finally forcing him to retreat with the loſs of "the third part of his army."

† Mr. King, deſervedly in high favour with the public, quitted the ſtage, on the twenty-fourth of May, 1802, after having preſerved the moſt unblemiſhed reputation, during a long life; and the approbation of his auditors, for a period of fifty-four years on the theatre. He gratefully took his leave of his patrons, in the following addreſs; in which, for the firſt time, he no longer acted his part, but gave the utmoſt latitude to his feelings, though he ſtruggled to conceal the violence of his agitation.

Whilſt in my heart theſe feelings yet ſurvive,
That keep reſpect and gratitude alive—
Feelings which, though all others ſhould decay,
Will be the laſt that time can bear away;
The fate that none can fly from I invite,
And deem my own dramatic death this night.
Patrons, farewell!
Though you ſtill kindly my defects would ſpare;

To the honour of the united kingdom, the houſe of commons reſolved themſelves into a committee of ſupply, to which the conſideration of Dr. Jenner's petition, relative to vaccine innoculation was preferred. Admiral Berkley roſe, and after adverting to all the particulars contained in the report, on the petition of Dr. Jenner, the diſcoverer of the cow-pox, ſtated, that Dr. Jenner had loſt an extenſive practice in this country, by his application in carrying into effect his diſcovery; and, when he had accompliſhed it, he voluntarily promulgated the ſecret for the benefit of the world. The expence of foreign correſpondence with this gentleman, coſt him from twenty-five to thirty ſhillings a-day, which to to man of fortune would be deemed conſiderable, but, to a man of none, it was a very ſerious conſideration. The number of patients loſt annually in the united kingdom by the ſmall-pox, was eſtimated at forty-five thouſand; and, taking the number throughout the habitable globe, a victim fell every *ſecond* of time to this deſtructive malady. He concluded by moving, "that it is the opinion of the committee, that a ſum not exceeding ten thouſand pounds, be granted to his majeſty, to be paid as a remuneration to Dr. Edward Jenner, for promulgating the diſcovery of the vaccine inoculation, by which mode that dreadful malady, the ſmall-pox, was prevented."

Sir Henry Mildmay moved an amendment, that inſtead of the ſum of ten thouſand pounds, the words "twenty thouſand pounds," ſhould be inſerted; which was alſo ſeconded.

A long converſation enſued, and a diviſion took place on the amendment. For the original motion to remunerate Dr. Jenner with a ſum not exceeding ten thouſand pounds, ayes fifty-nine, noes fifty-ſix, of courſe the amendment was loſt.

The twenty-ſixth of June being appointed for laying the foundation-ſtone of that great national work, the London Docks, a vaſt concourſe of perſons aſſembled from all quarters, to witneſs a ceremony which commenced an undertaking of ſo much public utility. About two o'clock, the chancellor of the exchequer, lords Hawkeſbury and Hobart, Mr. N. Vanſittart, ſir A. Hammond, and many other gentlemen, arrived at Wapping. They were conducted round the works adjacent to the river, and ſhewn the engines and plans. After which, they were conducted to the foundation of the entrance-baſins, where two ſtones were prepared to be laid, each weighing about two tons and a half. The firſt ſtone was laid by the chancellor of the exchequer, lord Hawkeſbury, and ſir Richard Neave, chairman, and Edward Forſter, deputy chairman. When this ſtone was laid, two glaſs bottles, containing the gold, ſilver, and copper-coins, of the preſent reign, with a medal of the king's recovery, and the peace, were depoſited in a hole made in the ſtone; and over them a tin plate, containing the following inſcription, was placed:—"This ſtone was laid on Saturday, the twenty-ſixth of June, *Ann. Dom.* 1802, in the foundation of the entrance baſin of the London Docks, undertaken by private ſubſcription, for the greater accommodation and ſecurity of SHIPPING, COMMERCE, and REVENUE, within the port of London; and purſuant to an act paſſed on the twenty-ſixth day of June, *Ann. Dom.* 1800, in the fortieth year of the reign of George the Third."

The chancellor of the exchequer threw a purſe of gold on the ſtone for the workmen; after which the ſecond ſtone was laid. Three times three cheers were then given both to the firſt and ſecond ſtones.

The order of the day for the ſecond reading of a bill for aboliſhing the practice of bull-baiting and bull-running, being read in the houſe of commons, ſir Richard Hill roſe, in order to give his decided ſupport to the meaſure; as the bill went to aboliſh a practice which the common ſenſe, the dignity, the decorum, and the piety of the houſe, would concur in condemning. The honourable baronet then read an extract from the Bury paper; which ſtated that a bull, which in the morning was tame and gentle, had been faſtened to a ring, and gored till it became furious: it was then baited by dogs and more brutal men, to the great danger of the inhabitants of that place. After being baited for ſome time it got looſe, and was ſecured; and was again faſtened with ropes, and his hoofs cut off. "Good God!" ſaid the honourable baronet, "what an age we live in, when a poor dumb animal, given by the Almighty for the ſupport and ſuccour of man, and to whom he ought to be tender and careful, is tortured by thoſe who are worſe than ſavages." He then quoted ſir Matthew Hale's ſentiments on mercy, as well as thoſe of king Solomon. That wiſe man had ſaid, "the merciful man ſheweth mercy to his beaſt,

Conſtant *indulgence*, who would wiſh to bear?
Who, that retains the ſenſe of brighter days,
Can ſue for pardon, while he pants for praiſe?
On well-earned fame the mind with pride reflects,
But pity ſinks the man whom it protects.
Your fathers had my ſtrength. My only claim
Was zeal; their favour was my only fame.
Of late, too often, when the whole was due,
I've paid half-ſervice to the muſe and you.
Not what I was, I now decline the field,
And ground thoſe arms which I but feebly wield.
The poet, nearly breathleſs, lame, or blind,
Whilſt the muſe viſits his creative mind,
Continues wearing his immortal wreath,
Lives in his fame, and triumphs over death.
But every chance that deals the paſſing blow,
Lays the poor actor's ſhort-liv'd trophies low:
That chance has come to me, that comes to all;
My drama done, I let the curtain fall.

"but

" but the mercy of the wicked man is cruelty." This ſentiment had never been called in queſtion in this country, whatever it might have been in a neighbouring nation.

Mr. Windham, after ſome ſarcaſtical obſervations on affected mercy and tenderneſs, ſaid he was inclined to check every cruelty to brutes, but he never would pretend, on that account, that he had more humanity than thoſe who delighted in ſuch ſports. He did not ſee why contemplating the courage of the bull-dog was not as rational a ſource of amuſement as admiring the ſagacity of the hound, or the quick eye of the hawk. Gentlemen were often fond of ſhooting, and he ſuppoſed there was no cruelty in that ſport. None but perſons of the moſt delicate ſenſibility practiſed that mode of killing animals. If the preſent bill ſhould paſs, he would move to bring in one to do away hunting, ſhooting, and all the cruel amuſements, of the higher orders.

Colonel Groſvenor thought the houſe ought not to interfere in the amuſements of the common people: the higher orders had their *Billington*, and the lower might be permitted to have their *Bull*.

Mr. Sheridan repeated a number of inſtances, in which the ſavage barbarity of men was diſplayed, in the methods which worrying of bulls was taught and encouraged in dogs. Among others, he mentioned the circumſtance in which the maſter ſet the bitch to pin a bull, and in order to prove its blood and pertinacity, cut the bitch's head off, together with ſome of the other limbs, and afterwards ſold the puppies at four guineas a-piece. He aſked what ſort of feeling or gratitude did a proceeding of this kind teach to the young and tender mind? He declared his reſolution of voting in favour of the bill. The houſe then divided.—Ayes 51, noes 64; majority 13. Conſequently the bill was loſt, and bull-baiting was not ſuppreſſed *.

On the twenty-eighth of June, the king repaired, in his ſtate-coach to the houſe of lords, where he delivered a ſpeech from the throne, and prorogued the houſes of parliament. The ſpeech announced an intention of immediately diſſolving the preſent, and calling a new parliament: in conſequence of which, a proclamation was iſſued by his majeſty, on the following day, for the purpoſe of diſſolving the parliament.

In

" Permit me, dear Sir, to requeſt that you would accept the warmeſt and moſt ſincere thanks of my heart, for this unſolicited, but moſt honourable expreſſion of your good will towards me. Nothing can be more important to my worldly intereſts, than the ſervice you have done me in preſenting me to the living of Graffham. Nothing can be more exquiſitely gratifying to my very beſt feeling, than the language in which you have conveyed to me this mark of your friendſhip. Indeed, dear Sir, you have enabled me to paſs the years of declining life in comfortable and honourable independence. You have given me additional and unalterable conviction, that the firmneſs with which I have adhered to my principles, has obtained for me the approbation of wiſe and good men. And when that approbation aſſumes, as it now does, the form of protection, I fairly confeſs to you, that the patronage of ſir Francis Burdett has a right to be ranked among the proudeſt, as well as the happieſt events of my life."

After ſome further effuſions of gratitude from the reverend doctor, he thus concludes—" The living of Graffham will be of infinite value to me, becauſe it is tenable with a rectory I now have in Northamptonſhire; and happy I am, that my future reſidence will be fixed, and my exiſtence cloſed, upon that ſpot where ſir Francis Burdett has given me the power of ſpending my old age with comforts and conveniencies quite equal to the extent of my fondeſt wiſhes, and far ſurpaſſing any expectations I have hitherto ventured to indulge. I have the honour to be with the greateſt reſpect and moſt unfeigned thankfulneſs, dear ſir, your very obedient faithful ſervant,

" S. PARR."

A privy council was held on the eighteenth of September, at Windſor, at which a proclamation was iſſued, and publiſhed in the gazette, ſummoning parliament to meet on the ſixteenth of November.

At

* The virtues of generoſity and gratitude are ſo ſtrongly pourtrayed in the following correſpondence between ſir Francis Burdett and the rev. Dr. Parr, that an inſertion of the two epiſtles cannot be deemed intruſive:

" Sir,

" I am ſorry that it is not in my power to place you in " a ſituation which would well become you—I mean in " the epiſcopal palace at Bugden: but I can bring you very " near to it; for I have the preſentation to a rectory now " vacant within a mile and a half of it, which is very much " at Dr. Parr's ſervice. It is the rectory of Graffham, at " preſent worth two hundred pounds a-year, and, as I am " informed, may ſoon be worth two hundred and ſeventy; " and I this moment learn that the incumbent died laſt " Tueſday.

" Dr. Parr's talents and character might well entitle " him to better patronage than this, from thoſe who know " how to eſtimate his merits; but I acknowledge that a " great additional motive with me to the offer I now " make him is, that I believe I cannot do any thing more " pleaſing to his friends, Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, and Mr. " Knight; and I deſire you, Sir, to conſider yourſelf " obliged to them only. I have the honour to be, Sir, " with the greateſt reſpect, your obedient ſervant,

" FRANCIS BURDETT."

" *Vicarage-houſe, Buckden*, Sept. 26, 1802.

" Dear Sir,

" After rambling in various parts of Norfolk, I went to " Cambridge, and from Cambridge I yeſterday came to " the parſonage of my moſt reſpectable friend Mr. Malt- " by, at Buckden, where I this morning had the honour " of receiving your letter. Mrs. Parr opened it laſt Fri- " day at Hatton, and I truſt you will pardon the liberty " ſhe took in deſiring your ſervant to convey it to me " in Huntingdonſhire, where ſhe knew that I ſhould be, " as upon this day.

In the Conſervative Senate in Paris, about this time, Napoleon Bonaparte was proclaimed Chief Conſul for life. At the ſame time it was decreed, that a ſtatue of peace, holding in one hand the laurel of victory, and in the other the decree of the ſenate, ſhall atteſt to poſterity the gratitude of the nation. The ſenate engaged to convey to the firſt conſul the expreſſion of the confidence, the love, and the admiration of the French people.

Much has been ſaid of the commiſſion of ſuicide in England, and that crime has been ſtrongly imputed by foreigners to thoſe iſlanders as a kind of national propenſity; but by advices from Vienna we are credibly informed, that within the ſpace of two months, forty-ſeven ſuicides had been committed in that city: in conſequence of which, it was ſaid to have been in contemplation, to order the dead bodies of thoſe who were their own deſtroyers, to be hung on the gallows by the public executioner, in order to deter others from the commiſſion of this deſperate act.

On Wedneſday, December 21, 1802, the king was pleaſed to grant the dignities of Baron and Viſcount of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, to the right honourable Henry Dundas, and his heirs male, by the names, ſtiles, and titles of Baron of Durina, in the county of Perth, and Viſcount Melville, in the county of Edinburgh *.

On the fourth of November, in the afternoon, the French ambaſſador, general Andreoſſi, arrived at Quillacq's hotel, Calais. The municipality went out in proceſſion to meet him, and he was ſaluted with repeated diſcharges of cannon on his arrival at Calais; the military being determined to pay him every mark of honour. On the ſucceeding morning he went on board the Parfait Union, captain Moſcou, for Dover. He was again ſaluted with diſcharges of artillery, and eſcorted by the military to the water-ſide; and at half after ſix he ſet ſail amidſt a grand diſcharge of cannon. As there was but little wind, he was not expected to reach Dover before five in the evening. The military were under arms to receive him.

Lord Whitworth, the Britiſh ambaſſador, arrived at Calais on the fourteenth, after a pleaſant paſſage. He was received on his landing, by an immenſe concourſe of people, and with loud huzzaing. The guns were fired, and the flags diſplayed on the church-ſteeples. When his excellency arrived at the inn, where a captain's guard mounted, he was complimented by the conſtitutional authorities, conſiſting of the mayors, the commiſſary-general Mengaud, the *juge de paix*, &c. After theſe, general Barbaſanne advanced, at the head of the officers of the garriſon. Dinner being ended, his excellency and ſuite were formally invited to accompany them at the theatre, in order, as they declared, that the public might have an opportunity of ſeeing what had been ſo long and ſo ardently deſired, an Engliſh ambaſſador in France. They were received with enthuſiaſtic joy!—"God ſave the king," was ſtruck up, and played for a quarter of an hour, attended with the plaudits of the whole houſe, who ſtood up whilſt it was playing, in the good old Engliſh faſhion.

On the ſeventeenth, the ambaſſador from the French republic was introduced to the king, and had

* At Stirbitch theatre, on the evening of the 28th of October, the ladies and gentlemen in one of the front boxes, were alarmed with the cry of fire, from behind the boxes, but not loud enough to be heard by the audience in general: they immediately aroſe, and, perceiving nothing extraordinary, were inclinable to be ſeated again; but, hearing the cry repeated, they began to haſten to the doors: every part of the houſe was now extremely alarmed, and great confuſion enſued. Many from the gallery began to throw themſelves over into the pit: others ran to the ſtairs and greatly impeded the paſſage; whilſt ſome fell headlong down the ſtairs, and were trodden under foot. Ladies and gentlemen, from the upper boxes precipitated themſelves into the pit, and clambered over the orcheſtra to the ſtage. Many perſons of both ſexes were much bruiſed, and ſeveral limbs were broken. Four lives were abſolutely loſt. A gang of pickpockets were ſuppoſed to have viſited the fair, and ſpread a falſe alarm to aid them in their depredations, as ſeveral ladies' pockets were cut off, and watches, trinkets, &c. were loſt. A reward of one hundred guineas was offered by the managers, on conviction of the offender or offenders.

* The following grant reflects equal honour on the beſtower and the receiver: Whitehall, Jan. 7, 1803. The king has been graciouſly pleaſed in conſideration of the ſignal ſervices performed to his majeſty, and to his ally the Ottoman emperor, by ſir William Sidney Smith, knt. commander, and grand croſs of the royal Swediſh military order of the ſword, a captain in the royal navy, and repreſentative for the city of Rocheſter;—and to evince the ſenſe which his majeſty entertains of the great ability and heroic perſeverance, manifeſted by him the ſaid ſir William Sidney Smith upon divers occaſions, and more eſpecially of his able and highly diſtinguiſhed conduct in defence of the town of St. John d'Acre, in Syria, in 1799; his majeſty grants certain augmentations to the armorial enſigns borne by his family. [*Here follow the particulars.*] The ſaid arms and creſt to be borne by him, and by his iſſue, together with the motto of *Cœur de Lion*. And though the privilege of bearing ſupporters be limited to the peers of the realm, the knights of his majeſty's orders, and the proxies of princes of the blood royal at inſtallations, except under particular circumſtances: yet, in order to give a farther teſtimony of his majeſty's particular approbation of the ſervices of the ſaid ſir William Sidney Smith, he has been graciouſly pleaſed to allow him to bear, for ſupporters to his arms, *a tiger guardant, naturally crowned; in the mouth a palm branch, being the ſymbol of victory, ſupporting the union-flag of Great Britain, together with the inſcription* (JERUSALEM 1799) *upon the creſt of St. George; and a lamb, naturally crowned; in the mouth an olive branch, being the ſymbol of peace, ſupporting the banner of Jeruſalem.*

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his formal audience at St. James's. The French ambaſſador and his ſuite, being properly appriſed by perſons from that court, of the order of proceeding, his excellency's carriage was at his door, in Portland-place, before one o'clock. A conſiderable number of perſons aſſembled there to ſee him ſet off: about a quarter after one he appeared, dreſſed in a general's uniform of the conſular guard. The edges of the coat and button-holes were beautifully embroidered with gold, on a ſcarlet ground: his white ſatin waiſtcoat, was alſo richly embroidered with gold; and a large broad ſaſh ſurrounded his body, compoſed of ſcarlet ſilk net, beautifully wrought with gold. On entering his carriage, the ſpectators cheered, but not loudly or generally, which induced the general to pay no regard to the compliment. When he arrived at St. James's he was conducted by ſir Stephen Cotterel, Andreoſſi having his credentials in his hand. After ſome time, his majeſty went into the preſence chamber, when his excellency was introduced to him by ſir Stephen Cotterel, and preſented his credentials.

On the following day a circumſtance of a very different complexion occurred. Information was given to Mr. Carpenter Smith, and another magiſtrate at Union Hall, in conſequeuce of which a ſearch warrant was iſſued, and Mr. Stafford, the chief clerk, attended by a numerous body of peace officers, went to the Oakley Arms, in Oakley-ſtreet, Lambeth; where they apprehended colonel Deſpard, and twenty-nine labouring men and ſoldiers, the major part of them Iriſh, and conducted them to Union-hall. The next morning this intelligence was communicated by the Union-hall magiſtrates to ſir Richard Ford, who was then at his houſe in Sloane-ſtreet. Sir Richard with his uſual diligence, repaired to Union-hall, where Colonel Deſpard underwent a long private examination before him and three other magiſtrates, after which he was committed to the county gaol of Surry. The warrant of commitment expreſsly charged him with conſpiring to compaſs the death of the king, and was grounded upon the oath of the ſoldier who gave the information, with the circumſtances ariſing out of his examination. The remaining twenty-nine were committed without any examination; fourteen of them to Tothill-fields Bridewell, and fifteen to the houſe of correction in Cold Bath fields. The party when ſurprized, ſaid they were a club that met there for innocent recreation. This was the only account they gave of themſelves. Strong evidence, however, appeared againſt them that they were concerned in treaſonable practices, which was not weakened, when a printed form of an oath was found in the room where they were ſitting.

Colonel Deſpard was afterwards examined by the privy council, before whom he was taken handcuffed and very heavily ironed. Mrs. Deſpard applied for admiſſion to ſee him, which was refuſed, and ſhe withdrew, after having waited above an hour in the anti-chamber. When the colonel was brought out; he walked with great difficulty, in conſequence of the weight of his irons. He was conveyed in a hackney-coach ſtrongly guarded to Newgate.

On the ninth of February, colonel Edward Marcus Deſpard was tried at the New Seſſions Houſe, Borough, before Lord Ellenborough, for high treaſon. After hearing the evidence, and the lord chief juſtice's judicious comments on the ſeveral particulars, the jury withdrew for about half an hour; when they returned they pronounced the priſoner guilty.

The court then, purſuant to adjournment, met at nine o'clock on the following morning, and proceeded to the trial of John Wood, Thomas Broughton, John Francis, Thomas Phipps, Thomas Newman, John Doyle, Daniel Tyndall, James Sedwick Wratton, William Lander, Arthur Graham, Samuel Smith, and John M'Namara. After hearing the evidence, the jury retired for an hour and thirty minutes: they then returned a verdict of guilty, againſt the following nine priſoners: John Wood, Thomas Broughton, John Francis, Thomas Newman, Daniel Tyndall, J. Sedwick Wratten, William Lander, Arthur Graham, and John M'Namara.

After a general addreſs to the miſerable wretches who were doomed to ſuffer for their treaſon, he thus particularly and pathetically lamented the conduct of colonel Deſpard:—"You Edward Marcus Deſ-
" pard, in whom the dignified pride of birth, the
" advantages of a liberal education, and the habits
" of intercourſe in that rank, in which your con-
" duct was once ſo highly honourable, and from the
" teſtimony borne of your former conduct, by the
" honourable companions of your earlier purſuits,
" adduced in this court as witneſſes for your charac-
" ter, ſhould have induced us to expect widely dif-
" ferent conduct and principles: how groſsly have
" you miſapplied and abuſed the talents and oppor-
" tunites which you enjoyed for honourable diſtinc-
" tion in ſociety; and how have you degraded yourſelf
" to the aſſociation of thoſe unfortunate and wretch-
" ed companions, by whom you are now ſurrounded,
" in whoſe ignominious fate you ſo juſtly ſhare; but
" who are the unhappy victims of your ſeductive
" perſuaſion and example. I do not wiſh at this
" awful moment, to urge any thing to you, and the
" degrading companions by whom you are ſur-
" rounded, to ſharpen the bitterneſs of your feeling
" under the ignominy of your fate; but would earn-
" neſtly and ſincerely wiſh to impreſs your mind,
" during the ſhort period of your remaining life,
" with a due ſenſe of your awful ſituation, and of
" the criminal conduct which has involved you in
" your preſent ignominious fate: I would earneſtly

" entreat you zealously to endeavour to subdue the " callous insensibility of heart, of which in an ill- " fated hour, you have boasted*, and regain that fa- " vourable affection of the mind, which may prepare " your soul for that salvation, which by the infinite " mercy of God I hope you may obtain."

In the Court of King's Bench, on the fourteenth of February, John Peltier was convicted of a libel against Napoleon Bonaparte, first consul and chief magistrate of the French republic. Lord Ellenborough declared, that such publications against the character and person of a foreign magistrate could not pass unnoticed in this country, as they had a direct tendency to interrupt and destroy the peace now happily subsisting between the two countries; and therefore, in point of law, a libel.

An official correspondence appeared in the Moniteur, between the plenipotentiary of the grand master of the Order of Malta, and sir A. Ball. It appeared that M. de Thomasi, the new grand master, had dispatched his lieutenant M. de Busy, invested with full power to take possession of the island, where he arrived on the twenty-eighth of February. His first step was to demand the delivery of the place, to which he received only a verbal answer in the negative, from the governor: not satisfied with this, he wrote a letter, containing a formal demand of the place by virtue of the fourth paragraph of the tenth article of the treaty of Amiens. To this address, sir A. Ball returned an explicit answer, stating, that as some of the powers invited by the tenth article of the treaty to guarantee the independence of Malta, had not yet acceded to that measure; he did not think himself authorized to put an end to the government of his majesty in that island, until he received special instructions from his court.

Letters from Malta, about this time, gave an account of some very unpleasant disturbances that had taken place at the opera there, with general Vial, the French minister, in consequence of his refusal to stand up, or take off his hat when "God save the king" was played: the riot was so great at first, as to hinder the performance of the piece; and on the next night, when general Vial's family went there without him, the ladies were hissed out of the house, on their refusing to stand up when the rest of the audience did, on the performance of that tune. It seems clear, from general Vial's conduct on this occasion, that he wished to draw some insult upon himself, that strong remonstrances might be transmitted to his court upon the subject.

To demonstrate the aversion of Britons to corruption, the following circumstance of punishment for an attempt to commit such an offence, may afford consolation to the lovers of integrity. Thomas Hamlin, convicted of offering Mr. Addington two thousand pounds for the place of landing officer at Plymouth, was brought up to receive the judgment of the court. Mr. justice Grose, after stating the enormity of his offence, in soliciting that to be done by a bribe, which if complied with, would tend to the total destruction of all honour and prosperity in the country, as far as connected with its ministers, hoped the sentence the court would inflict upon him would deter all others from similar attempts. The sentence awarded, that he should pay a fine of one hundred pounds, and be imprisoned in the King's Bench for three months.

Early in the month of March, 1803, the chancellor of the exchequer delivered the following message from his majesty at the bar of the house:— " G. R. His majesty having taken into his most gra- " cious consideration the eminent services of rear- " admiral sir James Saumarez, knight of the most " honourable Order of the Bath, and particularly " the valour, promptness, and intrepidity he dis- " played in an engagement with a Spanish squadron, " upon the 12th of July, 1801, in the Straits of " Gibraltar, recommends it to his faithful commons, " to grant unto him, the said sir James Saumarez, " K. B. an annuity of twelve hundred pounds for " the term of his natural life."

The house having resolved itself into a committee on his majesty's message, the chancellor of the exchequer rose, and observed, that it would not be necessary for him to offer many arguments to induce the committee to accede to the motion which he should have the honour to make, respecting his ma-

* On the day of execution, the colonel addressed the multitude in precisely the following words: " Fellow ci- " tizens, I come here as you see, after having served my " country faithfully, honourably, and I trust usefully, for " thirty years and upwards, to suffer death upon a scaf- " fold, for a crime which I am no more guilty of than " any who is now looking at me. I do solemnly declare, " that I am no more guilty, than any of you who may " [illegible] listening to me. But though his majesty's mi- " nisters know I am not guilty, they avail themselves of " this [illegible]ortunity, which they have, of destroying a " man [illegible] they think he is a friend to truth, to li- " berty, and to justice; and because he has been a friend " to the poor and the oppressed. But fellow citizens, I

" hope and trust, notwithstanding my fate, and perhaps " the fate of many others, who may follow me, that still " the principles of liberty, justice, and humanity, will " triumph over falsehood, despotism, and delusion, and " every thing else hostile to the interests of the human " race. And now, having said this, I have nothing " more to add, but to wish you all that health, that hap- " piness, and that freedom, which I have ever made it " my endeavour, as far as it lay in my power, to procure " for every one of you, and for mankind in general."

Part of the sentence which is usually pronounced against traitors was remitted with respect to these, they were only to be drawn and hanged, and their heads separated from the body.

jesty's

jesty's most gracious communication. The name of sir James Saumarez would suggest reflections highly gratifying to every feeling and honourable mind, who could appreciate justly the importance of the naval character to the country. To describe the service of the gallant admiral, would be to refer to some of the most memorable achievements to be found in the naval history, from the year 1780 down to the present time. This consideration had induced his majesty to resort to the recommendation now before the committee; the adoption of which would serve as a fresh incentive to additional exploits, and must animate the brave defenders of the country to future exertions, worthy of the British flag, and the glory of the nation. He then moved, that the annual sum of twelve hundred pounds be granted to his majesty, to enable him to reward the services of rear-admiral sir James Saumarez, out of the consolidated fund of Great Britain, and the motion was agreed to.

Antecedent to this honourable testimony of the admiral's merits, the chamberlain of London, accompanied by the lord mayor, alderman Le Mesurier, and several other gentlemen, assembled at the chamberlain's office, in Guildhall, had presented to admiral sir James Saumarez, the thanks, and the sword voted to him by the official representatives of the city of London. On which occasion, the chamberlain, seated in his chair, thus addressed the admiral: "Admiral sir James Saumarez, I give you joy, and "in pursuance of the unanimous resolution of the lord "mayor, aldermen, and corporation of the city of "London, in common-council assembled, offer you "the thanks of the court for the very important and "splendid victories obtained by the force under "your command over a Spanish and French fleet of "superior force, on the sixth of July, 1801, off "Algeziras; and on the thirteenth of the same "month, off Cape Trafalgar.

"It was farther resolved, that you should be admitted to the freedom of this great city; that your "name should be placed among those of the illustrious characters which adorn the civic roll: and, as "a testimony of the sense the court entertains of the "eminent services rendered by you, to your country, that you should be presented with this "SWORD.

"Long, very long, sir, may you continue to "wear those laurels, which so eminently and gracefully adorn your brow," &c.

Sir James Saumarez, who was then dressed in full uniform, received the sword, and returned a respectful answer to the following effect: "Mr. Cham"berlain, I receive this sword, together with the "freedom of the first city in the world, with the "utmost gratitude; and feel the highest obligation "to you, sir, for the flattering manner in which "you have conveyed the resolution of the corporation, to record my name among the many illus"trious characters which adorn this nation. And "if foreign or domestic enemies should again disturb "your quiet, I shall be proud to draw the sword in "defence of my king and country."

A most extraordinary forgery took place on the fifth of May in the city of London; at an early hour in the morning, a pretended messenger arrived at the mansion-house, with a letter which he said he had received from lord Hawkesbury, and requested it might be delivered immediately to the lord mayor. The bearer of this epistle was booted and spurred, and had all the appearance of having just completed a long and fatiguing journey. Being informed that the lord mayor was not at home, he expressed some regret; but said he would leave the letter, and begged the servant would place it where his lordship might see it immediately on his return. The fabrication was accordingly found on the table when he revisited his city mansion; and he perused it with all those emotions of joy, which, as a friend to peace, such consoling information must give birth to. It was as follows:

LORD MAYOR.

Downing-street, Thursday morning, 8 o'clock, May 5, 1803.

"Lord Hawkesbury presents his compliments to "the lord mayor, and has the honour to acquaint "his lordship that the negociation between this "country and the French republic is brought to an "amicable conclusion."

The letter was sealed with lord Hawkesbury's seal.

The lord mayor, after some proper enquiries respecting the appearance of the person who was charged with the conveyance of this interesting epistle, was perfectly satisfied that no imposition had been practised on his credulity, and therefore instantly resolved to communicate the happy event to his fellow citizens. He copied the letter with his own hand, and caused it to be affixed in a conspicuous place on the outside of the mansion-house. The contents were these:

May 5, 1803.

"Lord Hawkesbury has, this morning, informed "the lord mayor, that the negociation with the "French republic is brought to an amicable con"clusion."

A second copy was sent to Lloyd's, and his lordship went himself with the original to the stock-exchange. Soon after he returned to the mansion-house, and wrote a letter to lord Hawkesbury, expressing his satisfaction on the occasion.

Printed notices were then posted round the custom-house, declaring the embargo to be taken off ships laden with *salt-petre*, &c. and, in consequence of this delusion, the funds experienced an immediate rise from 63¾ to 71¼. A real treasury messenger, however was soon dispatched to announce the falsity of

of the intelligence; in conſequence of which the genuine communication was read in the public ſtreet by the city marſhal.

The confuſion which now prevailed was beyond all deſcription: the ſtock-exchange was immediately ſhut, and the committee came to the following reſolution: *That all bargains made in the morning, ſhould be declared null and void.* Some difficulty, however, aroſe reſpecting the actual purchaſe of ſtock for money, Mr. Templeton holding up a transfer receipt for reduced ſtock, which he had juſt made for the commiſſioners for liquidating the national debt. An appeal was therefore made to the directors of the bank, who gave it as their opinion, "that the money purchaſers of reduced ſtock for government, made that day, ſhould ſtand at yeſterday's cloſing prices, viz. 64; but reſerved the delivery of any opinion on the points of money-purchaſes till eleven o'clock on Friday! The ſubſcribers then entered into a reſolution, that all ſales of the two days ſhould be delivered to a committee of the houſe, to facilitate the diſcovery of the perſon who forged the notification. The conſequence was a rapid fall of the funds from ſeventy-one to ſixty-three. The bank directors afterwards altered their opinions reſpecting actual money bargains made in conſequence of the forgery, and informed the ſtock-exchange committee, that the government commiſſioners had authoriſed them to pay the full price for the reduced ſtock, which their broker had thus purchaſed on their account, viz. ſixty-nine and a half per cent.

In conſequence of various reports, the ſtock-exchange committee prevailed on the lord mayor to addreſs a note to lord Hawkeſbury, ſoliciting information, and ſtating the occaſion of his application. To this note, the chancellor of the exchequer returned the following anſwer:

"My lord,

"As lord Hawkeſbury is not at the foreign office, "I have opened your lordſhip's note, conformably "to the wiſh expreſſed through your meſſenger. If "any information had been received by govern- "ment, which could properly be the ſubject of "public communication, your lordſhip may be "aſſured that ſuch communication would not have "been withheld. I feel it however my duty diſtinct- "ly to *caution your lordſhip* againſt receiving im- "preſſions of the deſcription alluded to, through any "unauthorized channel of information."

"I have the honour to be, &c.

HENRY ADDINGTON.

Downing-ſtreet, Saturday noon.

On Thurſday the nineteenth of May, the day appointed by the ſovereign, twenty-two knights of the moſt honourable order of the bath, were inſtalled in Weſtminſter Abbey. This order of knighthood was founded by Henry IV. and eſtabliſhed by George the Firſt, as a military order in 1725. The ſplendour and magnificence of the proceſſion was highly gratifying to the ſpectators. Though the early hour of nine in the morning was appointed for opening the doors of the Abbey, a great number of carriages were in Dean's yard (the place for entrance to the aiſles) and an immenſe crowd of the populace were aſſembled in Old Palace Yard conſiderably before the appointed time. It is ſuppoſed there were about ten thouſand ſpectators within the body of the church, in the courſe of the day. Every porch or niche in the building, which could afford a proſpect of the proceſſion, was fitted up as a temporary accommodation for viſitors, which were chiefly of the firſt reſpectability; as tickets could only be obtained through the influence of the members of the order, the dignitaries of the cathedral, or the payment of a high premium proportioned to the eligibility of the ſituation.

A covered platform was prepared, with the flooring elegantly matted, extending from the houſe of lords, acroſs old Palace yard, to communicate with the Abbey at the Poet's Corner. On this the proceſſion paſſed from the prince's chamber in the houſe of lords, to the Abbey, about eleven o'clock. It was near twelve before they reached the further end of the great aiſle, where the queen and princeſſes were ſeated in a gallery embelliſhed for the purpoſe by the dean. His royal highneſs the duke of York, as grand maſter, walked laſt of the order, with his train-bearers and attendants following. About half an hour after twelve, they were all in the chapel of king Henry the Seventh, the gates of which were immediately cloſed. The knights were then inſtalled with great ceremony, and a little after three they returned to the prince's chamber. Lords Nelſon, Keith, and Whitworth, and ſeveral others, were inſtalled by proxy.

The knights perſonally inſtalled were ſir Alured Clarke, ſir Henry Harvey, ſir J. F. Craddock, lord Henley, ſir William Pitt, right honourable ſir Joſeph Banks, ſir James Henry Craig, ſir James Colpoys, lord Hutchinſon, ſir Eyre Coote, and ſir David Dundas*.

The official correſpondence, during the negotiation for adjuſting differences which were ſuppoſed to exiſt between Great Britain and the French republic, will beſt explain the cauſe of the termination of that negotiation.

* Within the door of the abbey, the king's maſter cook delivered the following admonition to each companion:—"Sir knight, the great oath that you have taken, if you keep it, will be great honour to you; but if you break it, I have power, by virtue of my office, to break the ſpurs from off your heels.

In

In giving an account of this extraordinary correſpondence, we ſhall ſubmit to our readers thoſe paſſages and papers which are of the moſt intereſting nature. The correſpondence began on the twenty-third of May, 1802; but there is in it little more than the failure of every attempt to procure the complete execution of the treaty of Amiens, on the part of France. The letters are between lord Hawkeſbury, M. Talleyrand, M. Otto, and Mr. Merry.

It appears that ſo far back as Auguſt, 1801, the following demands were made on our government. 1. That his majeſty's government will adopt the moſt effectual meaſures to put a ſtop to the unbecoming and ſeditious publications with which the news-papers and other writings printed in England are filled. 2. That the individuals mentioned in the miniſter's letter of the twenty-third of July laſt, ſhall be ſent out of the iſland of Jerſey. 3. That the former biſhops of Arras and St. Pol de Leon, and all thoſe who, like them, under the pretext of religion, ſeek to raiſe diſturbances in the interior of France, ſhall likewiſe be ſent away. 4. That Georges and his adherents ſhall be tranſported to Canada, according to the intention which the underſigned has been directed to tranſmit to his government at the requeſt of lord Hawkeſbury. 5. That, in order to deprive the evil diſpoſed of every pretext for diſturbing the good underſtanding between the two governments, it ſhall be recommended to the princes of the houſe of Bourbon, at preſent in Great Britain, to repair to Warſaw, the reſidence of the head of their family. 6. That ſuch of the French emigrants as ſhall think proper to wear the orders and decorations belonging to the ancient government of France, ſhall be required to quit the territory of the Britiſh empire.

In anſwer to theſe points, lord Hawkeſbury ſays, in his letter to M. Otto, of the twenty-eighth of Auguſt—The propoſitions in M. Otto's official note, are ſix in number, but may in fact be compriſed under two heads: the firſt, that which relates to the libels of all deſcriptions, which are alledged to be publiſhed againſt the French government; the laſt comprehending the five complaints which relate to French emigrants reſident in this country. On the firſt, I am convinced you muſt be aware, that his majeſty cannot, and never will, in conſequence of any repreſentation, or any menace from a foreign power, make any conceſſion, which can be in the ſmalleſt degree dangerous to the liberty of the preſs, as ſecured by the conſtitution of this country. This liberty is juſtly dear to every Britiſh ſubject. The conſtitution admits of no previous reſtraint upon publications of any deſcription; but there exiſt judicatures, wholly independent of the executive government, capable of taking cognizance of ſuch publications as the law deems to be criminal, and which are bound to inflict the puniſhment the delinquents may deſerve: theſe judicatures may —— cognizance, not only of libels againſt the government and the magiſtracy of this kingdom, but, as has been repeatedly experienced, of publications defamatory of thoſe in whoſe hands the adminiſtration of foreign governments is placed.

With reſpect to the complaints in detail under the ſecond head, you may, in the firſt place, inform the French government, that the emigrants in Jerſey, many of whom had remained there ſolely on account of the cheapneſs of ſubſiſtence, had actually removed, or were removing, previous to the repreſentation concerning them in M. Otto's note; and that before your explanation with M. Talleyrand can take place, there will probably not be an emigrant in the iſland. To the ſecond complaint, which relates to the biſhops of Arras and St. Pol de Leon, and others, his majeſty can only reply, that if the facts alledged againſt them can be ſubſtantiated, if it can be proved that they have diſtributed papers on the coaſt of France, with a view of diſturbing the government, and of inducing the people to reſiſt the new church eſtabliſhment, his majeſty would think himſelf juſtified in taking all meaſures within his power, for obliging them to leave the country; but ſome proof muſt be adduced of theſe facts; and ſuch proof muſt not be that of their having in a ſingle inſtance, viz. on a reply to the Pope's mandate, publiſhed a vindication of their own conduct, in refuſing to conform to the new eſtabliſhment, a proceeding in which they would be juſtifiable on every principle of toleration and juſtice; but it ſhould ſhew that they have ſince availed themſelves of their ſituation in this country, to excite the people of France againſt that government, whether civil or eccleſiaſtical.

On the third complaint, which reſpects the removal of Georges, and thoſe perſons ſuppoſed to be deſcribed as his adherents, M. Otto muſt have miſtaken me in what he ſuppoſes me to have ſaid on that ſubject. His majeſty is, however, very deſirous to obviate any cauſe of complaint or uneaſineſs with reſpect to theſe perſons; and meaſures are in contemplation, and will be taken, for the purpoſe of removing them out of his majeſty's European dominions.

On the fourth complaint, reſpecting the princes of the houſe of Bourbon, I can only inform you, that his majeſty has no deſire that they ſhould continue to reſide in this country, if they are diſpoſed, or can be induced to quit it; but he feels it to be inconſiſtent with his honour, and his ſenſe of juſtice, to withdraw from them the rights of hoſpitality, as long as they conduct themſelves peaceably and quietly; and unleſs ſome charge can be ſubſtantiated of their attempting to diſturb the peace which ſubſiſts between the two governments.

With reſpect to the fifth complaint, which relates

to the French emigrants wearing in this country the orders of their ancient government; there are few, if any, perſons of that deſcription in this country, who wear ſuch orders: it might be more proper if they all abſtained from it; but the French government could not perſiſt in expecting, that even if it were conſiſtent with law, his majeſty could be induced to commit ſo harſh an act of authority as to ſend them out of the country on ſuch an account.

The French government, unable to ſucceed in theſe points, next attempted to obtain the evacuation of Malta; and, upon that and other topics, the following converſation between lord Whitworth and the Firſt Conſul, is detailed in his lordſhip's letter to lord Hawkeſbury; the contents of which are too intereſting and important to admit of any alteration, mutilation, or abridgment.

PARIS, *Feb.* 21, 1803.

My Lord,

My laſt diſpatch, in which I gave your lordſhip an account of my conference with M. de Talleyrand, was ſcarcely gone, when I received a note from him, informing me, that the firſt conſul wiſhed to converſe with me, and deſired I would come to him at the Thuilleries, at nine o'clock. He received me in his cabinet with tolerable cordiality, and, after talking on different ſubjects for a few minutes, he deſired me to ſit down, as he himſelf did on the other ſide of the table, and began. He told me that he felt it neceſſary, after what had paſſed between me and M. de Talleyrand, that he ſhould, in the moſt clear and authentic manner, make known his ſentiments to me, in order to their being communicated to his majeſty; and he conceived this would be more effectually done by himſelf, than through any medium whatever. He ſaid that it was a matter of infinite diſappointment to him, that the treaty of Amiens, inſtead of being followed by conciliation and friendſhip, the natural effects of peace, had been productive only of continual and increaſing jealouſy and miſtruſt; and that this diſtruſt was now avowed in ſuch a manner, as could not fail to bring the point to iſſue.

He then enumerated the ſeveral provocations which he pretended to have received from England. He placed in the firſt line our not evacuating Malta and Alexandria, as we were bound to do by treaty. In this, he ſaid, that no conſideration on earth ſhould make him acquieſce; and, of the two, he had rather ſee us in poſſeſſion of the Fauxburgh Saint Antoine, than Malta. He then adverted to the abuſe thrown out againſt him in the Engliſh public prints; but this, he ſaid, he did not ſo much regard, as that which appeared in the French papers publiſhed in London. This he conſidered as much more miſchievous, ſince it was meant to excite this country againſt him and his government. He complained of the protection given to Georges, and others of his deſcription, who, inſtead of being ſent to Canada, as had been repeatedly promiſed, were permitted to remain in England, handſomely penſioned, and conſtantly committing all ſorts of crimes on the coaſts of France, as well as in the interior. In confirmation of this, he told me that two men had within theſe few days been apprehended in Normandy, and were now on their way to Paris, who were hired aſſaſſins, and were employed by the biſhop of Arras, by the baron de Rolle, by Georges, and by Dutheil, as would be fully proved in a court of juſtice, and made known to the world.

He acknowledged, that the irritation he felt againſt England increaſed daily, becauſe every wind (I make uſe, as much as I can of his own ideas and expreſſions) which blew from England, brought nothing but enmity and hatred againſt him.

He next adverted to Egypt, and told me, that if he had felt the ſmalleſt inclination to take poſſeſſion of it by force, he might have done it a month ago, by ſending twenty-five thouſand men to Aboukir, who would have poſſeſſed themſelves of the whole country, in defiance of the four thouſand Britiſh in Alexandria. That inſtead of that garriſon being a means of protecting Egypt, it was only furniſhing him with a pretence for invading it. *This he ſhould not do, whatever might be his deſire to have it as a colony, becauſe he did not think it worth the riſk of a war, in which he might perhaps be conſidered as the aggreſſor, and by which he ſhould loſe more than he could gain; ſince, ſooner or later, Egypt would belong to France, either by the falling to pieces of the Turkiſh empire, or by ſome arrangement with the Porte.*

As a proof of his deſire to maintain peace, he wiſhed to know what he had to gain by going to war with England. A deſcent was the only means of offence he had, and that he was determined to attempt, by putting himſelf at the head of the expedition. But, how could it be ſuppoſed, that, after having gained the height on which he ſtood, he could riſk his life and reputation in ſuch a hazardous attempt, unleſs forced to it by neceſſity, when the chances were, that he, and the greateſt part of the expedition, would go to the bottom of the ſea? He talked much on this ſubject, but never affected to diminiſh the danger. He acknowledged that there were one hundred chances to one againſt him; but ſtill he was determined to attempt it, if war ſhould be the conſequence of the preſent diſcuſſion; and that ſuch was the diſpoſition of the troops, that army after army would be found for the enterprize.

He then expatiated much on the natural force of the two countries. France, with an army of four hundred and eighty thouſand men, (for to this amount, it is, he ſaid, to be immediately completed,) all ready for the moſt deſperate enterprizes; and

England with a fleet that made her miſtreſs of the ſeas, and which he did not think he ſhould be able to equal in leſs than ten years. Two ſuch countries, by a proper underſtanding, might govern the world, but by their ſtrifes might overturn it. He ſaid, that if he had not felt the enmity of the Britiſh government, on every occaſion, ſince the treaty of Amiens, there would have been nothing that he would not have done to prove his deſire to conciliate; participation in indemnities, as well as in influence on the continent; treaties of commerce; in ſhort, any thing that could have given ſatisfaction. Nothing, however, had been able to conquer the hatred of the Britiſh government, and therefore it was now come to the point, whether we ſhould have peace or war. To preſerve peace, the treaty of Amiens muſt be fulfilled; the abuſe in the public prints, if not totally ſuppreſſed, at leaſt kept within bounds, and confined to the Engliſh papers; and the protection ſo openly given to his bittereſt enemies (alluding to Georges, and perſons of that deſcription) muſt be withdrawn. If war, it was neceſſary only to ſay ſo, and to refuſe to fulfil the treaty. He now made the tour of Europe to prove to me, that in its preſent ſtate, there was no power with which we could coaleſce for the purpoſe of making war againſt France; conſequently it was our intereſt to gain time, and if we had any point to gain, renew the war when circumſtances were more favourable. He ſaid, it was not doing him juſtice to ſuppoſe, that he conceived himſelf above the opinion of his country, or of Europe. He would not riſk uniting Europe againſt him by any violent act of aggreſſion, neither was he ſo powerful in France, as to perſuade the nation to go to war, unleſs on good grounds. He ſaid, that he had not chaſtiſed the Algerines, from his unwillingneſs to excite the jealouſy of other powers; but he hoped that England, Ruſſia, and France, would one day feel that it was their intereſt to deſtroy ſuch a neſt of thieves; and force them to live rather by cultivating their land than by plunder.

In the little I ſaid to him, for he gave me in the courſe of two hours but very few opportunities of ſaying a word, I confined myſelf ſtrictly to the tenor of your lordſhip's inſtructions. I urged them in the ſame manner as I had done to M. de Talleyrand, and dwelt as ſtrongly as I could on the ſenſation which the publication of Sebaſtiani's report had created in England, where the views of France towards Egypt muſt always command the utmoſt vigilance and jealouſy. He maintained, that what ought to convince us of his deſire of peace, was, on the one hand, the little he had to gain by renewing the war, and on the other, the facility with which he might have taken poſſeſſion of Egypt, with the very ſhips and troops which were now going from the Mediterranean to St. Domingo; and that with the approbation of all Europe, and more particularly of the Turks, who had repeatedly invited him to join with them, for the purpoſe of forcing us to evacuate their territory.

I do not mean to follow the arguments of the firſt conſul in detail: this would be impoſſible, from the vaſt variety of matter which he took occaſion to introduce. His purpoſe was evidently to convince me, that on Malta muſt depend peace or war; and at the ſame time to impreſs upon my mind a ſtrong idea of the means he poſſeſſed of annoying us at home and abroad.

With regard to the miſtruſt and jealouſy, which he ſaid conſtantly prevailed ſince the concluſion of the treaty of Amiens, I obſerved that, after a war of ſuch long duration, ſo full of rancour, and carried on in a manner of which hiſtory has no example, it was but natural, that a conſiderable degree of agitation ſhould prevail; but this, like the ſwell after a ſtorm, would gradually ſubſide, if not kept up by the policy of either party; that I would not pretend to pronounce which had been the aggreſſor in the paper war of which he complained, and which was ſtill kept up, though with this difference, that in England it was independent of government, and in France its very act and deed. To this I added, that it muſt be admitted, that we had ſuch motives of miſtruſt againſt France, as could not be alledged againſt us; and I was going to inſtance the acceſſion of territory and influence gained by France ſince the treaty, when he interrupted me by ſaying, I ſuppoſe you mean Piedmont and Switzerland; "*ce ſont des bagatelles:*" and it muſt have been foreſeen whilſt the negotiation was pending: "*vous n'avez pas le droit d'en parler a cette heure.*" I then alledged, as a cauſe of miſtruſt and jealouſy, the impoſſibility of obtaining juſtice, or any kind of redreſs for any of his majeſty's ſubjects. He aſked me, in what reſpect? and I told him, that ſince the ſigning of the treaty, not one Britiſh claimant had been ſatisfied, though every Frenchman of that deſcription had been ſo within one month after that period; and that ſince I had been here, and I could ſay as much of my predeceſſors, not one ſatisfactory anſwer had been obtained to the innumerable repreſentations which we had been under the neceſſity of making in favour of Britiſh ſubjects, and property detained in the ſeveral ports of France, and elſewhere, without even a ſhadow of juſtice. Such an order of things, I ſaid, was not made to inſpire confidence, but, on the contrary, muſt create miſtruſt. This, he ſaid, muſt be attributed to the natural difficulties attending ſuits, when both parties thought themſelves right, but he denied that ſuch delays could proceed from any diſinclination to do what was juſt and right. With regard to the penſions which were granted to French or Swiſs individuals, I obſerved that they were given as a reward for paſt ſervices during the war, and moſt certainly not for preſent

preſent ones, and ſtill leſs for ſuch as had been inſinuated of a nature repugnant to the feelings of every individual in England, and to the univerſally acknowledged loyalty and honour of the Britiſh government. That as for any participation of indemnities, or other acceſſions which his majeſty might have obtained, I could take upon myſelf to aſſure him, that his majeſty's ambition led him rather to preſerve than to acquire. And that with regard to the moſt propitious moment for renewing hoſtilities, his majeſty, whoſe ſincere deſire it was to continue the bleſſings of peace to his ſubjects, would always conſider ſuch a meaſure as the greateſt calamity; but, that though his majeſty was ſo deſirous of peace, it muſt not be imputed to the difficulty of obtaining allies; and the leſs ſo, as thoſe means which it might be neceſſary to afford ſuch allies, for perhaps inadequate ſervices, would be concentrated in England, and give a proportionate increaſe of energy to our own exertions.

At this part of the converſation, he roſe from his chair, and told me that he ſhould give orders to general Andreoſſi to enter on the diſcuſſion of this buſineſs with your lordſhip: but he wiſhed that I ſhould, at the ſame time, be made acquainted with his motives, and convinced of his ſincerity, rather from himſelf than from his miniſters. He then, after a converſation of two hours, during the greateſt part of which he talked inceſſantly, converſed for a few moments on indifferent ſubjects, in apparent good humour, and retired.

Adverſe meaſures ſeemed now to portend a breach of that harmony between this country and the French republic, which had not been cordially cemented by the treaty of Amiens. Hoſtile preparations being making in France and Holland, to an immoderate extent, naturally created ſuſpicions that faithleſs and diſhonourable proceedings were meditating againſt Great Britain. Ever attentive to the honour of the kingdom, and the welfare of his ſubjects, his majeſty ſaw and reſented ſuch inſidious meaſures. Lord Hobart was therefore diſpatched on the eighth of March, with a meſſage from his majeſty to the houſe of lords, which conſiſted of the following words:

"GEORGE REX.

"His majeſty thinks it neceſſary to acquaint the "houſe of lords, that as very conſiderable military "preparations are carrying on in the ports of France "and Holland, he has judged it expedient to adopt "additional meaſures of precaution for the ſecurity "of his dominions, though the preparations to "which his majeſty refers, are avowedly directed "to colonial ſervice, yet as diſcuſſions of great im-"portance are now ſubſiſting between his majeſty "and the French government, the reſult of which "muſt at preſent be uncertain, his majeſty is in-"duced to make this communication, in the full "perſuaſion that, whilſt they partake of his ma-"jeſty's earneſt and unvarying ſolicitude for the "continuance of peace, he may rely with perfect "confidence on their public ſpirit and liberality, to "enable his majeſty to adopt ſuch meaſures as cir-"cumſtances may appear to require, for ſupporting "the honour of his crown, and the eſſential intereſts "of his people."

The order of the day, for taking into conſideration his majeſty's meſſage being read, lord Hobart ſaid, that to the motion which he ſhould have the honour to make upon this occaſion, he would not anticipate a diſſenting voice. His majeſty had ſtated in the meſſage, that preparations of conſiderable magnitude were carried on in two countries with which we had recently been at war. Theſe preparations, it was but juſt to obſerve, might be fully authoriſed, up to the whole extent to which they had hitherto been carried, by the ſtate of the French poſſeſſions abroad. But when it was conſidered that his majeſty alſo informed them, there were diſcuſſions of conſiderable importance now ſubſiſting between the two countries, the neceſſity of our making a proportionate addition to our means of ſecurity, muſt be obvious to the unanimous ſenſe of that houſe, and of the country. He concluded by moving an addreſs of thanks to his majeſty.

Lord Spencer declared, that the ſyſtem of conceſſion had been too long tried; if it had been ſooner departed from, he ſhould have augured better for the continuance of peace. He hoped, that the ſpirit which had begun to be manifeſted, would be followed up with equal vigour; and he entertained the firmeſt conviction, that there was not a man in the country, who was not ready, with the laſt drop of his blood, and the laſt ſhilling of his property, to ſupport his majeſty in the aſſertion of the honour of his crown, and the rights of his people.

Lord Grenville declared, that the addreſs had his moſt cordial concurrence.

Lord Moira, after expreſſing a hope that this ſtep had not been taken without a due conſideration of the important conſequence to which it might lead; and alſo a hope, that it would not prove to be a mere piece of bravado, to cover any additional conceſſions to the government of France; declared, that the ſubjugation of this country was an alarm, which he truſted would never for a moment enter the heart of a Briton. But we were not, on that account, to lull ourſelves into a ſupine ſecurity, and to ſuppoſe that invaſion would not be attempted, or that it was impracticable. With ſo extenſive a line of hoſtile coaſt oppoſite to our ſhores, no prudent man could ridicule the practicability of a deſcent. Though the attempt could hardly be made with any view to ultimate ſucceſs; yet, if not provided againſt, it might produce that confuſion which would anſwer the particular purpoſes of the chief

conſul.

conſul. We have been told, by the firſt conſul, "that he had five hundred thouſand men in arms, "and that England was no longer able to contend "ſingle-handed with France." What! England not able, to contend ſingle-handed with France! Was this the deduction which the firſt conſul had made from the hiſtory of the conteſts between the two countries? Was this the reſult of the experience which he had gained from the courſe of the late war? Was this the leſſon which he had been taught by the victories of a noble friend?—*(Lord Nelſon, who ſat near him.)*—Was this the diſcovery which he made from the triumphs of another noble lord *(lord Hutchinſon)* now ſeated on the right hand of that friend, and whom he could aſpire to the honour of calling by the ſame name! Let the people of England be excited to a ſenſe of the danger they had to encounter, and let the legions of France land on our ſhores, he could hazard every thing upon the iſſue of the conteſt. His lordſhip, having ſtill further enlarged upon the meaſures of vigilance and precaution demanded by the preſent criſis, concluded with giving his hearty aſſent to the motion.

Lords Weſtmoreland and Auckland ſupported the addreſs, which was agreed to *nem. diſ.*

When his majeſty's meſſage to this effect, was read in the houſe of commons, the chancellor of the exchequer moved that it might be taken into the conſideration of the whole houſe the next day, which was ordered accordingly.

Mr. Addington moved the order of the day, for the houſe taking into conſideration his majeſty's meſſage. The meſſage having been read by the ſpeaker, Mr. Addington roſe for the purpoſe of moving an addreſs to his majeſty, expreſſive of the acknowledgments of the houſe, for the gracious communication which they had received. With regard to the diſcuſſions depending between his majeſty and the French government, he ſuppoſed that at preſent the houſe would not preſs him to diſcloſe their nature or extent; he truſted, however, that the reſult of theſe negociations would terminate in a manner redounding to the honour of the country. Should war, however, be the alternative, the houſe might rely, with the moſt implicit confidence, upon being put in complete poſſeſſion of the conduct of his majeſty's miniſters, from the ratification of the treaty of Amiens, to the period when ſuch diſcloſure might be rendered neceſſary and proper. He added, that it would be judicious to increaſe the eſtabliſhment of the navy, and to provide for the internal ſecurity of the country, by having recourſe to the embodying of the militia, the conſtitutional force of the realm. The right honourable gentleman concluded by moving, that an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, "to return his majeſty the thanks of the houſe "for his moſt gracious meſſage; and to aſſure his "majeſty, that his faithful commons will, with the "utmoſt cheerfulneſs, ſupport his majeſty in the "adoption of ſuch meaſures as circumſtances may "appear to require, for maintaining the honour of "his majeſty's crown, and the eſſential intereſts of "his people."

The queſtion being put, Mr. Fox ſaid, he did not riſe to oppoſe the motion for the addreſs; but hoped his majeſty's adviſers would ſeriouſly conſider the preſent ſituation of the Britiſh empire; for if they ſhould involve the country in a war, which ſhould afterwards be found not to be neceſſary, they would be more guilty than any miniſters that ever adviſed ſuch a meaſure in any other period of our hiſtory.

Lord Hawkeſbury ſaid, if unfortunately theſe diſcuſſions ſhould lead to war, it would be the duty of his majeſty's miniſters to lay before the houſe every information reſpecting their conduct, and the cauſes of the war.

Mr. Windham ſaid, all that he could learn from the ſtatement of the chancellor of the exchequer was, that the meaſures of precaution about to be adopted, were to be of a defenſive kind; and for that reaſon he muſt proteſt againſt the preſent mode of proceeding. The force to be raiſed ought to be calculated for offence as well as defence. Perhaps it might now be ſaid, that thoſe gentlemen who had ſo warmly diſapproved of the peace, were glad to catch at any thing like a renewal of the war. That would certainly be a falſe concluſion. Thoſe gentlemen, among whom he was one, diſapproved of the peace of Amiens, not becauſe they preferred war to peace, but becauſe they thought it deprived the country of the means of carrying on the war, which he thought muſt ſoon break out again. That opinion he had not ſince changed; and he was ſtill more confirmed in it, from what paſſed that day in the houſe.

Mr. Sheridan ſaid, the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Windham) and the firſt conſul of France, held the ſame language. Mr. Windham had ſaid, that peace left the country in a ſituation incapable of renewing the war, and the firſt conſul ſaid ſo alſo. Mr. Sheridan added, "I certainly did not expect "that the ſentiments of the firſt conſul of France "would be re-echoed by a member of this houſe. "But whatever ſentiments both of them may en-"tertain, with reſpect to the incapability of the "country, I hope and truſt, if unhappily war be "unavoidable, that we ſhall convince that right ho-"nourable gentleman, and the firſt conſul of France, "that we have not incapacitated ourſelves, by mak-"ing peace, to renew the war with as much promp-"titude, vigour, and perſeverance, as we have al-"ready evinced. I truſt, ſir, we ſhall ſucceed in "convincing them that we are able to enter ſingle-"handed into war, notwithſtanding the deſpond-"ency of the right honourable gentleman, and the confident aſſertion of the firſt conſul of France;

" and that we are juſtified in entertaining a well-
" founded hope, that we ſhall be able to convince,
" not only the right honourable member and the
" firſt conſul of France, but all Europe, of our capa-
" bility, even ſingle-handed, to meet, and triumph
" over the dangers, however great and imminent,
" which may threaten us from the renewal of hoſti-
" lities."

Mr. Canning, Mr. T. Grenville, the attorney-general, Dr. Lawrence, and others, delivered their opinions. The addreſs was unanimouſly voted, and preſented in the uſual form to his majeſty.

The chancellor of the exchequer then gave notice that he would, on the enſuing Friday, move for an addition of ten thouſand ſeamen.

On the tenth of March, the chancellor of the exchequer brought down to the houſe of commons, the following meſſage from his majeſty:

" G. R.

" In conſequence of the preparations carrying on
" in the ports of France and Holland, whilſt im-
" portant diſcuſſions are ſubſiſting between his ma-
" jeſty and the French government, his majeſty
" thinks it due to the care and concern which he
" feels for his faithful people, to omit no means in
" his power, which may contribute to their ſecu-
" rity. In purſuance, therefore, of the acts of par-
" liament enabling his majeſty to call out and aſſem-
" ble the militia of the united kingdom, his majeſty
" has thought it right to make this communication
" to the houſe of commons, to the end that his
" majeſty may cauſe the ſaid militia, or ſuch part
" thereof as his majeſty ſhall think neceſſary, to
" be forthwith drawn out and embodied, and to
" march as occaſion ſhall require. *G. R.*"

The meſſage being read from the chair, the ſecretary at war roſe to move the uſual addreſs to his majeſty; which was agreed to *nem. con.* and ordered to be preſented to his majeſty.

On the following day, the houſe reſolved itſelf into a committee of ſupply, when Mr. Garthſhore moved, that ten thouſand ſeamen be granted for the ſervice of the navy, for twelve lunar months.

Mr. Francis ſaid, that it was not his intention to oppoſe the motion; but he wiſhed to expreſs a hope that the number of ſeamen, now to be voted, would be found adequate to the purpoſe for which he conceived they were wanted; namely, to put the country in a poſture of defence. He could not, however, look for any great ſucceſs to the country, becauſe the *beſt abilities* were not in the king's adminiſtration.

The chancellor of the exchequer denied (with the exception of himſelf) the want of *ability* in the perſons conducting his majeſty's government. The meſſage of his majeſty to parliament, had been the reſult of the moſt mature deliberation. It could not be expected, that, pending negotiation and diſcuſſion, he ſhould ſtate the objects under conſideration; the truth was, that if any amicable adjuſtment took place, conceſſion muſt be made on one ſide or the other. In ſtating this, he begged it might not be inferred, that there was any unbecoming ſpirit of conceſſion on either hand; and his majeſty's government had the heart-felt ſatisfaction of reflecting, that they, in no degree, had compromiſed the honour of the country.

Mr. Dent was of opinion, that ten thouſand ſeamen was too ſmall a number on the preſent occaſion: he therefore moved an amendment, that twenty-five thouſand ſeamen be granted.

Mr. Fox declared, that he would ſupport the original motion in preference to the amendment, not becauſe he did not conceive the amendment to be proper, but becauſe no information was afforded to the committee that ten thouſand ſeamen, or indeed any expreſs number, were more neceſſary. With regard to the prerogative of making peace or war, that unqueſtionably appertained to his majeſty. If a peace was at any time made, the terms of which might be unfavourable, the houſe had always an opportunity of expreſſing its ſentiments on the ſubject. The other prerogative, that of levying war, afforded more ſcope for the diſcretion and wiſdom of parliament. His majeſty might declare war when he pleaſed; but a moſt valuable and ineſtimable privilege belonged, by the Britiſh conſtitution, to the houſe, as a check on ambition, or a correction upon haſty and intemperate meaſures. This check conſiſted in the ſupplies, which could only be obtained through the commons' houſe; and theſe had by degrees introduced them, not unfrequently as approvers of a war, by affording the means of carrying it on. Theſe aids were obtained by his majeſty, ſtating the grounds of the war upon which he was about to enter. But, on the other hand, it was well known, that the king of England had been compelled to peace, by the commons withholding the neceſſary aids, when they did not approve of the conteſt in which he was engaged without their advice. As a peace, every circumſtance attending the ſituation of this country at the moment conſidered, it was good: During its continuance it had done good; we had got rid of incumbrances; and even if we renewed the war, he truſted in God, that the country would hear no more of that diabolical [illegible]ify, which had diſtinguiſhed certain men during the late conteſt, namely, that we were fighting in the cauſe of religion and ſocial order. " If we cannot," ſaid Mr. Fox, " preſerve our rank in the ſcale of the na-
" tions of Europe, but by war, then I call that
" war juſt and neceſſary. I am thoroughly con-
" vinced, that to obtain the conſent of a nation to
" ſuch a war, does not require, in the preſent poſ-
" ture of affairs, any ſtimulus: tell the people of
" Great Britain the truth, then ſhew their ſituation,

" expoſe

"expoſe the artifices by which they have been attempted to be deluded, and their confidence will be obtained. If they are miſled, if they are kept in the dark, a war is entered upon with reluctance, and that public ſpirit which has ſo knit them together, falls to the ground."

Lord Hawkeſbury ſaid, he did not differ ſo much on conſtitutional grounds, with reſpect to the prerogative of the crown, with the honourable gentleman, as he did from the deductions drawn by the honourable member on the preſent occaſion. His lordſhip, after ſtating the prerogative of the executive power, contended, that in caſe it was not neceſſary to have recourſe to war, miniſters ſhould not lay before the houſe the documents attending the preſent diſcuſſions, further than they thought was conſiſtent with propriety. He ſupported this propoſition, on the ground that it might lead to irritation in diſcuſſion, for which nothing good or uſeful could ariſe.

Mr. Canning, ſir William Pulteney, and Mr. French, ſeverally ſupported the motion, which was immediately put, and carried.

The ſum of ſix hundred and three thouſand and five hundred pounds was then voted for the ten thouſand ſeamen, for twelve lunar months; two hundred and ninety thouſand pounds for victuals; three hundred and thirty thouſand pounds for wear and tear of the ſhips; and twenty-ſeven thouſand pounds for ordnance.

In conſequence of his majeſty's meſſage, the following note was delivered by M. de Talleyrand to lord Whitworth:

1. If his Britannic majeſty, in his meſſage, means to ſpeak of the expedition to Helvoetſluys, all the world knows that it was deſtined for America, and that it was on the point of ſailing for its deſtination: but, in conſequence of his majeſty's meſſage, the embarkation and putting to ſea are about to be countermanded.

2. If we did not receive ſatisfactory explanation reſpecting theſe armaments in England, and if they actually take place, it is natural that the firſt conſul ſhould march twenty thouſand men into Holland, ſince Holland is mentioned in the meſſage.

3. Theſe troops being once in the country, it is natural that an encampment ſhould be formed on the frontiers of Hanover; and, moreover, that additional bodies ſhould join thoſe troops which were already embarked for America, in order to form new embarkations, and to maintain an offenſive and defenſive poſition.

4. It is natural that the firſt conſul ſhould order ſeveral camps to be formed at Calais, and on different points of the coaſts.

5. It is likewiſe in the nature of things, that the firſt conſul, who was on the point of evacuating Switzerland, ſhould be under the neceſſity of continuing a French army in that country.

6. It is alſo the natural conſequence of all this, that the firſt conſul ſhould ſend a freſh force into Italy, in order to occupy, in caſe of neceſſity, the poſition of Tarentum.

7. England arming, and arming with ſo much publicity, will compel France to put her armies on the war eſtabliſhment; a ſtep ſo important, as cannot fail to agitate all Europe.

Malta appears to have been the point upon which the negotiation terminated; a variety of notes were exchanged. The Engliſh government required that they ſhould retain poſſeſſion of the iſland for ten years, on account of the alteration which had taken place in the conſtitution of the order of St. John, ſince the treaty of Amiens: while the firſt conſul inſiſted on the evacuation, but propoſed that it ſhould be garriſoned by one of the three powers, Ruſſia, Auſtria, or Pruſſia. In reply to this propoſition, lord Hawkeſbury obſerved, that Ruſſia was the only power to which England (if ſhe were even ſo diſpoſed) would reſign Malta, but that Ruſſia would not agree to ſuch an arrangement *.

Reſpecting the reſtrictions wiſhed to be impoſed on

*The following converſation between lord Whitworth and the firſt conſul, on the fourteenth of March, 1803, is not unintereſting. At the court which was held at the Thuilleries on that day, the firſt conſul accoſted lord Whitworth with great agitation. He began by aſking him—If he had any news from England? He told him; he had received letters from lord Hawkeſbury, two days ago. Bonaparte immediately ſaid, and ſo you are determined to go to war?—No, replied lord Whitworth, we are too ſenſible of the advantages of peace.—*Nous avons*, ſaid he, *déjà fait la guerre pendant quinze ans. We have already*, ſaid he, *been fifteen years at war.*—As he ſeemed to wait for an anſwer, lord Whitworth obſerved only, *C'en eſt déjà trop.*—That is already too much.—*Mais*, ſaid he, *vous voulez la faire encore quinze années. But*, ſaid he, *you would continue it for another fifteen years.* His lordſhip ſaid, that was very far from his majeſty's intentions. The firſt conſul then proceeded to count Marcow, and the chevalier Azara, who were ſtanding together at a little diſtance from lord Whitworth, and ſaid to them. *Les Anglois veulent la guerre, mais s'ils les premier à tirer l'epée, je ſerai le dernier à la remettre. The Engliſh are deſirous of a war, but if they are the firſt to draw the ſword, I ſhall be the laſt to ſheath it.* He then went his round. In a few minutes, he came back to lord Whitworth, and reſumed the converſation, by ſaying ſomething perſonally civil to him. He began again—*Pourquoi des armamens? Contre qui des meſures de précaution? Je n'ai pas un ſeul vaiſſeau de ligne dans les ports de France; mais ſi vous voulez armer, j'armerai auſſi. I have not a ſingle ſhip of the line in the ports of France; but if you arm, I ſhall follow your example. Vous pourrez peutetre tuer la France, mais jamais l'intimider. On ne voudroit*, ſaid his lordſhip, *ni l'un ni l'autre. On voudroit vivre en bonne intelligence*

on the liberty of the preſs in this country, the following extract from a note, preſented by general Andreoſſi, will ſufficiently explain the deſires of the French government on that head. The chief conſul has had cauſe to be convinced, that all his repreſentations on theſe points were uſeleſs, and that his Britannic majeſty, regardleſs of the neighbouring powers, was reſolved to authoriſe every thing within his dominions; but he did not, on that account, entertain a doubt of the continuance of peace, nor alarm Europe with the notification of war. He confined himſelf to this principle of conduct, to permit or prevent in France with reſpect to England, whatever ſhould be permitted or prevented in England with regard to France.

He has, however, expreſſed, and again expreſſed it, a wiſh that means ſhould be adopted to prevent in future any mention being made of what is paſſing in France, either in the official diſcuſſions, or in the polemical writings in England, as in like manner in the French official diſcuſſions, and polemical writings, no mention whatever ſhould be made of what is paſſing in England.

In a converſation between Talleyrand and lord Whitworth, the former mentioned the calamities which would follow the failure of our endeavour to avoid a rupture. He inſiſted that Holland, Naples, and other countries connected with Great Britain, would be the firſt victims of the war. Lord Whitworth aſked him, whether he thought ſuch a conduct would add to the glory of the firſt conſul, or whether an attack on the innocent and defenceleſs would not rather tarniſh it, and ultimately unite againſt him not only the honeſt men in his own country, but every government in Europe. That it certainly would excite more deteſtation than terror in England; at the ſame time that it would ſerve to impreſs upon them ſtill more ſtrongly, the neceſſity of omitting no means of circumſcribing a power ſo pernicioufly exerted. His lordſhip added, that no act of hoſtility had actually taken place, yet the inveteracy with which our commerce, our induſtry, and our credit, had been attacked in every part to which French influence could be extended, it would bear the ſame conſtruction; as it tended to prove, in addition to the general ſyſtem of the firſt conſul, that his object was to purſue, under the maſk of peace, the ſame line of conduct in which the preceding governments had acted.

On the twenty-ninth of April a perſon, ſuppoſed to have been employed by the firſt conſul, waited on lord Whitworth, for the purpoſe of aſcertaining his ſentiments: he informed his lordſhip, that, in the courſe of the day, he would receive a letter from M. de Talleyrand, drawn up under the inſpection of the firſt conſul, which, though not exactly what his lordſhip might wiſh, was ſo moderate as to afford him a well-grounded hope, and might certainly be ſufficient to induce him to delay, for a ſhort time, his departure. Lord Whitworth aſſured him that it would afford him great ſatisfaction to perceive a probability of bringing the negotiation to a favourable iſſue; and that he ſhould be extremely ſorry to impede the buſineſs by any uſeleſs precipitation.

His Lordſhip added, that he acted in conformity to inſtructions, and that thoſe inſtructions were poſitive; and that by them he was enjoined to leave Paris on the following Tueſday, unleſs certain conditions were agreed to in the intermediate time.

Having received no letter in the courſe of the day, lord Whitworth went about four o'clock to M. de Talleyrand, and expreſſed great anxiety to learn whether he had any thing favourable to communicate: if he had not, his lordſhip begged him

intelligence avec elle. Il faut donc reſpecter les traites, replied he: *malheur à ceux qui ne reſpectent pas les traites; ils en ſeront reſponſable a toute l'Europe. Regard then ſhould be paid to treaties*, replied he; *and misfortune attend thoſe who are regardleſs of their treaties. For ſuch a violation they are accountable to all Europe.* The chief conſul was too much agitated to render it adviſeable for lord Whitworth to prolong the converſation; he therefore made no anſwer, and Bonaparte retired to his apartment, repeating the laſt phraſe.

All this converſation was loud enough to be heard by about two hundred people who were preſent: and it was ſuppoſed that there was not a ſingle perſon, who did not feel the extreme impropriety of the firſt conſul's conduct.

Lord Whitworth called on M. de Talleyrand to converſe with him on what had paſſed at the Thuilleries, between Bonaparte and his lordſhip on Sunday the fourteenth of March: He ſaid he went to the Thuilleries to pay his reſpects to the firſt conſul, and to preſent his countrymen, and not to treat of political ſubjects; and that unleſs he had the aſſurance from him, that he ſhould not be expoſed to a repetition of the ſame diſagreeable circumſtances, he ſhould be under the neceſſity of diſcontinuing his viſits to the Thuilleries. M. de Talleyrand aſſured his lordſhip that it was very far from the firſt conſul's intention to diſtreſs his lordſhip; but he had felt himſelf perſonally inſulted by the charges which were brought againſt him by the Engliſh government; and that it was incumbent on him to take the firſt opportunity of exculpating himſelf in the preſence of the miniſters of the different powers of Europe. He aſſured him, however, that nothing ſimilar ſhould occur.

His majeſty, hearing of this behaviour of the chief conſul, ſignified by lord Hawkeſbury, that he had a right to expect, that his ambaſſador ſhould be treated with the reſpect and attention due to the dignity of the ſovereign whom he repreſents; and that it would be impoſſible for lord Whitworth to preſent himſelf on any days of ceremony to the firſt conſul, unleſs he receives an aſſurance that he ſhall never be expoſed to a repetition of the treatment which he experienced on that occaſion.

to recollect that Tuesday was the day on which he must leave Paris; and also requested that he would have the necessary passports prepared for him and his family. Talleyrand appeared evidently embarrassed, and, after some hesitation, observed, that he could not suppose he should really go away; but that at all events the First Consul never would recal his ambassador. To this lord Whitworth replied, his majesty recalled me, in order to put an end to the negociation, on the principle that even actual war was preferable to the state of suspence in which England, and indeed all Europe, had been kept for so long a space of time.

After this lord Whitworth relates a number of shifts and expedients which were put in practice by the French minister to gain time. He afterwards found it extremely difficult to find Talleyrand; and when he did get a sight of him, the old arguments were repeated on both sides. Talleyrand talked of a contre projet: lord Whitworth said he could not attend to it, his orders being peremptory. Talleyrand said it should be given him, when he might either accept it, send it to London, or leave Paris. Lord Whitworth waited some time in expectation of it, but it did not arrive; he therefore demanded his passports by an official note which he sent to Mr. Mandeville: after experiencing some delay, he renewed his demand of passports; he obtained them, and prepared to set off.

The following is the *projet* sent by lord Hawkesbury in his last dispatch, and on which lord Whitworth and Talleyrand had their last conference.

I. The French government shall engage to make no opposition to the cession of the island of Lampedosa to his majesty the king of the Two Sicilies.

II. In consequence of the present state of the island of Lampedosa, his majesty shall remain in possession of the island of Malta, until such arrangements shall be made by him, as may enable his majesty to occupy Lampedosa as a naval station; after which period the island of Malta shall be given up to the inhabitants, and acknowledged as an independent state.

III. The territories of the Batavian republic shall be evacuated by the French forces, within one month after the conclusion of a convention founded on the principles of this *projet*.

IV. The king of Etruria, and the Italian and Ligurian republics, shall be acknowledged by his majesty.

V. Switzerland shall be evacuated by the French forces.

VI. A suitable territorial provision shall be assigned to the king of Sardinia in Italy.

Secret Article. His majesty shall not be required by the French government to evacuate the island of Malta, until after the expiration of ten years.

Articles IV. V. VI. may be entirely omitted, or must all be inserted.

Another inclosure contains a letter from lord Whitworth to Talleyrand, informing him that he could not find him, and therefore, as he must leave Paris within a limited time, he would leave the *projet* of a convention with his secretary Mr. Talbot.

Lord Whitworth set out from Paris on the 12th of May, and arrived in London at eleven o'clock at night on the eighteenth. It was at one o'clock on the morning of the ninth, that lord Whitworth received dispatches transmitted by Silvester, the messenger, but in consequence of an accident which had happened to the first consul, he deferred delivering in the final determination of his government till noon on the tenth. A decisive answer was at the same time demanded by the ambassador in the course of thirty-six hours; and if the proposal was rejected, he expressly informed the minister for foreign affairs, that he had orders to quit Paris at the expiration of that time. An answer was soon after sent to lord Whitworth, that the first consul intended to submit to his council of state, the decision of the question of war or peace. The council was accordingly assembled; and notwithstanding the opposition both of Joseph Bonaparte and Talleyrand, the issue of their deliberations was the renewal of hostilities.

Constituted as this council is, no other result could be reasonably expected. It does not appear that either the senate or the legislative body were in any respect consulted; and no other advice was asked than that which was previously known to accord with Bonaparte's avowed opinion. The council was occupied in the consideration of the question, till the afternoon of the twelfth. The expedient of referring the points in dispute to the decision of the council of state, was a mean subterfuge calculated for giving another day's delay, and taking off as much as possible from the first consul, the odium of involving the people of France in a war. Lord Whitworth quitted Paris three hours after the opinion of those pretended counsellors was communicated to him.

The crisis being now arrived, lord Pelham brought down on the sixteenth of May, the following *message from his majesty* *.

" G. R.

" the government of France, his majesty finds himself
' compelled to take such measures as are necessary for
' vindicating the honour of his crown, and the just rights
' of his subjects; his majesty therefore is pleased, by and
' with the advice of his privy council, to order, and it
is hereby ordered, that general reprisals be granted

* On the same day, his majesty issued his royal proclamation, at a court held at the queen's palace, present the king's most excellent majesty in council, in the following words:

" Whereas, in consequence of the repeated insults and " provocations which his majesty has experienced from

"G. R.

"His majeſty thinks proper to acquaint the "houſe of lords, that the diſcuſſions which his ma- "jeſty announced on the eighth of March, as then "ſubſiſting between his majeſty and the French go- "vernment, have terminated. The conduct of the "French government has obliged his majeſty to re- "call his ambaſſador from Paris; and the ambaſſa- "dor from the French republic has left London. "His majeſty has given directions for laying before "the houſe of lords, with as little delay as poſ- "ſible, copies of ſuch papers as may be proper for "the information of parliament on this important "ſubject. It is a conſolation to his majeſty to re- "flect, that no endeavour has been wanting on his "part to preſerve the bleſſings of peace; but, un- "der the circumſtances which have occurred to diſ- "appoint his juſt expectations, his majeſty relies "with perfect confidence on the zeal and public "ſpirit of the houſe of lords, and upon the exertions "of his brave and loyal ſubjects, to ſupport his de- "termination to employ the power and reſources "of the country, in oppoſing the ſpirit of ambition "and encroachment, which now actuates the con- "duct of the French government, in upholding "the dignity of the crown, and in aſſerting and "maintaining the rights and eſſential intereſts of his "people."

The meſſage having been read by the lord chancellor,

Lord Pelham ſtated, that what their lordſhips had juſt heard read, would be followed by the communication of the papers which it alluded to, without the leaſt poſſible delay. Their lordſhips would no doubt be anxious to give them the fulleſt examination, before they ſhould be called upon to determine on the ſubject of the meſſage itſelf; and as there certainly could not be ſufficient time to enable them to accompliſh that object before the beginning of next week, he would move that his majeſty's meſſage ſhould be taken into conſideration on that day ſe'ennight.

Lord Stanhope ſaid, he agreed with the language of the meſſage, as to the importance of the ſubject, which was now ſubmitted to them. War, was at all times, a ſubject of the moſt ſerious importance. War, the evils of which might be ſummed up in the quotation uſed by a right reverend prelate then in the houſe: "Before it is as a garden of Eden, and behind it is as a deſolate Wilderneſs," was pregnant with more than ordinary evils to a country like this, which had almoſt exhauſted its ſtrength and its finances in a recent conteſt. He expreſſed a deſire of ſome delay, to receive information from the peruſal of the papers alluded to, and to deliberate maturely on the ſituation of the country.

'againſt the ſhips, goods, and ſubjects of the French re- 'public, ſo that as well as his majeſty's fleets and ſhips, 'as alſo all other ſhips and veſſels that ſhall be commiſ- 'ſioned by letters of marque, or general reprifals, or 'otherwiſe, by his majeſty's commiſſioners for executing 'the office of lord high admiral of Great Britain, ſhall 'and may lawfully ſeize all ſhips, veſſels, and goods be- 'longing to the French republic, or to any perſons being 'ſubjects of the French republic, or inhabiting within 'any of the territories of the French republic, and bring 'the ſame to judgment in ſuch courts of admiralty within 'his majeſty's dominions, as ſhall be duly commiſſion- 'ed to take cognizance thereof; and, to that end, his 'majeſty's advocate general, with the advocate of the 'admiralty, are forthwith to prepare a draft of a com- 'miſſion, and preſent the ſame to his majeſty at his 'board, authoriſing the commiſſioners for executing the 'office of lord high admiral, or any perſon or perſons by 'them empowered and appointed, to iſſue forth and 'grant letters of marque and reprifals to any of his ma- 'jeſty's ſubjects, or others whom the ſaid commiſſioners 'ſhall deem fitly qualified in that behalf, for the appre- 'hending, ſeizing, and taking, the ſhips, veſſels, and 'goods belonging to the French republic, or to any per- 'ſons being ſubjects of the French republic, or inhabiting 'within any of the territories of the French republic: 'and that ſuch powers and clauſes be inſerted in the ſaid 'commiſſion, as have been uſual, and are according to 'former precedents; and his majeſty's ſaid advocate ge- 'neral, with the advocate of the admiralty, are alſo 'forthwith to prepare the draft of a commiſſion, and pre- 'ſent the ſame to his majeſty at his board, authoriſing 'the ſaid commiſſioners for executing the office of lord high 'admiral, to will and require the high court of admiral- 'ty of Great Britain, and the lieutenant and judge of 'the ſaid court, his ſurrogate, or ſurrogates, as alſo the 'ſeveral courts of admiralty within his majeſty's domini- 'ons which ſhall be duly commiſſioned to take cogni- 'zance of, and judicially proceed upon all, and all man- 'ner of captures, ſeizures, prizes, and reprifals of all 'ſhips and goods that are or ſhall be made; and to hear 'and determine the ſame, and according to the courts of 'admiralty and the laws of nations, to adjudge and con- 'demn all ſuch ſhips, veſſels, and goods, as ſhall belong 'to the French republic, or to any perſons being ſubjects 'of the French republic; or inhabiting within any of 'the territories of the French republic; and that ſuch 'powers and clauſes be inſerted in the ſaid commiſſion as 'have been uſual, and are according to former prece- 'dents; and they are likewiſe to prepare and lay before 'his majeſty at this board, a draft of ſuch inſtructions as 'may be proper to be ſent to the ſaid ſeveral courts of 'admiralty, in his majeſty's foreign governments and 'plantations, for their guidance herein; as alſo another 'draft of inſtructions for ſuch ſhips as ſhall be commiſ- 'ſioned for the purpoſes above mentioned." [Here follow the ſignatures of thirty-one members of the privy council.]

Three other proclamations were alſo iſſued; the firſt, offering bounties to ſeamen; the ſecond, recalling Britiſh ſeamen from foreign ſervice; and the third, prohibiting the Britiſh ſhips from entering the ports of the French and Batavian republics, and alſo ordering an embargo on French and Batavian ſhips in Britiſh ports.

The

The motion was then carried unanimouſly, and the houſe adjourned.

The order of the day for taking into conſideration his majeſty's meſſage on the twenty-fifth of May, being read, lord Pelham ſaid,

That in riſing upon the occaſion which now called him, it was perhaps unneceſſary to remark upon its extreme importance. The queſtion of peace or war was at all times important, but connected with the circumſtances under which it was now preſented to their conſideration, it challenged more than ordinary attention. The documents on which their lordſhips' deciſion was required, had been for ſome days before the houſe, and to them alone did he wiſh at preſent to direct their enquiries; fully acquieſcing in the line of proceeding ſuggeſted the other day, of reſerving the examination of the conduct of miniſtry for a ſeparate occaſion. It was now impoſſible to peruſe the papers on their lordſhips' table, without admitting that they were not liable to the imputation of having raſhly plunged the country into hoſtilities. If, at firſt view, they were chargeable with any degree of blame, it certainly was with that of delay. But that charge ſo far as it implied culpability, might eaſily be refuted, and was of itſelf a ſtrong proof of the anxiety which his majeſty and his Government felt, of preſerving to this country and to Europe the bleſſings of peace. The complaints and irritating proceedings of the French government, in a variety of particulars, ſoon after the concluſion of the definitive treaty, miniſters were unwilling to regard as the effect of a rooted ſyſtem of enmity to this country. They made every allowance for the impreſſions which muſt have neceſſarily been left, by a war of ſuch a complexion as that which had been concluded by the treaty of Amiens. They conſidered alſo the difficulties and jealouſies, which muſt be felt by a new government in its relations with its neighbours; and they were diſpoſed to attribute the early proceedings of the French government more to this ſort of feeling, than to any ſettled deſign of provoking a quarrel with us. Theſe proceedings, however, it would be found, had not paſſed unnoticed, but had been the ſubject of repeated remonſtrances, couched in that firm, but temperate ſpirit, which became the dignity of a great nation. His lordſhip here proceeded to take a rapid view of the conduct of France, from the concluſion of the treaty of Amiens, to the period of lord Whitworth's departure from Paris, from the whole of which, he contended, no other inference could be drawn, than that France intended gradually to reduce us to the ſame ſubmiſſive condition to which ſhe had degraded ſo many of the ſtates of Europe. She began with the inſulting propoſal, that his majeſty ſhould expel from his dominions, thoſe unfortunate men who have been driven by the cruel perſecution of their own country, to ſeek an aſylum in this. The next ſtep of the French government was to inſiſt upon the ſuppreſſion of freedom of debate in the Britiſh parliament, and the utter extinction of the liberty of the preſs. Upon the latter point, he was free to acknowledge that too much occaſion had been afforded for diſſatisfaction on the part of the French government, with thoſe connected with the preſs in this country. In ſeveral inſtances it had overſtepped the reſtraints, which a ſenſe of what was due to public decorum ought to have voluntarily impoſed; and he could not avoid ſuppoſing that much of the irritation which had led to the preſent rupture, was perhaps juſtly to be attributed to this cauſe. But there is a wide difference between this admiſſion, and yielding to a propoſal which would totally deſtroy the freedom of the preſs, the value of which we had ſo long been taught to appreciate, and, above all, would be a baſe compliance, with the attempt of a foreign power to interfere in the internal concerns of his majeſty's government. The next point, to which he would direct their attention, was the ſubject of Malta. A peruſal of the correſpondence would ſufficiently evince that his majeſty's miniſters had been ſcrupulouſly anxious to fulfil the treaty of Amiens with reſpect to that iſland. They had taken the earlieſt occaſion to ſend out ſir A. Ball, as commiſſioner, for the purpoſe of concerting with general Vial, who was appointed by the French government, all the meaſures preparatory to its evacuation. They alſo, as a farther teſtimony of their good faith, acquieſced in the nomination of a grand maſter by the pope. But they ſoon found that, partly from the refuſal of the different parties, referred to by the contracting powers to guarantee the independence of the iſland, and particularly from the conduct of France, or the countries under her influence, in ſequeſtrating the revenue of the order of St. John, the accompliſhment of the ſpirit, as well as the letter, of the tenth article of the treaty of Amiens, had become impracticable. This was the ſtate of things when the report of colonel Sebaſtiani made its appearance. Though inſerted in an official paper, miniſters were far from ſuppoſing that the views which it manifeſted would be deliberately avowed, as they had afterwards been, both by Talleyrand and the firſt conſul, in their converſations with lord Whitworth. After this undiſguiſed acknowledgment of the ambitious purpoſes entertained by the French government, miniſters felt that they would be betraying the intereſts of their country, if they did not compel that government to furniſh us with a ſolid ſecurity againſt the proſecution of thoſe purpoſes: and on this account, as there appeared no other means of attaining that object, they inſiſted upon the retention of Malta. This was the true light in which the difference with France ſhould be viewed, as far as regards the occupation of that iſland.

and. The ground of diſpute was not, abſtractedly, whether England or France ſhould have poſſeſſion of Malta, but whether it ſhould not be retained by us, either permanently or for a certain period, as could be agreed upon, as the only poſt which could afford us the means of fruſtrating the openly-admitted deſigns of France upon Egypt and the Ionian republic. His lordſhip having argued upon this topic at great length, briefly recapitulated the various inſtances detailed in the correſpondence, which clearly indicated the exiſtence of a hoſtile mind in the French government. He, however, conjured their lordſhips to bring into the diſcuſſion of thoſe circumſtances, the moſt diſpaſſionate temper. It was neither the wiſh of his majeſty's government, nor was it neceſſary for the aſſertion of the intereſts of the country, to give way to the feelings and language of irritation. They would always be ready to do every thing in their power to reſtore a good underſtanding between the two countries, upon receiving the ſatisfaction which was due to a great and powerful nation for the indignities offered to her, and on receiving an adequate ſecurity againſt the renewal of thoſe ambitious projects, againſt which we had taken up arms. His lordſhip then concluded with moving an addreſs.

Lord Stanhope, after declaring the addreſs to be founded on a miſtake, ſaid he ſhould be doing violence to his conſcience, were he to vote in ſupport of it.

The duke of Cumberland gave his cordial aſſent to the addreſs.

The duke of Clarence ſtated the grounds on which he had ſupported the peace of Amiens, though it did not ſtipulate for two of the objects which he had moſt at heart. The ceſſion of Malta to this country, and the reſtoration of the king of Sardinia. Notwithſtanding this diſappointment, he conſidered the treaty, on the whole, as both honourable and advantageous; and ſuch as, had the French government manifeſted the ſame ſincerity with his majeſty's miniſters for carrying it into effect, in its ſpirit as well as its letter, might long have preſerved the bleſſings of peace to both countries. His royal highneſs here took occaſion to detail the various points of contraſt in the conduct of the French and Britiſh governments, contending, as the general reſult, that in no reſpect was the latter chargeable with a breach of good faith. He truſted, that the iſſue of the preſent conteſt would ſo chaſtiſe the inſolence of the rulers of France, that they would not only retract their boaſt, that England could not fight France ſingle-handed, but feel convinced, that with reſpect to the foreign poſſeſſions of them and their vaſſal ſtates of Spain and Holland, we had it amply in our power to retort upon them the ſame language and conduct, which they adopted with reſpect to us, in regard to our intercourſe with the continent.

Lord Mulgrave, with a minuteneſs of detail, which will not permit us to follow in its full extent, expatiated on the ſeries of inſults and provocations which we had received from the French government ever ſince the concluſion of the treaty of Amiens. In the remonſtrances which had been made relative to Switzerland, Holland, Malta, and the various other topics of complaint on our part, he conceived that miniſters had exhauſted every means of conciliation, before they made an appeal to the deciſion of the ſword. On theſe grounds he found himſelf bound by his duty to his ſovereign, his country, and his conſcience to concur in the addreſs.

Lord Melville obſerved, that it had not been contended by any noble lord, that Egypt was not eſſential to the intereſts of this country, in whatever light it might be viewed. That point being admitted, no noble lord in any manner argued, or even ſo much as attempted to argue, that Malta was not equally eſſential to the preſervation of poſſeſſions in the eaſt, as affording a key to Egypt. With reſpect to that iſland, no guarantee for it had been found, as was ſtipulated by the treaty of Amiens. Would it be proper to have recourſe to Pruſſia, Spain, or Auſtria, as guarantees?—No. The firſt is by local ſituation incapable of ſuch a truſt; the ſecond is under the controul of France; and the third, in the preſent ſituation of affairs, cannot interfere with any effect. Malta, therefore, could only be guaranteed by Great Britain and Ruſſia united; but it would appear from the feeble manifeſtation of that power, that by a Britiſh garriſon alone this point could be attained. In conſidering the papers which had been produced, he perceived many difficulties; and the difficulties which appeared to have been moſt prominent, were thoſe whereby this country, by the treaty of Amiens, was to cede and give up the iſland of Malta. It had already been proved, that by the poſſeſſion of Malta, the French government had over-run Egypt, and carried their arms to the eaſtern regions; but it had alſo been rendered manifeſt, that by quitting poſſeſſion of that important ſtation, the Britiſh nation had undertaken the gigantic enterprize of driving the French from Egypt. While therefore Malta remained in the cuſtody of Great Britain, it was wholly impoſſible that the French power could attempt to undertake any enterprize which could tend, in the ſmalleſt degree, to overturn the dominion of England on that iſland. Malta is a town of great ſtrength, in the Mediterranean, for this country, becauſe the various powers, petty ſtates, and dependants, in the Adriatic and in the Levant, will be taught that England is their only ſtay. The tenth article of the treaty of Amiens, and indeed the whole of that treaty, was now therefore to be conſidered as ſo much dead letter. He wiſhed particularly to impreſs upon their lordſhips, that if Malta was the avowed object of the war, that it ſhould be ſo ſtated. Let the country hear no more of the order of St. John of Jeruſalem, but let a Britiſh

tish garrison for ever protect and defend that island. He congratulated the house, upon the circumstance of all the struggles being at an end relative to that possession, and now it was blended, and had in fact become a possession of singular importance, annexed to the authority and consequence of the British empire. When the forces of his majesty first landed on that island, the order of St. John had been degraded and insulted, and their honours had been tarnished; and even now, it would be a hard question to propose to the Maltese people, whether they would wish to live under the Maltese order, or under the government of France. When the British forces came to Malta, the Maltese had blockaded the French in the Valetta, and it would now be peculiarly severe were they again to be put under their former masters. The order of St. John did no longer exist, and nothing certainly could prevent this country from asserting and maintaining our right to the island. His lordship therefore wished to hear no more of any contest respecting Malta, between England and any other power; as the Maltese and this country would suit and arrange the various branches of the government among themselves. The noble lord concluded by declaring, that this country, in his opinion, was to retain and keep Malta in perpetuity as its guarantee, and upon that ground he would cordially support the motion for an address to his majesty.

The duke of Richmond took a view of the conduct of administration, and contended, notwithstanding their high language now, that, some time ago, they would have given up Malta, and taken in exchange the island of Lampedosa.

The marquis of Landidown argued on several points of discussion, which had been stated by the noble peers before he rose. With respect to Switzerland, surely Austria could not interfere; neither could it be presumed, that Austria would interfere in the annexation of Parma and Placentia to the French power. Even the report of Sebastiani was not a legitimate cause of war, because there was no state in Europe which did not employ spies and emissaries to collect every information upon every subject.

The duke of Norfolk said, that he approved of the peace which had been concluded by the treaty of Amiens, and hoped some means might be devised by which it might be preserved.

Lord King concluded a speech of considerable length, by moving an amendment to the original motion, for an address, to the following effect:—

"To assure his majesty of the co-operation of the "house in the vigorous prosecution of the war; "but at the same time to assure his majesty, that the "house was anxious to support him in any arrange- "ment which might be entered into, for bringing "the present dispute to an amicable termination, "&c."

Lord Ellenborough opposed the amendment in a very animated speech.

In the further progress of the debate, the original address was supported by lord Moira, lord Rosslyn, the marquis of Sligo, and lord Grenville, and the amendment by the duke of Norfolk, lord Darnley, and lord Gwydir. The house having been divided on the amendment, it was lost by a majority of one hundred and forty-two to ten. After which, the original address was carried.

Such was the opinion of the house of lords with respect to the important subject of discussion; and the lower house manifested a similar disposition. On the twenty-fourth of May, lord Hawkesbury brought up to the house, several papers connected with the late negociation, which had been prepared in consequence of lord Whitworth's return. He then moved the order of the day for the house resuming the debate on his majesty's message.

The speaker stated, that an address had been moved to his majesty, which he read. It was merely an echo of the message. To this address an amendment had been moved, assuring his majesty that the house was anxious to support him in any arrangement, which might be entered into for bringing the present dispute to an amicable adjustment.

After some prefatory observations, Mr. Thomas Grenville said, he should proceed to consider the argument, whether the country has a just cause of war? Dependant on this question was another, namely, whether having a just cause of war, there may not be a proper degree of expediency in pursuing it.—With regard to the first of these points, he had no hesitation in saying, that every act of the French government, since the definitive treaty, had been to degrade, vilify, and abuse England, while the French nation was exalted and praised. In considering of the question, therefore, whether we had a just cause of war, his difficulty was in culling the most prominent from the mass, as he could not lay his finger on one, without touching another, so bloated and deformed was the scandalous catalogue of French insult and aggression. If he were to take the first mentioned in the declaration*, he would say, that the act of sending men into this country, disguised

* His majesty had issued a declaration, written in a temperate yet firm and dignified style, clearly manifesting the great moderation and forbearance of the British government, under a continued system of aggression and menace, with which the French have insulted this country. The declaration of his majesty is such as becomes a great nation, whose faith and dignity it most ably justifies. It is a simple narrative of recorded facts that convinces the understanding, without any delusive aid, drawn from argument or abstract reading. In the negociation itself, we find the sophistry of the chief consul miserably opposed to the plain dealing of an English plenipotentiary;

diſguiſed as commercial agents, but who were in fact military ſpies, who were received with that generous hoſpitality which ever characteriſes Britons, that mere act he would pronounce to be a cauſe for war; nay, more, it was ſo ſcandalous and deteſtable a breach of faith, as muſt ſtamp infamy eternal on its authors. He did not mean to trouble the houſe, on the point reſpecting the annexation of the dominions of the king of Sardinia to France, but this he would alſo pronounce another ſufficient cauſe of war. Neither would he make any remark with regard to the conduct of France towards Switzerland, conceiving any animadverſion on that point to be entirely ſuperfluous. Though it was not his intention to go into a detail of all the acts of aggreſſion of France, conſidered as cauſes of war, ſtill he could not help remarking, that the ſhuffling duplicity exhibited reſpecting the indemnities and general arrangement of the Germanic empire, were all, in his opinion, ſo many cauſes of war; leſs, however, in point of general conſequence, but ſtill either, or any of them, occurring at a period of peace, was amply ſufficient to create a war. At the time when the treaty of Amiens was ſigned, was there any man ſo feeble, ſo weak, or ſilly, as not to perceive the influence which France maintained over the Batavian republic. Her troops were in the country, indeed they have never been entirely withdrawn, and Belgium is, as it has long been, completely under the dominion of her powerful neighbour. He wiſhed the Houſe to recollect the great leading argument in favour of the treaty of Amiens, and which in reality, as ſome aſſert, recommended it to the particular notice of the houſe. It was the tone and temper in which it had been obtained and concluded. He did not introduce this with any view towards a ridiculous application of theſe phraſes, but merely to remind the houſe of what was ſaid, regarding a ſpirit of conciliation riſing in France, which would in future conduct the government of that country in the ſame manner as other powers did relative to each other, meaning, as he ſuppoſed thereby, that every thing wild and extravagant was to be baniſhed from the councils of the French nation. But where was that ſpirit found? Was it in her ſtrict obſervance of treaties towards Holland and Switzerland? Was it then by her annexing Parma and Placentia to her territories? But when all theſe inſtances failed, it was ſaid, at the time of the treaty of Amiens being concluded, there was no ground for reſiſtance. The conduct of France, ſince that treaty, with regard to Egypt, could be conſidered as nothing ſhort of a direct infraction of that compact. This country was bound to guarantee the integrity of the Turkiſh empire, becauſe the events of the war had ſhewn that Turkey was a great and leading feature towards the conſervation of our eaſtern poſſeſſions. We were contented to evacuate Egypt, not ſuppoſing that France would reſume the hoſtile idea of extending the war againſt thoſe poſſeſſions; but if any man could read Sebaſtiani's report, and ſay, that theſe poſſeſſions are not pointed at, and endangered by the intrigues of that officer, he ſhould deſpair of making good his point, that the conduct of France in this inſtance, was not a legitimate cauſe of war. Bonaparte calls it a military miſſion, and Andreoſſi frankly avowed it. This was not all: Sebaſtiani went to the Seven Iſlands, where, he ſays, there appeared an inclination to receive the orders of the French government. Another paper ſtated that the church at Corfu had offered up prayers for the firſt conſul: An officer has likewiſe been ſent to Cairo, doubtleſs on ſome important miſſion, and of courſe all the forms of the Mahometan religion would be employed in like manner, in praying for the diſtinguiſhed conſul. But Mr. Grenville admits, that when he read, in his majeſty's declaration, the open and avowed intention of Bonaparte to partition the Turkiſh empire, he was loſt in aſtoniſhment how any doubt could exiſt in the mind of man, of the deſigns of that ruler. It might be ſaid, that no official document or manifeſto is alluded to on this occaſion to warrant ſuch an aſſertion; but his deſign was rendered ſo manifeſt and clear by his earneſt and anxious deſire to regain Egypt, that no man, he believed, could be found hardy enough to deny it. Miniſters had been blamed for not giving up Malta, and much clamour had been excited againſt them for not doing ſo; they acted properly in retaining it; they perceived France infringing the treaty of Amiens, and they reſolved to retain it. What, were they to ſurrender entirely this important ſtation, with the acts of France, in violation of the treaty, ſtaring them in the face? Had they done ſo, they would have found now that it muſt be their firſt effort to regain it. Upon the whole of theſe points, to which he had thus ſlightly adverted, he had no heſitation in ſaying, that he never had met with ſuch ſtrong, invincible, irreſiſtible, and unanſwerable grounds of war. It might be neceſſary that he ſhould add a few words on the expediency of a war. To ſay that the ſituation in which the country ſtood was not dangerous, in an imminent degree, would be to deceive ourſelves, and drive the truth from before us. We are placed in ſuch a ſituation that our choice, either way, is one of the greateſt evils that can afflict mankind. But if war is reſolved on, is it a ſtate of peace with all its bleſſings and comforts, that we leave for war. Had any man felt thoſe bleſſings

tiary; demonſtrating through the whole little more than the weakneſs of his own judgment, and the irritability of a coarſe ungovernable diſpoſition. Even in his affectation to deprecate a rupture with England, he had not the ordinary policy to diſguiſe, that warfare with her was predetermined in his mind.

ſince

ſince the treaty of Amiens? No, not one. He was confident a man was not to be found in the realms of his majeſty who could ſay ſo. If we reſolve on war, then we change from a ſtate of dreadful ſuſpence and uncertainty, to one of firmneſs, vigour, and deciſion, preſenting a bold front againſt all danger of attack, as the only means of ſecuring to us a peace which will prove ſtable and efficient; ſecured by victory, and obtained by our honour. All that we have had ſince the definitive treaty, has been a truce, where we diſarmed, while France did not; where we gave up ſomething every day, and every day France obtained ſome new acquiſition, till at length, having gained ſufficient time, our enemy would then with effect bring on a quarrel. Happily, however, for England, it did not appear that miniſters had been ſo near-ſighted. He now wiſhed to ſee what, in one inſtance only, this country had to gain by a war. Within the laſt two months, France had given up Louiſiana. This was a ſhallow artifice, eaſily ſeen through, and by no means what ſome ſuppoſe it, an ebullition of generoſity. No, an apprehenſion of war, on the part of France, was the cauſe of the ceſſion to America; and that ceſſion was more indicative of a hoſtile mind than any thing elſe. What could induce France to abandon that valuable ſettlement, but the idea that after a war ſhe will be able to regain it; and, as it is a diſtant poſſeſſion, not to be troubled with its defence during the conteſt. The powers of Europe muſt ſee the domineering ſpirit of France; they muſt alſo perceive in this country a ſpirit to oppoſe that error, and reſiſt its aggrandized power. With regard to the amendment, he did not think it either ought or could be maintained. There was no duty ſo ſtrong, indeed it was the paramount obligation of every man, that nothing but unanimity ſhould appear in that houſe. We are to ſpeak to Europe at large, but to France in a particular manner; and he could not help expreſſing his aſtoniſhment at any amendment which could do no eſſential good, but on the contrary might produce infinite miſchief. If the country be unanimous, and the parliament true to the country, in taking care the ſupplies he properly adminiſtered, and wiſely employed, we ſhall come out of the conteſt with glory to ourſelves, honour to the nation, ſafety to our people, and confer laſting and permanent benefits on poſterity.

Mr. Whitbread ſupported the amendment with great ability.

Mr. Canning expreſſed his aſtoniſhment that any doubt could remain in the mind of any man, as to the juſtice of our quarrel, after peruſing the maſs of evidence contained in the papers on the table. He then touched upon the moſt prominent points of the correſpondence, to prove that the aggreſſion was clearly on the ſide of France.

Mr. Dallas ſpoke againſt the amendment.

Mr. Fox went over the different points of complaint in detail, and contended, that upon none of them had he brought the diſcuſſion with France to that clear unequivocal iſſue, which would conſtitute a legitimate cauſe of war. If France had unjuſtly ſeized and confiſcated Britiſh veſſels, ſatisfaction ought to have been demanded in a firm and decided tone; and if that was refuſed, there would have been an undoubted act of aggreſſion on the part of France. There was no nation more expoſed to complaint, for reſtraints on the commerce of other countries, than Great Britain. Alarming as the extended dominion of France was to this country, and the continental powers, if we took into the compariſon all our acquiſitions in India, it would be found that, as between us and France, the charge of aggrandizement applied to this country. But when this view of the queſtion was taken, miniſters ſeemed to imitate the conduct of thoſe ladies, who, on their return from India were accuſed of ſome irregularities, and whoſe anſwer always was, "Never, upon my honour, on this ſide the Cape of Good Hope." He thought Malta ought to be placed under the protection of Ruſſia, which, it appears, was diſpoſed to accept the guarantee under certain modifications. He begged the houſe to pauſe before they plunged the country into all the horrors of war, and to recollect the ſituation it was in during the laſt five years of the preceding war. They were told, not by a novice, but by a very diſtinguiſhed artiſt, that the dangers they were then expoſed to, and the burdens they then had borne, were nothing, compared to what now awaited them. As they had then paid a tenth, they would now be compelled to pay a fifth, or a third of their income. He would vote for the amendment, becauſe, while it pledged the houſe to the ſupport of his majeſty, it manifeſted an anxiety for the ſpeedieſt poſſible reſtoration of peace. Mr. Fox ſaid, that when we concluded the treaty of Amiens, we were aware that Europe was far from being in a comfortable ſtate; we had, however, acquieſced in that imperfect ſecurity. This was the condition of man in ſociety. If we had always aimed at ſubſtantial and abſolute ſecurity, we ſhould have had nothing but unremitted war for the laſt century. The ſituation of Italy we knew at the time of our ſigning the definitive treaty. As to Piedmont, it was a mere difference of name, and it was a matter of complete inſignificance whether it was called the 27th military diviſion, or the department of the Po. Adverting to the ſituation of Holland, filled with French troops, and to the late revolution of Switzerland, he argued, that our miniſters, from all that had appeared, had never properly remonſtrated on thoſe important points, and had therefore no right to make them a part of his majeſty's declaration.

ration. If they had remonſtrated, it is at leaſt probable that redreſs might have been obtained. If it were contended, that every aggrandizement on the part of France ſhould be a cauſe of jealouſy on our part, this, in his opinion, would be puſhing the principle too far. Every improvement in the interior of France, might in that caſe be conſidered as offenſive, and war between the two countries might be regarded as eternal. The affairs of Holland and Switzerland ſeemed, however, to be inferred in the declaration, only to avoid the perpetual repetition of "the Firſt Conſul," and "Malta;" and this was pretty evident from our omitting all mention of the Swiſs in our *ultimatum*. The treatment of the Dutch by France could not be too ſtrongly condemned; but our miniſters, who did not remonſtrate, had no right to complain. It formed nearly as black a ſtain, however, in the conduct of the French government, as their proceedings with regard to St. Domingo. The idea of reeſtabliſhing the French government in that iſland, was as abſurd and ruinous, as its conduct to Touſſaint had been falſe and treacherous. In all theſe proceedings, in the affair of the German indemnities, in the occupation of Parma and Placentia, he ſaw no legitimate cauſe of quarrel on the part of England, and particularly as our miniſters had failed to remonſtrate at the proper ſeaſon. With reſpect to the attack made by the conſulat government on the liberty of the preſs in this country, it betrayed only a groſs ignorance of the forms and eſſence of our conſtitution: and if their demands had been reſiſted in a manly way, it would never, in his opinion, have furniſhed a ground for diſpute. The reciprocal abuſe, and mutual irritation, ariſing from this ſource, were certainly matters of regret; but no perſon could ſay that they offered a ground for war. He did not profeſs to entertain much reſpect for the members of the Bourbon family, but if it was inſiſted peremptorily that one of them was to be ſent out of the kingdom, he ſhould refuſe it on the point of honour, though at the expence of a war. This, however, had not been demanded. Much reliance had been placed on the language of the *expoſe*, "That England could no longer contend ſingle-handed with France." This was an impertinent phraſe, but, as was uſual in ſociety, it ſhould either have been noticed at the time, or conſigned to utter contempt. With reſpect to the report of Sebaſtiani, of which ſo much has been ſaid, it was in many reſpects highly indecorous. The attack upon general Stuart was indecent, but from every thing he had heard, the character of that officer ſtood too high to be affected by ſo pitiable a calumny. He regretted that ſo much had been ſaid of the verbal intercourſe between lord Whitworth and Bonaparte. Converſations of ſuch a kind were ſubject to different repreſentations, but all that could be inferred from them was this, that lord Whitworth ſhould not have gone again to the palace of the Thuilleries till the matter was properly explained.

Mr. Addington made a very excellent reply. He declared he had heard the laſt ſpeaker with equal admiration and regret. He was ſorry that any thing ſhould fall from his great and exalted talents, which had for its tendency to unnerve and unhinge the public mind under the preſent circumſtances. It was to hold forth hope and encouragement to a rival nation, which ſhould rather be impreſſed with a deep conviction of guilty deſigns. The ſpeech, which the houſe had juſt heard, ſeemed calculated to invite individuals to weigh their private inconveniences againſt their public duty. The addreſs had not been ſo conſtructed as to cover miniſters, who did not deſire to ſhrink from any enquiry whatever. It was meant to embrace all opinions, and to produce that unanimity ſo important and ſo eſſential upon the preſent occaſion. There might be ſome difference of opinion as to the manner in which his majeſty's miniſters had conducted the negociation, but, till within the laſt hour, he never ſuppoſed that any man could doubt the ſincerity of their wiſhes for peace. He ſhould not follow the hon. gentleman through all his details; but he truſted that he could briefly ſhew, that with reſpect to Holland and Switzerland, on which the principal ſtreſs had been laid, the miniſters had fully diſcharged their duty. It was only to be recollected, that where the remonſtrances had been verbal, the communications could not be ſtrictly formal. In this way, lord Whitworth had been inſtructed to demand the evacuation of Holland by the French troops. Theſe demands were continued till our miniſter at the Hague (Mr. Liſton) ſtated, by the deſire of the Dutch government, that our interpoſition could not be attended with advantage. In the ſame way, we had interpoſed for Switzerland, and to that interpoſition it was owing that the doom of that unfortunate country was mitigated, and that it was not annexed as a province to France. The chancellor of the exchequer then read ſeveral extracts from the correſpondence on the table, to ſhew the *malus animus* of France with reſpect to this country, the deſigns upon Egypt, and their wiſh to violate the treaty of Amiens, as far as regarded the integrity of the Turkiſh empire. In proof of the hoſtile deſigns of the French government, he ſtated that the expences of the army which had been reduced to two hundred and ten millions of livres, amounted in March laſt, when his majeſty's meſſage was delivered, to two hundred and forty millions; and thoſe of the navy had ariſen in a like proportion, namely, from one hundred and five, to one hundred and twenty ſix millions. The papers on the table, he contended, were ſufficient

to convince every thinking man in the country of the propriety of the conduct purſued by miniſters. Had they acted otherwiſe, they would have betrayed their truſt, and gone into a new war with diminiſhed advantages. They had not inſiſted upon Malta; on the contrary, they had offered in their laſt project, to accept of any other equivalent ſecurity; but this was refuſed. Under ſuch circumſtances, it became abſolutely neceſſary, to put forth this ſtrength of the nation. He, for himſelf and his colleagues, exhibited a general diſclaimer to that ſort of coverture which was ſuppoſed to be conveyed in the addreſs, and therefore he hoped, it would have the general, if not the unanimous, concurrence of the houſe

The Attorney General did not wiſh, at ſo late an hour, to intrude on the time of the houſe, otherwiſe he had materials before him that would convince them of the immediate neceſſity of commencing a war againſt a powerful and dangerous enemy.

Mr. Windham conſidered it a perfectly juſt war; and that a peace, under the preſent ſituation of affairs, would be dangerous to the country. The houſe of commons, he conſidered like an aſſembly of ſurgeons, convened to execute a great but delicate operation; and he would aſk, whether it would not be better to give the patient a little pain, than let him periſh by falſe kindneſs? This was the exact ſtate of the country at the preſent moment: we muſt ſuffer pain to ſave our country from becoming a heap of ruins. He ſhould therefore ſupport the original queſtion. The houſe divided on the amendment. Ayes, ſixty-ſeven; Noes, three hundred and ninety-eight. Majority in favour of the addreſs, three hundred and thirty-one.

On the twenty-ſeventh of May, a debate occurred in the houſe of commons reſpecting the mediation of Ruſſia. Mr. Fox roſe, and having detailed, in a long ſpeech, the advantages that would reſult from the mediation of Ruſſia, he contended that ſhe was equally inclined to promote an adjuſtment of differences, and capable of making both powers abide by her deciſion. After taking an enlarged view of the queſtion, he ſubmitted the following motion to the houſe: "That an humble addreſs be "preſented to his majeſty, praying that he would "be graciouſly pleaſed to avail himſelf of the diſpo- "ſition manifeſted by his imperial majeſty the em- "peror of Ruſſia, to offer his mediation between "his majeſty and the republic of France, as a means "of terminating the war in which we are engaged, "in a manner conſiſtent with the honour of his ma- "jeſty's crown, and with a view to the general tran- "quillity of Europe."

Lord Hawkeſbury was equally ready to agree that Ruſſia was the power, which of all others the country ſhould endeavour to conciliate, as affording the beſt hopes of arreſting the progreſs of French ambition. He muſt candidly admit, that one circumſtance weighed particularly on his mind with reſpect to the concluſion of the laſt peace, which was, that of forming a barrier to the aggrandizement of France. From the ſigning of the treaty to the preſent time, no efforts have been wanting on the part of his majeſty's government to form a cloſe connection with Ruſſia, having for its baſis no hoſtility towards any power, and, having only in view the neceſſary meaſures of defence. Thoſe efforts have, however, failed; otherwiſe it is highly probable, that the preſent criſis would not have ariſen. He aſſured the houſe, that during the whole of the negociation, his majeſty's miniſters uſed every opportunity of expreſſing to the court of Peterſburgh their deſire of preſerving peace; but no meaſure was propoſed by that court, however good its intentions, that did not ſeem calculated to add to that procraſtination of which the French were ſo deſirous. With regard to the ſuppoſed offer of mediation, he had to ſay, that after a long negotiation, after a frank and full expreſſion of his majeſty's ſentiments, after numberleſs evaſions on the part of France, the only propoſition made in the end was, that the two powers might avail themſelves of any explanation that could be afforded by his imperial majeſty.

Mr. Pitt roſe, and declared, that if any judicious arrangements could be made, ſo as to conſtitute Ruſſia a guarantee of the peace of Europe, it could never enter into any ſtateſman's head to reject it, but at preſent, there were no grounds for a hope of this nature. There was nothing on which the motion could be fairly founded; it was beſt, therefore, to leave the courſe of conduct to the executive government.

Mr. Fox explained; but lord Hawkeſbury having aſſured the houſe that the mediation of Ruſſia would be joyfully accepted, and any propoſals ſhe might make liſtened to, if conſonant with the dignity of Great Britain, Mr. Fox withdrew his motion without preſſing for a diviſion *.

We are far from being ſurpriſed that Mr. Fox ſhould

* On the renewal of hoſtilities, Bonaparte diſpatched the following meſſage to the *Senate*, the *Legiſlative Body*, and the *Tribunate*.

"St. Cloud, May 20.—The Engliſh ambaſſador has been recalled: forced by this circumſtance, the ambaſſador of the republic has quitted a country where he could no longer hear the words of peace. In this deciſive mo- ment, the government places before your eyes, it will place before the eyes of France and of Europe, its firſt relations with the Britiſh miniſtry; new diſcuſſions, which ſeem to end with an abſolute rupture. The preſent age and poſterity will ſee all that it has done to put an end to the calamities of war; with what moderation, with what patience it has laboured to prevent its return. Nothing

should hastily withdraw his motion: we are indeed astonished that a man of his sagacity and penetration should have hesitated a moment on so preposterous an idea. Who could ever entertain the slightest hopes of success from such a mediation? How could it be supposed that Russia would take a disinterested part in the accommodation of a rupture between Great Britain and the usurper of the Bourbon throne? How could it be imagined, after contemplating her former partialities, that no consideration could ever bias her in future? We have an adequate conception of the power of Russia, but if any thing could astonish us at the present day, we could not fail of experiencing that sensation when we reflect on her conduct, in suffering an unprincipled tyrant, with impunity, to over-run the continent.

Instead of taking a bold and magnanimous part, Russia has uniformly stood aloof to see the important blow achieved; to see whether Bonaparte will be able to effect his landing in Britain, or, what is more probable, experience shame, defeat, and ruin on her shores. Let it not, for a moment, be understood, that we are anxious for Russian assistance. Thanks to the justice of our cause, the resolution of our countrymen, the exalted power under whose banners we fight, and the steady and resolute adherence of our insular associates, we feel ourselves fully competent to the awful scene before us. We readily admit, with the poet *, that,

"'Tis not in mortals to *command* success,
"But we'll do more, Sempronius, we'll *deserve* it."

To solicit the mediation of Russia to adjust the differences, seemed a very impolitic step; though France was said to be desirous of the reference, and the emperor not averse to it. We are sensible of the influence of such an empire, who, in such a crisis, held the balance of power in her hands, and could direct its preponderance at her pleasure. If ministers could interrupt the course of the projects formed to rekindle discord between the two nations. The treaty of Amiens was negociated in the midst of the clamours of a party hostile to peace. Hardly concluded, it became an object of severe censure; it was represented as fatal to England, because it was disgraceful to France. Speedily inquietudes were spread, dangers were pretended, on which the necessity of such a state of peace was established, which served as a permanent signal for new hostilities. Those wicked wretches were kept in reserve, and paid, who had torn in pieces the bosom of their country, and who are destined to tear it again. Vain calculations of hatred! It is no longer that France divided by factions, and agitated by storms; it is France restored to internal tranquillity, regenerated in its administration and its laws, ready to fall with all its might upon any foreigner who shall dare to attack it, and to connect himself with those brigands, whom an atrocious policy shall vomit again upon its soil to organize pillage and assassination. At length an unexpected message alarmed all England with imaginary armaments in France and Batavia, which assumed that important discussions divided the two governments, while no such discussion was known to the French government. Forthwith formidable armaments appeared on the coasts and in the ports of Great Britain; the sea is covered with ships of war, and it is in the midst of this preparation that the cabinet of London demands of France the abrogation of a fundamental article of the treaty of Amiens. They want, they say, new guarantees, and they forget the sacredness of treaties, the execution of which is the first of guarantees that nations can give to each other. France has in vain invoked plighted faith; in vain has she consented to shut her eyes upon the actual inexecution of the article of the treaty of Amiens, which England pretends to free herself from; in vain has she wished to delay taking a definitive part till the moment that Spain and Batavia, the other two contracting parties, had manifested their will; and lastly, in vain has she proposed to call in the mediation of the powers who had been requested to guarantee, and who have, in effect, guaranteed the stipulations, the abrogation of which has been demanded. All these propositions have been rejected, and the demands of England are become more imperious and more absolute. It was not in the principles of government to bend under the menace; it was not in its power to bow the majesty of the French people under laws which were prescribed to it with forms so haughty and so new. If he had done it, it would have consecrated to England the right to annul, by its sole will, all the stipulations by which it was bound towards France. It would have authorised her to exact from France new guarantees at the least alarm which she might feign; and from thence two new principles would be placed in the public law of Great Britain, by the side of that by which she has cut off other nations from the sovereignty of the seas, and subjected to her laws and regulations the independence of their flags. The government confined itself within the line which principle and duty traced out for it. The negociations are interrupted, and we are ready to fight if we are attacked. At least we shall fight to maintain the faith of treaties, and for the honour of the French name. If we had given way to a vain terror, we should soon have had to fight to repel new pretensions, but we should have fought dishonoured by this first instance of our weakness, degraded in our own eyes, and lowered in the eyes of an enemy who would on some future occasion have made us to sink under their unjust pretensions. The nation will rest confident in the sentiment of its strength, whatever wounds the enemy may inflict in parts where we can neither prevent them nor reach them. The result of this contest will be such as we have a right to expect from the justice of our cause, and from the courage of our warriors.

BONAPARTE, First Consul.
H. B. MARET, Secretary of State.

Several speeches occurred on this MESSAGE in the *Legislative Body* on the twentieth; but they did not, in the smallest degree, resemble an English debate; the speakers being all of one opinion, and attributing the rupture entirely to the bad faith, jealousy, and ambition of the English nation.

* Addison's Cato.

were determined to adhere to the *ultimatum*, the idea of a mediation was abſurd and contradictory: beſides it might be highly impolitic in England to conform to a deciſion on ſubjects, which, from their peculiar nature, no arbitration of Ruſſia could adjuſt. If France deſired ſuch a reference, ſhe certainly had her inducements to ſuppoſe that England would be awarded to abate ſomewhat of her demands; and, ſhould this great northern umpire have ratified the claims of her government, France would have appealed from the award. On the other hand, had ſhe pronounced thoſe claims unreaſonable, England would have been equally diſſatisfied.

Had the mediation been confined to the queſtion of Malta, it could be of no durable ſervice. Whether Malta belong to England or France is a matter of ſmall importance, when it is conſidered that the object of the conteſt is the independence of Europe, and not the guarentee of a rock. If the emperor ſhould have awarded us Malta, which is certainly a very doubtful point, this would not have prevented a ſpeedy renewal of the war; it would have been to cloſe up a ſingle wound, and leave a thouſand open.

Much has been ſaid of the juſtice, wiſdom, and pacific diſpoſition of the emperor: to theſe qualities we are juſtified in adding that of humanity: he has not ambitiouſly endeavoured to diſturb the peace of Europe himſelf, but he has quietly ſubmitted to its being overturned by others; and, upon all occaſions, has manifeſted a ſeeming predilection in favour of the French republic. That the emperor would not much incline to a deciſion againſt France, is evident from many circumſtances, particularly the indemnities. The mode of ſlicing, carving, and diſſevering the German ſtates, was wholly effected by his influence. He readily aſſiſted to weaken Auſtria, but left Holland and Switzerland to the mercy of the French. It would be a palpable contradiction in his policy, to ſuppoſe that he would decide in favour of England, by exonerating thoſe countries from the yoke of France, which, reſtored to their independence, would terminate her predominance, and Auſtria, by the means of Switzerland, would again be made her rival.

The reſult of theſe arguments is ſufficiently obvious: The Ruſſian mediation, to be of any ſervice, muſt not counteract the material points of our *ultimatum*. But it is moſt probable that it would militate againſt thoſe points, or the firſt conſul, who muſt be ſuppoſed to have previouſly founded the diſpoſition of the emperor, would not have called him in as a mediator. Let us then abandon the idea of a mediation, which muſt unavoidably be attended with great delay, without any rational proſpect of our deriving any ſatisfaction or advantage from it. In times ſo pregnant with perils and alarms, the nation has nothing to fear but that it has been paſſive too long, and permitted encroachment to be fortified by power. We have now drawn the ſword, and marked the circle, beyond which French ambition muſt not be permitted to paſs. Our diſpoſition has been moderate and enduring; but the limits of forbearance have been broken down; and the general exaſperation of this country, has rouſed it to a zeal and unanimity which muſt infallibly crown our efforts with ſucceſs.

In the preſent criſis, the extremes of deſpondency or temerity are equally to be avoided. If the enemy invade us, let us be ready to receive them: if they ſhould not, let us diſplay a front that may deter them. If we act like Britons, we ſhall properly eſtimate our danger, and neither magnify nor under-rate it. Let us deſpiſe their utmoſt efforts, but let us not ſupinely neglect the exerciſe of thoſe meaſures againſt a rancorous foe, which are demanded from Britiſh valour, Britiſh integrity, and a Britiſh ſenſe of honour! The French, ſo eminent for their gaſconading talents, however they may boaſt of ſucceeding in an invaſion, entertain very moderate hopes of ultimate ſucceſs at this period: this is evident, as well from the temper of the Engliſh, as from the declaration of the firſt conſul, to lord Whitworth, the Britiſh ambaſſador.

In a private interview with that nobleman at the Thuilleries, he acknowledged, as we have more particularly ſhewn, his *unwillingneſs* to *riſk his life* and *reputation* in ſuch a *hazardous enterpriſe*, unleſs *forced to it* by *neceſſity*, and expreſſed his apprehenſion that if ſuch an expedient ſhould be adopted, that *himſelf*, and the greateſt part of the expedition would *go to the bottom of the ſea*. He modeſtly concluded his harangue, in terms dictated by his own puſillanimity and intimidation, "that there were *one hundred chances to one againſt him*." This language does not accord with the uſual inflated pompoſity and bombaſt of the premier conſul. It is in the higheſt degree diſcouraging to his deluded ſlaves, whom he has falſely denominated his countrymen, and preſents the moſt flattering proſpects to thoſe enemies, which his perfidy has created.

It muſt be admitted that Bonaparte, in condeſcending to ſpeak thus rationally to the Britiſh ambaſſador, deſcended from the pinnacle of myſtical ſublimity, and in this ſingle inſtance conducted himſelf like a mere man, though he was then almoſt an emperor. But we can cite a more reſpectable authority to convince mankind that we cannot liſten to the lectures of fear or intimidation. A gallant and diſtinguiſhed admiral, ſir Edward Pellew, whom Mr. Sheridan lately mentioned in the houſe of commons, with high encomiums, among other ſenſible obſervations, declared his opinion on this point, in a late debate on the naval defence of this country. It would be departing from our plan to detail the particulars of the worthy ſeamen's ſpirited remarks, but we ſhall introduce ſuch as are pertinent

to

to our purpoſe, and will reflect no blemiſh on himſelf.

" From the debate of this night," ſaid ſir Edward, " there is one piece of information I have acquired, " that the French have got upwards of a thouſand " veſſels at Boulogne. I am glad to find that they " are ſhut up there: we have one advantage in it, " we know where they are; but I wiſh we had any " means of knowing when they come out. I do not " really ſee," continues the worthy admiral, " in " the arrangement of our naval defence, any thing " to excite the *apprehenſions* of even the *moſt timid* " among us; on the contrary, I ſee every thing that " may be expected from activity and perſeverance, " to inſpire us with confidence. I ſee a triple naval " bulwark, compoſed of one fleet acting on the ene- " my's coaſt; another conſiſting of heavier ſhips ſta- " tioned in the Downs, ready to act at a moment's " notice; and a third cloſe to the beach, capable of " deſtroying any part of the enemy's flotilla, that " ſhould eſcape the vigilance of the other two " branches of our defence."

And ſir James Pulteney, (in the ſame debate) after recapitulating the ſtatements of ſir Edward Pellew, reſpecting the ſtrength and efficiency of our naval force, contended, " that we were able to block up the enemy in their ports, and to *deride* the menaces of invaſion?"

Excluſive of theſe incentives to ſtimulate our ardour, the deluſion of fraternity and civiciſm, which prevailed among the lower claſſes of ſociety, are now utterly extinct in our iſland: the fetters with which France is now manacled, muſt operate indeed like chains upon us, as they ſerve to bind us more firmly to our conſtitution; and the licentious proceedings of that devoted country, have ſhewn us the ineſtimable value of rational liberty.

Every individual, relying on his own efforts and thoſe of his compatriots, will conſider the national ſafety involved in his own exertion; and that the ſpirit of heroiſm is transfuſed into the breaſt of every one operating in the general cauſe, producing collectively a moſt formidable phalanx, that will laugh at the romantic idea of the invaſion of England; claſſing it among the other extravagances of the uſurper's prolific imagination. But, though we are not to be intimidated by a Corſican upſtart, there is a ſtrong and irreſiſtible neceſſity for the augmentation of our military force, ſo long as the preſent military deſpotiſm prevails in France. We are, indeed, proud of beholding men arrayed as ſoldiers, who have property and every thing dear to them at ſtake. There is a wonderful contraſt between the French and Engliſh armies: in France the miſerable conſcripts are dragged to fight the battles of their tyrant; while in Great Britain the eye is gratified with the ſight of myriads of volunteers; men, who from the nobleſt ardour, and moſt patriotic principles, have gallantly offered themſelves as defenders of the conſtitution of this happy iſland.

We ſhall for the preſent conclude, in the impreſſive language of an illuſtrious ſenator: " Bonaparte's " hold upon France is the ſword, and he has no " other. Is he connected with the ſoil, or with the " habits, the affections, or the prejudices of the " country?—He is a ſtranger, a foreigner, and an " uſurper. He unites in his own perſon every thing that " a pure republican muſt deteſt; every thing than an " enraged jacobin has abjured; every thing that a ſincere and faithful royaliſt muſt feel as an inſult."

Here we make a ſolemn pauſe, at the renovation of hoſtilities in 1803, to enable our readers to take a retroſpective view of the intereſting viciſſitudes recorded in this eventful hiſtory: The author however propoſes to take an early opportunity of continuing his hiſtorical narrative; but he ſincerely wiſhes, as a friend of the human race, that the ſanguinary ſcenes of war may not occupy ſo large a proportion of the ſubſequent pages, as have deluged thoſe which have preceded it; and that an honourable peace may avert, for a very long period, the horrors which are the natural conſequences of war. With the reſtoration of peace, may commerce and the arts revive and flouriſh, and Great Britain ever continue to preſerve her enviable rank among the nations!

PROGRESS OF LITERATURE, ARTS, &c.

From the Revolution to the preſent Time. Including a ſummary View of ſuch Portions of the general Hiſtory of Europe, as are neceſſary to elucidate their particular Progreſs in England.

WE have already traced the progreſs of ſociety to the beginning of the laſt century. And if we examine the hiſtory of the preſent, and compare it with the annals of modern Europe during any preceding period of the ſame extent, we ſhall find much cauſe to congratulate mankind on the improvements in the ſocial ſyſtem; which have, with a happy conformity, diminiſhed the miſeries and multiplied the enjoyments of human life.

If enlightened reaſon, after aſcertaining the intereſts of nations and the rights of individuals, has not been able wholly to reſtrain the ambition of princes, and thoſe who have lately uſurped that dignity, it has at leaſt introduced into the operations of war a ſpirit of generoſity little known among our ferocious forefathers. Perſecution has ceaſed to kindle the faggot for the trial of orthodoxy, or to fertilize the earth with the blood of the unbelievers; and the peaceful citizen has ſeldom been diſturbed in his induſtrious purſuits or ingenious labours by the ravages of inteſtine war. If the moſt exact regulations of police have not proved wholly effectual to ſuppreſs private violence, or to baniſh fraud from the tranſactions of men, offences have certainly been rendered leſs frequent. Property is become more ſecure. The comforts and conveniences of life are more equally enjoyed. Aſylums are every where provided for poverty, and hoſpitals for diſeaſe. Private feſtivities are enlivened by public entertainments. The pleaſures of ſenſe, refined by delicacy, are heightened by thoſe of imagination and ſentiment; while taſte, in contemplating the beauties of nature and art, may be ſaid to open new ſources of ſatisfaction and delight.

Ruſſia, though rude and barbarous at the beginning of the laſt century, has made rapid advances towards civilization. It has experienced the moſt ſudden and fortunate change of any country of the ſame extent in the hiſtory of human affairs. But that change, has not been attended with ſuch beneficial conſequences as might have been wiſhed to the body of the people, whom Peter I. found and left in a ſtate of ſlavery. And notwithſtanding the more policy of Catharine II. who endeavoured to revive a ſpirit of liberty among the lower claſſes, and extended encouragement and protection to her ſubjects of all degrees, the liberal and ingenious arts of Ruſſia have been hitherto cultivated chiefly by foreigners; or by ſuch natives as have been initiated in them abroad, and with whom they die. They are ſtill in ſome meaſure exotics in that great and flouriſhing empire; not as Raynal inſinuates, on account of the coldneſs of the climate, but becauſe the mental ſoil is not yet ſufficiently prepared for their reception. The influence of example, however, daily extends itſelf. Many of the Ruſſian nobility and gentry have acquired a reliſh for polite literature, and are diſtinguiſhed by humanity to their vaſſals, by poliſhed manners, and elegant converſation. Ruſſia has already produced generals and ſtateſmen, and will probably ſoon give birth to poets, painters, hiſtorians, and philoſophers; who collect in their train the whole circle of the arts and ſciences.

Of the progreſs of improvement in Poland, where, beſides other adverſe circumſtances, the feudal ariſtocracy ſtill reigns in all its auſterity, the people are ſlaves, and the nobles tyrants, little can be ſaid. Sweden and Denmark have loſt much of their conſequence, as kingdoms; but the ſons of the north do not appear to be leſs happy, though they ſeem to have loſt with their political freedom, their ancient ſpirit of liberty and independence. They enjoy more equally the means of a comfortable ſubſiſtence. Manufactures, commerce, and agriculture, have made conſiderable progreſs among them; and it may with propriety be generally aſſerted, That every people, taken collectively, are happy in proportion to their induſtry. Nor are theſe countries without their men of genius and ſcience. Sweden, in her Linnæus, boaſts the honour of having given birth to the moſt profound naturaliſt in modern times.

Germany, during the period under review, has perhaps undergone leſs change than any other country of equal extent, notwithſtanding the frequent wars by which it has been ſhaken. Agriculture, manufactures, and the mechanical arts, have in the courſe of the laſt century made great progreſs in many parts of that country.

The Swiſs, ſo much diſtinguiſhed by their integrity, their love of liberty and of their country, and ſo long accuſtomed to ſell their blood to the different powers of Europe, as other nations do the produce of their ſoil, having fertilized with culture their barren mountains, and acquired a knowledge of the neceſſary arts, poured forth their ſurplus of population upon more wealthy ſtates, in uſeful artificers and induſtrious manufacturers; and preſerved at home

home their plain and ſimple manners, with their ancient independency and military character. Happy without wealth, they were ſtrangers to luxury. Domeſtic duties among them ſupplied the place of public amuſements, and public virtue concealed the defects in the form of government.

Till the Conſul of France deprived them of their tranquillity and happineſs by a wanton exerciſe of tyranny, the Swiſs poſſeſſed all the patriotic qualities that gave birth to their republic: while the Dutch, formerly as zealous in the cauſe of freedom, who acquired its full eſtabliſhment by greater efforts, and exhibited to mankind for a century the moſt perfect picture of a flouriſhing commonwealth, are now become degenerate and baſe; dead to every ſenſe of a public intereſt, and to every generous ſentiment of the ſoul. The luſt of gain has extinguiſhed among them the ſpirit of patriotiſm, the love of glory, the feelings of humanity, and even the ſenſe of ſhame. A total want of principle prevails in Holland. Avarice is the only paſſion, and wealth the only merit in the United Provinces. In ſuch a country the liberal arts muſt decline, and elegant manners cannot be expected.

If painting and architecture have continued to decline in Italy, muſic and poetry have greatly flouriſhed in this claſſical country. Metaſtaſio, perhaps inferior to none of her modern bards, has perfected her ſerious muſical drama. But the Italian opera has been repreſented by ſome as unnatural and fantaſtical. All our fine old ballads, which ſo exquiſitely paint the tender paſſions, are ſuppoſed to be ſung by perſons under the immediate influence of thoſe paſſions; and if the ſtage is allowed to be a picture of life, there can be nothing unnatural in an actor's imitating on it, what is believed to have happened in the great theatre of the world. To do as little violence as poſſible to probability, Metaſtaſio has contrived to throw chiefly into airs or odes, thoſe parts of his muſical tragedies, that would otherwiſe evaporate in ſoliloquy, in fond complainings, or in frantic ravings. The lyric meaſure is admirably adapted to the language of paſſion; and ſurely that perſon cannot poſſeſs a muſical ear who ſhould prefer ſimple articulation to ſuch enchanting melody, as generally communicates to the heart the ſoul-diſſolving airs of Metaſtaſio.

The ſtate of ſociety in Spain has been much improved under the princes of the houſe of Bourbon. The ladies are no longer excluded from company by an illiberal jealouſy. The intercourſe of the ſexes becomes daily more general and eaſy. A taſte for agriculture, for arts, manufactures, and even a paſſion for letters, has been revived among the Spaniards. A ſimilar taſte is ſaid to have extended itſelf to the neighbouring kingdom of Portugal, ſince the expulſion of the Jeſuits.

In France, ſociety attained its higheſt poliſh before the commencement of the laſt century. But the misfortunes which clouded the latter years of Louis XIV. threw a gloom over the manners of the people, and a myſtical religion became faſhionable at court. The fervour ſpread, eſpecially among the ſofter ſex; and Racine, complying with the prevailing taſte, wrote tragedies on ſacred ſubjects. The court, however, reſumed its gaiety under the regency of the duke of Orleans; and his libertine example, with that of his miniſter, the cardinal du Bois, introduced a total corruption of manners; a groſs ſenſuality that ſcorned the veil of decency; an unprincipled levity that treated every thing ſacred and reſpectable with deriſion; and a ſpirit of diſſipation, with extreme poverty, prevailed during a conſiderable part of the reign of Louis XV.

The Jeſuits, the chief ſupporters of the bull Unigenitus, having rendered themſelves odious by their ſhare in the conſpiracy againſt the life of the king of Portugal, fell in France under the laſh of the civil power, for certain fraudulent mercantile tranſactions. They refuſed to diſcharge the debts of one of their body, who had become bankrupt for a large ſum, and who was ſuppoſed to act for the benefit of the whole ſociety. As a monk, indeed, he was obliged to do ſo. The parliaments eagerly ſeized an opportunity of humbling their ſpiritual enemies. The Jeſuits were every where cited before thoſe high tribunals, in 1761, and ordered to do juſtice to their creditors. They pretended to acquieſce in the deciſion, but delayed payment under various pretences. New ſuits were commenced againſt them, in 1762, on account of the pernicious tendency of their writings. In the courſe of theſe proceedings, they were compelled to produce their *Inſtitute*, or the rules of their order, hitherto ſtudiouſly concealed. That myſterious volume, which was found to conſiſt of maxims ſubverſive of all civil government, and even of the fundamental principle of morals, completed their ruin. All their colleges were ſeized, all their goods confiſcated; and the king, aſhamed or afraid to protect them, reſigned them to their fate, and finally expelled them the kingdom, by a ſolemn edict, and utterly aboliſhed the order of Jeſuits in France.

An account of the revolution in France, which firſt expelled the Bourbon family, and ſucceſſively elevated Bonaparte to the premier conſulate, and preſented a proſpect of an imperial throne, as emperor of the French, is particularly related in our annals of the reign of George the Third.

Many poets appeared in Britain within the time comprehended in our preſent ſurvey. We have already mentioned Pope; his friend Gay not only diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a fabuliſt, but acquired much applauſe by the vivacity and humour of the Beggar's Opera.

Born with a ſtrong underſtanding, a benevolent heart,

heart, and an enthuſiaſtic fancy—with all the powers neceſſary to form a great poet, Thompſon perceived that Pope had attained the ſummit of excellence in that mode of compoſition which he had adopted. Though born in the laſt year of the ſeventeenth century, we cannot be taxed with impropriety for noticing him in this place. He ſaw there were other paths to fame which Pope had not purſued; and by making choice of blank verſe, which was ſuited to the exuberance of his genius, to the grandeur of his conceptions, and to the boldneſs of his metaphorical images, as well as to the minute wildneſs of his poetical deſcriptions, he has left us in his *Seaſons*, a greater number of juſt, beautiful, and ſublime views of external nature, than are to be found in the productions of any of the poets ſince the days of Lucretius. The Seaſons are characteriſed by elegant and accurate deſcription.

But none of our lyric poets have ſo well imitated the philoſophic good humour and good ſenſe of Horace, as Akenſide. Nothing can be more happily purſued than the whole train of thinking in his Ode on the *Winter Solſtice*. After lamenting the deſtructive rage of the elements, he proceeds thus:

"But let not man's unequal views
"Preſume o'er nature and her laws;
"'Tis his with grateful joy to uſe
"Th' indulgence of the Sovereign Cauſe:
"Secure that health and beauty ſprings
"Through this majeſtic frame of things,
"Beyond what he can reach to know;
"And that heaven's all-ſubduing will
"With good, the progeny of ill,
"Attempereth every ſtate below."

Akenſide, ſuſceptible to all the impreſſions of natural and moral beauty, who ſurveyed the univerſe with a benevolent eye, and a heart filled with admiration and love of the wiſdom and goodneſs of the Supreme Being, has given us in his *Pleaſures of Imagination*, a delightful ſyſtem of the philoſophy of taſte, in all the pomp of Miltonic verſe.

The Pleaſures of Imagination, his principal work, was firſt publiſhed in 1744, when he had not attained his twenty-third year. He was bred a phyſician, and died phyſician to the queen, June 23, 1770.

The Pindaric Odes of this poet have great dignity in elevation of ſentiment.

Armſtrong, like Akenſide, a phyſician by profeſſion, took his degree in 1732, but never arrived at much practice. He has bequeathed to mankind a valuable legacy, in his *Art of preſerving Health*, while he has furniſhed the literary world with a more claſſical poem, in the ſame ſpecies of verſification, than either the Seaſons or the Pleaſures of Imagination. We give the following extract as a ſpecimen of the manner of this truly elegant writer:

"He without riot in the balmy feaſt
"Of life, the wants of nature has ſupplied,
"Who riſes cool, ſerene, and full of ſoul.
"But pliant nature more or leſs demands,
"As cuſtom forms her:—and all ſudden change
"She hates, of habit even from bad to good.
"If faults in life, or new emergencies,
"From habits urge you by long time confirm'd,
"Slow may the change arrive, and ſtage by ſtage;
"Slow as the ſhadow o'er the dial moves;
"Slow as the ſtealing progreſs of the year."

Among his other poems, we may mention his *Œconomy of Love*, a piece of great merit, but too ſtrongly tinctured with the licentiouſneſs of Ovid.

Akenſide and Armſtrong may be claſſed together, not only as being both phyſicians, but as reſembling each other in their taſte for poetry.

Collins ſhone as a lyriſt, and Gray, with conſiderable ſucceſs, attempted to imitate the wild enthuſiaſm of Pindar; though it muſt be admitted that in the lyric pieces of theſe poets, a certain ſolemn obſcurity pervades, through which a degree of poetic ſplendour frequently burſts forth. In Collins's Odes there are ſome truly ſublime ſtanzas; the firſt ſtanza in the Ode to *Liberty*, the firſt in that to *Mercy*, and the firſt in that to *Fear*. Of his Perſian, or as they have ſince been entitled, his *Oriental Eclogues*, it may juſtly be aſſerted, that in ſimplicity of deſcription and expreſſion, in delicacy and ſoftneſs of numbers, and in natural and unaffected tenderneſs, they are not to be equalled by any thing of the paſtoral kind in the Engliſh language. In 1774, he ſuddenly left Magdalen College, Oxford, and came to London a literary adventurer. He planned ſeveral tragedies, but being deficient in application, he only planned them. By the death of colonel Martin, his uncle, he became poſſeſſed of about two thouſand pounds. Before this event he ſtudied to live, and experienced no evil but poverty; but ſoon afterwards his life was aſſailed by more dreadful calamities, diſeaſe and inſanity which termined his exiſtence.

The opening of Collins's Ode to Liberty, is forcibly ſtriking.

"Who ſhall awake the Spartan fife,
"And call in ſolemn ſounds to life
"The youths whoſe locks divinely ſpreading,
"Like vernal hyacinths in ſullen hue,
"At once the breath of fear and virtue ſhedding,
"Applauding freedom lov'd of old to view?"

Gray's *Welch Bard*, has great merit, whether we conſider the variety and force of the numbers, or the gloomy grandeur of the imagery.

When Akenſide, Collins, and Gray, were perfecting our lyric poetry, a new turn was given to our love-verſes by Hammond, who was born in 1710, and died in 1742. He was equerry to the prince of Wales,

Wales, and a man of great taſte and ſenſibility, who has ſucceſsfully imitated the elegiac manner of Tibullus, and has given to his amorous ſolicitations ſoft melancholy, entirely in uniſon with the tone of the paſſion, and a tenderneſs to which Waller and Prior were ſtrangers. He is ſaid to have divided his time between pleaſure and books: in his retirement forgeting the town, and in his gaiety ſuppreſſing the ſtudent. His Love Elegies are deſervedly admired. We therefore give the following extract from them.

" With thee I hop'd to waſte the pleaſing day,
" Till in thy arms an age of joy was paſt;
" Then, old with love, inſenſibly decay,
" And on thy boſom gently breathe my laſt.
" I ſcorn the Lydian river's golden wave,
" And all the vulgar charms of human life;
" I only aſk to live my Delia's ſlave,
" And when I long have ſerv'd her—call her wife."

Maſon, an excellent poet, was a reſidentiary of York Cathedral, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by writing Elfrida and Caractacus, tragedies. The Engliſh Garden, a poem, and Memoirs of Gray, the poet.

Miſs Seward, in her poetical novel Louiſa, exhibits ſituations of great dramatic effect. The ſtory is intereſting, and the ſentiments juſt, pathetic, and impreſſive: it alſo abounds with ſcenic deſcriptions, drawn entirely from nature. Miſs Seward has alſo diſtinguiſhed herſelf as a tranſlator: ſhe has clothed one of the moſt elegant of the Latin poets in an Engliſh dreſs, having preſented the public with a new verſion of ſeveral of the Odes of Horace.

Lord Lyttelton produced ſome elegant pieces in the poetic walk; and Goldſmith had a conſiderable degree of merit in that and other departments. The principal productions of Lord Lyttelton were, "The Progreſs of Love; Perſian Letters; Obſervations on the Converſion and Apoſtleſhip of St. Paul; Dialogues of the Dead; and, the hiſtory of Henry the Second."

Shenſtone has given us a refined ſpecies of rural poetry, with which we were formerly unacquainted: it is *paſtoral* in ſuperior life; repreſenting the manners and the ſentiments of a gentleman reſiding in the country, inſtead of thoſe of a clown. In this reſpect, it does not differ eſſentially from the paſtorals of the poliſhed and courtly Virgil, who would not have been aſhamed to have owned the following elegant lines:

" Can a boſom ſo gentle remain
" Unmov'd when her Corydon ſighs?
" Will a nymph that is fond of the plain,
" Thoſe plains and this valley deſpiſe?
" Dear regions of ſilence and ſhade!
" Soft ſcenes of contentment and eaſe!
" Where I could have happily ſtray'd,
" If aught in her abſence could pleaſe?
" But where does my Phillida ſtray?
" And where are her grots and her bowers?
" Are the groves and the vallies as gay,
" And the ſhepherds as gentle as ours?
" The groves may perhaps be as fair,
" And the face of the vallies as fine;
" The ſwains may in manners compare,
" But their love is not equal to mine."

Churchill, a celebrated poet and ſatyriſt, acquired great reputation, in the few years that he lived after he began his poetical career. He was born in 1731, and died November 5, 1764, at Boulogne, whither he repaired to viſit his friend John Wilkes, who had a writ of outlawry againſt him. He firſt attracted public notice by the publication of the Roſſiad, a poem, which by the juſtneſs and ſeverity of its ſatire was univerſally applauded. This production was aſcribed to Mr. Colman, and Mr. Robert Lloyd, but an advertiſement with their ſignatures, declined the honour of receiving fame which was due to another, candidly acknowledging themſelves incapable of ſuch a compoſition. An Apology to the Critical Reviewers, his next production, was read with [illegible] Night, the Ghoſt, the Prophecy of Famine, Gotham, and Independence, all contributed to eſtabliſh his fame as a poet, and to furniſh his pocket with a ſupply of caſh for his extravagance, which was under little reſtraint.

Among his ſatirical ſtrokes, the following couplet was generally underſtood as a deſcription of an eminent lawyer, now advanced to the dignity of an earl:

" A pert prim prater of the northern race,
" Guilt in his heart, and famine in his face."

Hogarth having publiſhed a caricature of Churchill, as a Ruſſian bear, the reverend poet, forgetting the reverence due to the grey hairs of his old and feeble opponent, drew the following exaggerated picture of him:

" With all the ſymptoms of aſſured decay,
" With age and ſickneſs pinch'd and worn away;
" Pale quivering lips, lank cheeks, and faultering tongue,
" The ſpirits out of tune the nerves unſtrung,
" The body ſhrivelled up, the dim eyes ſunk,
" Within their ſockets deep, the weak hams ſhrunk,
" The body's weight unable to ſuſtain,
" The ſtream of life ſcarce trembling through the veins;
" More than half kill'd, by honeſt truths which fell,
" Through thy own fault, from men who with'd thee well;
Canſt thou ev'n thus thy thoughts to vengeance give,
And dead to all things elſe to malice live!
Hence, ſlave, to thy cloſet, ſhut thee in,
By deep repentance waſh away thy ſin;
From haunts of men, to ſhame and ſorrow fly,
And on the verge of death, learn how to die."

So

One ſpecimen more of his talent for ſatire, and we have done with this cenſorious bard. Speaking of Warburton, biſhop of Glouceſter, in his poem of the Ghoſt, he ſays, he is

"——— So proud that ſhould he meet
"The twelve apoſtles in the ſtreet,
"He'd turn his noſe up at them all,
"And ſhove his Saviour from the wall."

Mr. Colman was an ingenious poet, and general writer. While he was at Chriſt-church College, Oxford, he formed thoſe literary connexions, with whom he remained in friendſhip till they ſeverally dropped off the ſtage of life. Lloyd, Churchill, Bonnel Thornton, and other celebrated wits of a former day, were among the intimate aſſociates of Mr. Colman, and gave eclat to his name by noticing him in ſeveral of their compoſitions. For ſome time he was poſſeſſed of a ſhare of Covent-Garden theatre, jointly with Meſſrs. Harris, Powell, and Rutherford; but, having a literary conteſt with thoſe gentlemen, he ſold his ſhare, and retired. Mr. Foote, then the proprietor of the Hay-market theatre, diſpoſed of it to Mr. Colman for a handſome annuity during the life of the ſeller, which he did not long enjoy: and on the death of Mr. Foote, Mr. Colman obtained the licence. This gentleman was one of the writers in the Connoiſſeur: and, as a ſcholar, he holds a very reſpectable rank, as may be ſeen in his Tranſlations of Horace's Art of Poetry; and of the comedies of Terence. His Jealous Wife is deſervedly eſteemed. His ſon has ſucceſsfully ſucceeded him in the comic walk.

To many rich preſents, which nature beſtowed on the mind of Dr. Darwin, was added the ſeducing, and often dangerous gift of a highly poetic imagination. In perſpicuity, which is one of the firſt excellencies of poetry as well as proſe, he has few equals. He is clear, even when deſcribing the moſt intricate operations of nature, or the moſt complex works of art. Dr. Darwin's Zoonomia is an exhauſtleſs repoſitory of intereſting proofs, of curious experiments in natural productions, and in medical effects: a vaſt and complicated ſcheme of diſquiſition, incalculably important to the health and comforts of mankind, ſo far as they relate to objects merely terreſtrial; throwing novel, uſeful and beautiful light on the ſecrets of phyſiology; and, though its doctrines are not infallible, it cannot fail of ſpreading the name of its author over lands and ſeas, to whatever clime the ſun of ſcience has irradiated and warmed.

Cowper, (William) has accompliſhed, as a poet, the ſublimeſt object of poetical ambition; he has diſſipated the general prejudice that held it hardly poſſible for a modern author to ſucceed in ſacred poetry; he has proved that verſe and devotion are natural allies. The talent of letter-writing he poſſeſſed in a moſt eminent degree. Pope, in his epiſtolary correſpondence, is thought deficient in that air of perfect eaſe, that unſtudied flow of affection, which gives the higheſt charm to this ſpecies of correſpondence: but thoſe unaffected graces may be found abundant and complete in the various correſpondence of Cowper. He was ſo abſolute a ſtranger to artifice and diſguiſe, his affections were ſo ardent and pure, that in writing to thoſe he eſteemed, he could not fail to ſhew what really paſſed in his own boſom, and his letters are moſt faithful repreſentatives of his heart. That ſuch language muſt have a mixture of eaſe and elegance, peculiarly ſuited to ſuch compoſition, is happily exemplified in thoſe of Cicero and Cowper. Cowper publiſhed two volumes of poems in 1795, and his tranſlation of Homer in 1799.

A claſſical form was given to the comic romance by Fielding and Smollett, who have painted modern manners with great force of colouring, and truth of delineation; and given to the ludicrous features of life all the heightenings of wit, humour, and ſatire. Their principal performances in that walk, were Tom Jones, Joſeph Andrews, Roderick Random, Peregrine Pickle, and Sir Launcelot Greaves.

Richardſon, invented a peculiar ſpecies of moral romance, which reſtored the declining credit of novel writing. It may be called the epic of civil life; as it exhibits in well-conſtructed fable, and in a variety of ſtrongly-marked characters, under the influence of different paſſions, and engaged in different purſuits, the beauty and dignity of virtue, and the meanneſs and deformity of vice. The principal productions of this author, under the well-known names of Sir Charles Grandiſon, Clariſſa, and Amelia, ſeemed for a time to occupy the whole attention, and even to turn the heads of the younger part of the nation. He publiſhed many other things on different ſubjects which were highly approved, and drew from the pen of Dr. Johnſon the following encomium on the writer. He ſays, "he is an author from whom the age has "received great favours, who has enlarged the "knowledge of human nature, and taught the paſſions to move at the command of virtue."

Dr. Johnſon, notwithſtanding the ſucceſs of his voluminous Dictionary, had greater merit as a critic and a moraliſt, than as a lexicographer. After ſupplying the Gentleman's Magazine with a variety of literary articles, he produced ſome poems, tranſlations, and biographical works which were much approved. Having publiſhed London, and the Life of Savage, Irene, a tragedy, made its appearance, which was not ſo favourably received as he expected; he was therefore induced to undertake his Dictionary, for which he was very amply paid. He next publiſhed the Rambler, conſiſting of moral and other intereſting eſſays. The reputation of theſe works obtained him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws in the

Univerſity of Dublin, which was ſoon after followed by the ſame degree from Oxford. To this ſucceeded the Idler, and the Prince of Abyſſinia. Towards the cloſe of life he iſſued ſome Political Eſſays; which were differently eſteemed by different parties. His laſt undertaking, The Lives of the Britiſh Poets, would alone have been ſufficient to immortalize his name among his countrymen. A ſtatue to Dr. Johnſon's memory has been erected in St. Paul's Cathedral.

When the hiſtories of Robertſon and Hume appeared, romances were no longer read. A new taſte, was ſoon introduced. The lovers of mere amuſement found, that real incidents, and real characters, delineated with truth and force, can more ſtrongly engage the mind and heart than any fabulous narrative. This taſte, which has ſince given birth to many other elegant hiſtorical productions, fortunately for Engliſh literature, continues to gain ground.

The corrupt adminiſtration of ſir Robert Walpole, in the early part of the reign of George II. when every man's virtue was ſuppoſed to have its price, tended greatly to diſſolve the manners and principles of the nation; while the flouriſhing ſtate of manufactures, and a vaſt influx of money by trade, produced ſo much intemperance among the common people, that the parliament thought it neceſſary to interpoſe its authority, in order to reſtrain the inordinate uſe of ſpirituous liquors.

Though the peace in the early part of the preſent reign did not procure us all the advantages we might reaſonably expect, it left the Britiſh empire great and flouriſhing; with trade conſiderably augmented; territory immenſely extended; and a numerous body of induſtrious people, employed in ſupplying with manufactures the demands of commerce, or occupied in the labours of huſbandry.

Public ſpectacles were now encouraged; beſides a magnificent Italian opera, the capital ſupported two Engliſh theatres; and thoſe theatres were well ſupplied with new dramatic pieces, the profits of which amply recompenſed the labour of their authors.

The Funeral, and the Conſcious Lovers, both comedies by Steele, were followed by thoſe of Cibber, who has given us, in his Careleſs Huſband, a finiſhed picture of polite life. The formal ſtyle, and ſententious morality of Addiſon's Cato, in ſome degree, diſtinguiſh all the tragedies of Thomſon. The tragedies of Southern and Young are more impaſſioned, though in other reſpects no leſs faulty. Southern, who was intimately acquainted with the human breaſt, has ſome exquiſitely pathetic ſcenes. But his ſtories are too uniformly diſtreſſing; and Oroonoko, the moſt finiſhed of all his pieces, is interlarded with low comedy. Iſabella, written in the reign of George I. has fewer faults, and fewer beauties. It is a mournful tale indeed! Dr. Young had wit as a ſatiriſt, and merit as a tragic writer: his Revenge has great merit. The fable is well-conſtructed, the ſtyle is eaſy and animated; the characters are ſtrongly marked, and the poetic ſpirit is well ſupported throughout the piece.

The hiſtory of the ſtage is, in every nation, intimately connected with the hiſtory of manners. Even from the mode of playing in different ages, much is to be gathered beyond the gratification of idle curioſity. Our tragic actors, before the appearance of Garrick, had a very imperfect notion of their buſineſs. Having little opportunity to obſerve the motions, and ſtill leſs to hear the converſation of royal perſonages, eſpecially on great and important ſubjects, or while under the influence of ſtrong paſſions, they had recourſe to imagination; and gave to all the ſpeeches of ſuch exalted characters, and by habit to thoſe of more humble life, an inarticulate deep-toned monotony; which had an unnatural reſemblance to the human voice, accompanied with a ſtrutting ſtatelineſs of geſture, which was altogether groteſque, but which they miſtook for majeſty. To acquire only the *tread of the ſtage*, was then a work of years.

Having performed a noviciate at Ipſwich, Garrick made his appearance at Goodman's Fields; and, October 19, 1741, acted Richard the Third for the firſt time. His acting was attended with the loudeſt acclamations of applauſe; and his fame was ſo quickly propagated through the town, that the more eſtabliſhed theatres of Drury-lane and Covent-garden were deſerted. Theſe patentees, alarmed at the great deficiency in the receipts of their houſes, united their efforts to deſtroy the new-raiſed ſeat of theatrical empire; in conſequence of which, Garrick entered into an agreement with Fleetwood, for five hundred pounds a-year. The fame of our Engliſh Roſcius was now ſo far extended, that an invitation from Ireland, offering very liberal terms, was tranſmitted to him to appear on the Dublin theatre. He accepted the invitation, and ſucceeded beyond imagination: he was careſſed by all ranks as a prodigy of theatrical accompliſhments, and the play-houſe was ſo crowded during the hot ſeaſon of 1742, that a contagious fever was produced, which was denominated Garrick's fever.

No ſooner did Garrick ſet his foot upon the theatre, than the ridiculous mode of pompous ſpeaking and ſolemn geſture vaniſhed. Having a ſound judgment, a proper taſte, and keen ſenſibility, with a diſcernment ſo acute as to enable him to look into the inmoſt receſſes of the heart; an expreſſive countenance; an eye full of luſtre; a fine ear; a muſical and articulate voice, with uncommon power to modulate it to every tone of paſſion, he roſe at once to the height of his profeſſion, and taught the ſympathiſing ſpectators, that kings and heroes were but men, and ſpoke, moved, and felt, like the reſt of their

their ſpecies. Other players imitated his eaſy and natural manner to the great advantage of theatrical repreſentation.

This new ſtyle of acting introduced a more correct taſte in writing. Inſtead of the rant and fuſtian which the old players delighted to mouth, Garrick and his diſciples, diſplayed their bewitching power of moving the paſſions, chiefly in the pathetic and awful ſcenes of Shakeſpeare and Otway, to which they drew more general admiration.

The genius of Garrick as an actor, was not confined to tragedy. In comedy he was equally excellent; and his taſte, and his ſituation as a manager, enabled him to reſtore ſeveral neglected pieces of great merit. The comic muſe, however, was coy in beſtowing her favours for a time. We had few new comedies of any merit till Hoadly produced the Suſpicious Huſband; a piece which, whenever it is repreſented, continually affords freſh pleaſure for the audience; and Foote furniſhed thoſe inimitable *ſketches of real life*, which were ſo long the delight of the town, and have juſtly gained him the name of the Engliſh Ariſtophanes. At length Colman, in the Jealous Wife, and Clandeſtine Marriage, united the humour of Plautus to the elegance of Terence, and our comedy appeared to be perfected. But a new ſpecies of comedy has ſince been introduced; in which ludicrous and intereſting circumſtances are blended, and ſcenes of humour interchanged with thoſe of ſentiment. Kelly's Falſe Delicacy, and Cumberland's Weſt Indian, are in this new taſte.

Sheridan, in his School for Scandal, has obtained univerſal approbation; his characters are ſo inimitably drawn, and the conſtruction of the piece ſo admirably contrived, that it will furniſh a ſource of entertainment for poſterity. No dramatic performance, it is ſuppoſed, has been ſo frequently repreſented, and to ſuch crowded and applauding audiences. His other dramatic pieces have alſo been rapturouſly ſpoken of.

Holcroft, Allingham, Cobb, and Reynolds, have produced ſome dramatic pieces of merit. Holcroft's Road to Ruin rather laſhes and attacks the vices, than the frailties and frivolities of life. His dramatic productions are eminently diſtinguiſhed by important reflections, while he cannot be ſaid to be deſtitute of thoſe lighter ſcenes in which the ſprightlineſs of comedy ſhould be maintained.

Not to mention its connexion with manners and literature, the ſtage has an intimate alliance with painting and muſic. Of this alliance the Engliſh ſtage has not failed to take advantage, or that which is derived from machinery and architecture. Our whole ſcenery is ſuperior to that of any theatre in ancient or modern times, as well as our theatrical wardrobe; our dreſſes being better adapted to the characters which the actors repreſent.

Muſic was an eſſential part of the dramatic entertainments of the ancients. In thoſe of the moderns, it was long only an occaſional auxiliary. Our firſt ſucceſsful muſical piece, the celebrated Beggar's Opera of Gay, is ſaid to have been written in ridicule of the Italian opera. This piece was brought upon the ſtage in November 1727, and was received with greater applauſe than ever had been known upon any occaſion: being acted in London ſixty-three times without interruption, and renewed the next ſeaſon with aſtoniſhing ſucceſs.

Gay adapted the words of his ſongs to *native* tunes. Theſe tunes had all been heard by moſt of the audience in early life, when the mind was unacquainted with care; in the ſcenes of rural innocence, or the walks of mirth and frivolity, when the youthful heart beat high with ambitious hope, or repoſed in the luxury of infantine paſſion; while reaſon was loſt in dreams of ineffable delight, and fancy was fed with alluſions of unalterable love. Every tune recalled ſome pleaſing ſenſation, or former happy ſtate of mind. The effect of the muſic was therefore magical; and it would have been ſtill greater, if the airs had been ſung by perſons whom the audience could have reſpected. But the Beggar's Opera had certainly a very immoral tendency. It ſerved to dignify the character of a highwayman, and even to reconcile the mind to ſuch flagitious ſcenes as ought ever to be held in diſtant abhorrence. The author, by putting into the mouths of ſuch infamous wretches not only the tunes, but a parody upon the words of ſome of our moſt admired love-ſonnets, threw a ſtronger ridicule upon genuine paſſion and pure tenderneſs than upon the Italian opera.

When Handel quarrelled with the proprietors of the Opera-houſe, he brought on the Engliſh ſtage a new ſpecies of muſical drama, to which he gave the name of Oratoria, and in which he exerted all his powers of combining harmony, to the delight and aſtoniſhment of the whole muſical world. But the Oratoria, which has already ceaſed to pleaſe, has ſo many radical defects, as a theatrical entertainment, that it never can meet with general approbation. It has fable and dialogue, but neither action, ſcenery, nor characteriſtical dreſſes.

Dr. Arne, perceiving the imperfections of the Oratoria, attempted to inſpire his countrymen with a taſte for the Serious Opera. With this view, he ſet to excellent muſic, and introduced upon the Engliſh ſtage, a tranſlation of the Artaxerxes of Metaſtaſio; which was received with the moſt enthuſiaſtic applauſe, and is ſtill numerouſly attended whenever it is performed. Yet no other ſerious opera has ſince been tolerated.

This gentleman, who was the brother of Mrs. Cibber, the celebrated comedian, became ſo eminent in his profeſſion, that on the 6th of July 1759, he had the degree of Doctor of Muſic conferred on him by the univerſity of Oxford.

Our muſical comedy has made greater progreſs. It has been much refined and improved, by the excluſion of profligate manners, and by judiciouſly intermixing ſcenes of ſentiment with thoſe of humour; as in Love in a Village by Bickerſtaff, the Duenna, by Sheridan, and ſome other pieces of a ſimilar kind, which have been very favourably received. Even theſe, however, appear to be on the decline. Many of our Comic Operas are already transformed into after-pieces, and as ſuch they will always pleaſe.

Sterne, a ſentimental and eccentric writer, has many admirers. Home, commonly called Lord Kaimes, has merit as a critic, and a metaphyſician. We may alſo notice Harris, the analytical philologiſt; and the earl of Cheſterfield, whoſe letters were highly approved on their firſt publication, and are ſtill held in ſome eſtimation. We cannot paſs over ſir William Jones, the ſucceſsful cultivator of oriental learning; nor the celebrated Burke, the inveſtigator of the ſublime and beautiful.

The advances of the other arts conſidered as elegant, in England, during the laſt century, open an extenſive field for inveſtigation. The improvements in manufactures and the mechanical arts, have exceeded imagination. The great perfection to which the printing of linen and cotton cloths has been carried, ſurpaſſes in beauty thoſe of India; and paper for the lining of rooms, has been taught to imitate velvet and ſattin, and even to rival tapeſtry. The taſte and fancy diſplayed in the patterns of our figured ſilks; and our carpets, which vie with thoſe of Perſia in fabric, equal them in luſtre, and exceed them in harmony of colours.

At the beginning of the laſt century our ſepulchral monuments were mere maſonry, and executed in a wretched taſte. The excellent carvings of Gibbons in wood excepted, we had properly no ſculpture. Kneller, our only painter of any eminence, was a foreigner, and principally employed on portraits. His great patron in England was Charles II, but after the death of that monarch, he was well received by king James and his queen, and conſtantly employed by them till the revolution. He was gentleman of the privy chamber to king William, to queen Anne, and king George the Firſt, who created him a baronet.

Ryſbrach, Scheemaker, and Roubiliac, who have decorated Weſtminſter-Abbey with many ſculptured monuments worthy of ancient Greece, were alſo foreigners. We were more fortunate in native architects.

Inigo Jones, was a celebrated Engliſh architect. His abilities in all human ſciences, ſurpaſſed moſt of his cotemporaries. He found a ſucceſſor not unworthy of himſelf in ſir Chriſtopher Wren, rendered immortal by the plan of St. Paul's, St. Stephen's, Walbrook, that of the Monument, and St. Mary-le-Bow; and excluſive of his other great deſigns—of that of Greenwich Hoſpital, or the additions to the palace of Hampton Court.

Lord Burlington was a liberal patron and profeſſor of the arts. Kent is entitled to a diſtinguiſhed rank among modern architects by his plan of Holkham, the ſeat of the earl of Leiceſter in Norfolk, and his temple of Venus in Stowe Gardens. But Kent has been greatly ſurpaſſed, in architecture, by ſir Willam Chambers, Wyat, Adam, and others, who have adorned the capital, and every part of the kingdom with edifices in the pureſt taſte of antiquity; who have united elegance with conveniency, and lightneſs with ſolidity.

Sir William's name, as an eminent architect, will be tranſmitted to poſterity as the builder of that great national ornament Somerſet-place. That ſuperb ſtructure was begun in 1776, and inhabited in 1785. Sir William wrote an excellent treatiſe on Civil Architecture, and a diſſertation on Oriental Gardening. Robert Adam, on his return from Italy, in 1762, was appointed architect to his majeſty. He produced a total change in the architecture of this country: and his fertile genius in elegant ornament, was not confined to the decoration of buildings, but has been diffuſed to almoſt every branch of manufacture. To the laſt daſt day of his life, which terminated March 3, 1792, he diſplayed increaſing vigour of genius, and refinement of taſte.

We have at preſent ſome eminent native ſtatuaries. But Bacon and Nollikens have not yet produced any thing equal to the Hercules of Ryſbrach, Scheemaker's Shakeſpeare, or the Handel and Newton of Roubiliac.

Hogarth may be ſaid to have formed a new ſchool. Above the Flemiſh comic painters, who ſervilely copy low life, or debaſe it into farce, and below the beſt Italian maſters, who generally draw exalted characters, and elevate human nature. He delineates, like Fielding and Smollett, the ludicrous features of *middling life*; with as much truth and force as either, and with a more direct view to a moral purpoſe. But Hogarth was unacquainted with the elegance of deſign, the delicacy of drawing, or the magic of colours. Theſe were reſerved for Engliſh painters of a higher order: as ſir Joſhua Reynolds, Weſt, Copley, Gainſborough, Wilſon, and Mortimer. If theſe, and other artiſts which might be enumerated, have not attained all the force of colouring, truth of drawing, and ſtrength of expreſſion, to be found in the greateſt Italian maſters, they have made ample amends by the judicious choice of their ſubjects. Inſtead of crucifixions, flagellations, laſt ſuppers, and holy families, they have given ſecond life to heroes and legiſlators. They have made public virtue viſible in ſome of its moſt meritorious acts: they have painted as became the ſons of freedom.

Hogarth,

Hogarth, however, thought himſelf capital in the higher walks, and that he had not a ſuperior in portrait painting; as the following anecdote will ſhew. Being in company with the great Cheſelden, and ſeveral other gentlemen, he was informed that Mr. John Freke, ſurgeon of St. Bartholomew's Hoſpital, had aſſerted that Greene was as eminent in compoſition as Handel: "That fellow, Freke," replied Hogarth, "is always ſhooting his bolt abſurdly "one way or another. Handel is a giant in "muſic; Greene only a light Florimel kind of "compoſer." "Ay," ſays our author's informant, "but at the ſame time Mr. Freke declared you "were as good a portrait painter as Vandyck."—"There his aſſertion was right," replied Hogarth, "for by heaven I am: give me my time, and let me "chooſe my ſubject."—His Sigiſmunda, an attempt at the ſublime, was generally conſidered, by artiſts of taſte, as a very indifferent performance, though much admired by himſelf.

Engraving, of which painting may be ſaid to be the prototype, has not made leſs progreſs in England during the departed century, than the parent art. Its repreſentations, if leſs perfect than thoſe of the pencil, are more compact and durable. We have excellent prints of all our capital paintings, and many of thoſe of the greateſt Italian maſters. At the head of our native improvers of this elegant and ingenious art, we muſt ever place Strange, Woollet, Sherwin, Sharp, Heath, Warren, &c. Bartolozzi, though long reſident in England, was an Italian by birth: his engravings have infinite merit.

Gardening was almoſt unknown to the ancients; for this art we are indebted to the taſte and genius of Kent, who was not only eminent as a builder, but had exquiſite taſte in hortulane decorations. He taught us to imitate nature, or to act upon her plan, in forming our pleaſure-grounds, inſtead of impreſſing upon every natural object the harſh and unnatural ſtamp of art; he taught us, that the perfection of gardening, conſiſts in humouring and adorning, not in conſtraining or diſguiſing nature; and that ſtraight walks, regular parterres, circular and ſquare pieces of water, and trees cut in the ſhape of animals, are utterly inconſiſtent with true taſte. The whole ſecret in modern gardening, conſiſts in making proper uſe of natural ſcenery; wood and water, hill and valley, in conjunction with architecture; ſo as to give beauty and variety to the embelliſhed ground, and judiciouſly veiling and expoſing the ſurrounding country: in contraſting the luxuriant meadow with the barren heath, the verdant ſlope with the rugged ſteep, the ſylvan temple with the ruined tower; the meandering rill with the majeſtic river, and the ſmooth ſurface of the lake or artificial ſea, with na[illegible] moſt ſublime [illegible], a view of the boundleſs and ever[illegible] ocean.

The man who firſt threw down the garden-wall, and ſunk the foſſe, may be truly ſaid to have broke the ſpell which enabled art to confine the fair damſel nature ſo long in chains, and to have made the terraqueous globe but one great garden. From that moment, beauty began to connect itſelf with utility, and grandeur with ruſtic labour; the pleaſure-ground with the paſtured and cultivated field, the gravel-walk with the public road, and the garden-lake with the navigable canal and the ſea; that glorious fountain of univerſal communication among men, which enables the philoſopher, the merchant, and the mariner, to viſit every ſhore, and makes all things common to all.

While our countrymen were thus ſucceſsfully employed in extending the circle of the arts, and in embelliſhing external nature, ſcience was not neglected: they were not inattentive to the motions of the heavens, or the operation of the human mind. Halley, by his aſtronomical diſcoveries, greatly improved the art of navigation, illuſtrated the theory of the tides, and increaſed the catalogue of the ſtars; while Maclaurin made great progreſs in algebra, and Gregory reduced aſtronomy to a regular ſyſtem. In the aſtronomical and mathematical departments, Keill and Bradley were diſtinguiſhed, and Robins acquired a conſiderable degree of fame. Smith excelled in optics, and Hales was a general philoſopher. More improvements have been made in other ſciences, with which Newton was little acquainted. The vegetable ſyſtem of Tull has led to the greateſt improvements in agriculture; and the bold diſcoveries of Franklin, in electricity, may be conſidered as having given birth to a new ſcience. The beneficial effects of electricity in many medical caſes, and the invention of metallic conductors, by which buildings and ſhips are preſerved from the deſtructive force of lightning, entitle it to notice, ſhould it even otherwiſe diſappoint the hopes of its fond admirers.

Among the diſtinguiſhed divines of this period were, Smalridge, Atterbury, and Hoadley. Hare was a reſpectable claſſical critic; and Sherlock a ſkilful diſputant. Gibſon exerciſed his pen on eccleſiaſtical ſubjects, and philology. Butler ſhone as a learned advocate of pure religion. Warburton, Lowth, and Hurd were celebrated. Among thoſe of inferior rank we may ſelect Middleton, the elegant author of the life of Cicero; Derham, the phyſico-theologiſt, and Jortin, Kennicott, the two Whartons, Balguy, Peckard, &c. Among the diſſenters, Leland, Watts, Foſter, Chandler, Doddridge, and Lardner.

The celebrated lawyers, during the period under review, were Raymond, Gilbert, Talbot, Yorke, (afterwards earl of Hardwicke) Murray, Pratt, Dunning, Thurlow, Wedderburne, and Scott, who were alſo exalted to the peerage. Sir William Blackſtone acquired great reputation by his excellent Commentaries on the Laws of England.

Among these celebrated characters, some are more particularly entitled to our notice. Yorke, afterwards earl of Hardwicke, and lord high chancellor of England, was one of the ablest and most immaculate lawyers of the age he lived in. He was born in 1690, and died in 1764. So equitable were his decrees, that in the course of twenty years, during which period he held the seals, few appeals were made from them; and it is said that none of them were reversed. His son, the hon. Charles Yorke, who was born in 1722, possessed uncommon talents, and was appointed lord chancellor in the room of lord Camden, in 1770. Some misunderstanding having taken place between him and a certain party, respecting his acceptance of the seals at that period, some harsh expressions were used, intimating that he had forfeited his word: irritated at the impeachment of his honour, he is accused of having caused or accelerated his own dissolution. It is certain, however, that he died suddenly, while a patent of peerage was preparing for him by the title of lord Morden. That he was a profound and elegant scholar, is manifest from the few poems he left, and the contributions he furnished to those classical productions known by the title of the Athenian Letters, published in 1798.

Murray, afterwards earl of Mansfield, shone with radiant lustre at the Chancery bar, and as Chief Justice in the King's Bench. He was born in 1705, and died in 1793. In 1756 he was elevated to that honourable situation, which he filled for upwards of thirty years with unrivalled splendour and reputation. As a lawyer he was held in the highest estimation, and as a legislator he so eminently distinguished himself on commercial subjects, that his memory must ever be revered for the many mercantile regulations which he suggested and matured. His literary knowledge was extensive, and he has ever been celebrated for his eloquence, as well at the bar and on the bench, as in the grand assembly of the peers. He has been accused, however, of having shewn some degree of partiality between the sovereign and the subject, to the disadvantage of the latter; this we cannot assert, or deny; but in all cases respecting mere individuals, where government and party were out of the question, he endeavoured to hold an even balance, and was uniformly equitable and just. His private life was irreproachable, and he has given many proofs of disinterested conduct. It is well known that he thrice refused the office of lord high chancellor, and never accepted of any grant or emolument from the king, either for himself or for any of his dependants. Though he suffered severely during the dreadful riots in 1780, and had his house in Bloomsbury-square burned to the ground, together with his valuable library, manuscripts, and other important effects, he refused to receive any kind of compensation from the public. His private fortune was not very considerable, but he acquired great wealth by his professional talents, which he improved greatly by lending his money upon Irish security, and which, though freehold, produced a legal interest of six *per cent.* Had he *purchased* land with it in England, it would not have produced more than half that interest.

Pratt also greatly distinguished himself as a lawyer and a statesman. He was born in 1713, and died in 1794. After a learned education, he applied himself to the law with such effect, that he became one of the most eminent and successful pleaders at the bar. In 1759, he was appointed attorney-general; in 1762 called to the degree of serjeant at law, appointed chief justice of the Common Pleas, and received the honour of knighthood. His lordship presided in that court with a dignity, justice, and impartiality which never had been exceeded by any of his predecessors. When Mr. Wilkes was apprehended and committed to the Tower, on an illegal *general warrant*, his lordship, with the intrepidity of a British magistrate, and the honest fortitude of an Englishman, granted him a *habeas corpus*; and on his being brought before the court of Common Pleas, nobly discharged him from his confinement in the tower, on the 6th of May, 1763, in terms which did him the highest honour. He declared, in an eloquent speech of upwards of two hours duration, on the first decision of the suit against the messengers who arrested Mr. Wilkes, that, "It was the unanimous "opinion of the whole court, that general warrants, "except in cases of high treason, were illegal, "oppressive, and unwarrantable." His spirited and upright conduct on this occasion, so interesting to every genuine Briton, together with the consequent judicial proceedings respecting the printers of the North Briton, the messengers, and others, was exceedingly gratifying to the nation in general: and the city of London, in particular, presented him the freedom of their corporation in a gold box, and caused his picture to be exhibited in Guildhall, with an appropriate inscription. The corporations of Dublin, Bath, Exeter, and Norwich followed their laudable example. On the 16th of July, 1765, this truly patriotic judge was created a peer of Great Britain, by the title of lord Camden, baron Camden in the county of Kent, and July 30, 1766, he was appointed lord high chancellor of Great Britain. His conduct in this high office attracted the esteem of all parties; but when the taxation of America was agitating, he declared his disapprobation of such a measure, and strongly opposed it: in consideration of which he was removed from his station in 1770. He was appointed president of the council [illegible] and resigned that office [illegible]

remained in it till his death which happened on the 18th of April 1794.

Dunning, who acquired the title of lord Ashburton, was a very celebrated and eminent pleader. His rise was extremely rapid, and hardly a trial then occured in the court of King's Bench in which he was not employed, as counsel either for the plaintiff or defendant. His indefatigable zeal for the interest of his clients was equal to his abilities; and even where he had received but trifling fees for his labour, he was never known to be less arduous than when he had been amply compensated for his exertions. On his retiring from the bar, he was appointed chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, and created a peer by the title of Lord Ashburton.

Blackstone, another luminary of the law, was born in 1723, and died in 1780. He was placed in the Charter-house school in 1730, and in 1738 admitted upon the foundation in that seminary. In November 1738 he was entered a commoner of Pembroke college, Oxford, and elected by the governors to one of the charter house exhibitions. At the age of twenty he wrote a treatise which he denominated Elements of Architecture, a work possessing considerable merit in the opinion of those who were thought competent judges. Quitting, however, his favourite pursuit, he engaged in the severer studies of the law, and was entered in the Middle Temple in November 1740. In November 1741, he was elected into All-soul's College, and in 1744 spoke the annual commemoration speech, and was admitted actual fellow. From that period he divided his time between the university and the temple. In June 1745, he commenced bachelor of law; and in November 1746, was called to the bar. In 1749 he was elected Recorder of Wallingford, in Berkshire. April 1750, he became Doctor of Laws, and published his Essay on Collateral Consanguinity, relative to the exclusive claims to fellowships made by the founder's kindred at All-soul's. Finding the profits of his profession inadequate to the expence, he retired to his fellowship in 1753, still continuing to practise as a provincial counsel. On the 20th of October in the same year, he was unanimously elected Vinerian professor of the common law; and on the 25th, read his introductory lecture, since prefixed to his Commentaries. In Michaelmas term, 1750, having previously purchased chambers in the temple, he resumed his attendance at Westminster, still continuing to give his lecture at Oxford. He afterwards married Sarah, the daughter of James Clitherow, Esq with whom he lived near nineteen years, and had seven children by her. His fellowship of All-Souls being now vacant, he was, in 1751, appointed by the Chancellor of the University, principal of New Hall. In 1762, he collected and published several of his pieces under the title of Law Tracts, in 2 vols. octavo. In 1763, he was appointed solicitor-general to the queen, and a bencher of the Middle Temple. In November 1765, he published the first volume of his Lectures under the title of Commentaries on the Laws of England, and in the four preceding years the other three volumes. In May 1770, he became a puisne judge of the court of King's Bench, and the following month was removed to the Common Pleas. On this promotion he resigned the recordership of Wallingford, and having now obtained the summit of his wishes, he resided constantly in London. When not employed in the immediate duties of his profession, he was always occupied in some project of general utility till the time of his death. His Commentaries are universally admired.

In the medical profession, Arbuthnot *, was a man of learning and experience; and to Mead †, great merit was ascribed, perhaps more than he was entitled to. Pringle and Hunter, both natives of Scotland, practised in England with great reputation: the latter was born in 1718, and died in 1783. The most splendid of Dr. Hunter's medical publications is the Anatomy of the Human Gravid Uterus. His Anatomical Museum was the completest of all the private ones in Europe, as it was collected at the expence of upwards of twenty thousand pounds. John

* Dr. Arbuthnot was celebrated as a wit, as well as a physician, and was the son of an episcopal clergyman in Scotland. On his coming to London, his brilliant talents introduced him by degrees into practice, and he became eminent in his profession. Being at Epsom when prince George of Denmark was suddenly taken ill, he was called in to his assistance. His advice was successful, and, his highness recovering, always employed him afterwards as his physician. His gentle manners and polite learning, brought him acquainted with the celebrated wits of the time, Pope, Swift, Gay, and Parnell. In 1727 he published Tables of Ancient Coins, Weights, and Measures in Quarto: in 1732, An Essay concerning the Nature of Aliments, and the Choice of them; which was followed by The Effects [illegible] on Human Bodies. He was, apparently, [illegible] of these treatises by the consideration of his own case, an asthma, which terminated his life in 1735.

† Dr. Mead, for almost half a century, was supposed to be at the head of his profession. The clergy, and all eminent literary men, were welcome to his advice: his doors were open every morning to the indigent, to whom he also the profits afforded pecuniary assistance. To him the several colonies of England and most of the colonies abroad, applied for the choice of their physicians. No foreigner of learning, taste, or curiosity, ever came to England without being introduced to Dr. Mead; and he was frequently consulted by the physicians of the continent. He was born in 1673, and died in 1754. His works were collected and published in one volume quarto. Those on which he is most celebrated, are on Pestilential Contagion, and on Poisons.

Hunter was born in 1725, and died in 1793. He was conſidered by the moſt eminent judges as the firſt ſurgeon in the world, both in theory and practice.

Huxham was eminent as a phyſician, and Heberden and Baker acquired celebrity. Monro was an eminent phyſician and anatomiſt. His *Oſteology* is a very capital work, and has been tranſlated into ſeveral languages. Cheſelden, Pott, Nourſe, and Sharpe were all celebrated in the chirurgical art. Prieſtly, the Socinian miniſter, made ſome diſcoveries in chemiſtry. Chemiſtry was alſo ſtudied, with philoſophical views, by Watſon, who endeavoured to promote this purſuit at Cambridge.

Among the ſucceſſors of Locke, Hume is entitled to the firſt place. Not becauſe his metaphyſical inquiries are more acute than thoſe of Berkeley, Baxter, Hartley, or perhaps of Reid; but becauſe his diſcoveries, like thoſe of his great maſter, have a more intimate relation to human affairs—are of univerſal application in ſcience, and cloſely connected with the leading principles of the arts.

If Mr. Hume was happy in illuſtrating his metaphyſical ſyſtem, he was ſtill more ſucceſsful in exemplifying it. His moral, political, and literary eſſays, are excellent models of philoſophical inveſtigation. He is perfectly logical, without the logical forms: he unites the plain perſpicuity of Locke to the ſynthetic preciſion of Wollaſton, and the analytical accuracy of Harris. But this great man, who has carried human reaſoning to the utmoſt point of perfection, has endeavoured, by ſceptical doubts, to deſtroy the certainty of all reaſoning, and to undermine the foundation of both natural and revealed religion.

Gibbon is conſidered by many as the moſt elegant and maſterly hiſtorian of the age, and greatly excelled Robertſon and Stuart in erudition. But he has been juſtly cenſured for having degraded the dignity of hiſtory by an exceſs of ſtudied ſentiment; and though his ſtatements are generally correct, he has been accuſed of occaſional miſrepreſentation. On the ſubject of Chriſtianity, he has indulged much latitude, which has raiſed him a great number of opponents. The greater part of his hiſtory was written at Lauſanne in Switzerland. He died January 16, 1794.

The general toleration which was the immediate conſequence of the Revolution, gave birth to great freedom of diſcuſſion relative to religious matters. The crowd of ſectaries, no longer held together by the common bond of perſecution, or reſtrained by fear from unveiling the ſuppoſed errors of the church, entered into a bold inveſtigation of the ſublime myſteries of Chriſtianity. And the advocates of each ſect keenly cenſured the tenets of all who preſumed to differ from them on any particular point. Numberleſs diſputes were impetuouſly agitated about doctrines of no importance to the rational Chriſtian.

But this pious warfare could not keep alive the fervour of zeal, either in the church or among the diſſenters in a ſtate of unlimited liberty of conſcience. A general moderation began to prevail, and the more enlightened ſectaries formed ready to join the hierarchy; when certain fiery ſpirits, ſhocked at ſuch lukewarmneſs, and panting for the crown of martyrdom, gave birth to new ſects of a warmer complexion, and obliged the heads of the old to enforce their particular tenets, to prevent the utter deſertion of their followers. Whitfield and Weſley in England, and the two Erſkines in Scotland, rekindled in all its ardour the flame of enthuſiaſm, which raged for a time with dazzling brightneſs, in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of reaſon and ridicule.

The ſpirit of infidelity kept pace with that of enthuſiaſm. While many of the wilder ſectaries boaſted of divine illuminations, and in their ravings pretended to prophecy, ſome men of ſceptical principles endeavoured to bring into *ſuſpicion*, and even to deſtroy the *credibility* of all *prophecy*; while others queſtioned the authenticity of the *ſacred books*, both hiſtorical and prophetical. At the head of thoſe ſceptical writers, and the moſt dangerous becauſe the moſt agreeable, may be placed Shafteſbury and Bolingbroke.

Tindal denied the *neceſſity* of the *Goſpel*; Hume in his *Eſſay on Miracles*, ſtruck directly at its foundation, by attempting to ſhew that no *human teſtimony* is *ſufficient* to *eſtabliſh* the *reality* of a *miracle*. His eſſays are very ſtrongly tinctured with infidelity. But theſe and other raſh attacks have only ſerved more fully to eſtabliſh true religion, while they have given a ſevere check to enthuſiaſm. They have led divines to examine minutely into the proofs of Revelation, and made them ſenſible of the propriety of explaining more rationally the myſteries in the Chriſtian ſyſtem. The debaſing doctrine of materialiſm has been exploded, as alike unfriendly to all that is liberal in the human character, or endearing in the human condition; for he who conſiders this ſublunary ſpot as the only theatre of his exiſtence, and the grave, that of his laſt ſtage in progreſſive being, can never behold nature with a cheerful, or man with a benevolent eye.

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