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his privilege as a member of parliament. He was again imprisoned; however, during the recess.

In the next session warm debates ensued in the Commons on the subject of the paper; and they at length decided that No. 45 was a false, scandalous, and malicious libel, and ordered it to be burnt by the hangman. Some delay was produced in the measures against Wilkes from his having been wounded in a duel by Mr. Martin, who challenged him on account of a libel in some former numbers of the *North Briton*; but at length he was expelled from the House by a unanimous vote.

The attempt to burn No. 45 in the Royal Exchange produced a serious riot. A jack-boot and a petticoat, the latter denoting the princess of Wales, were thrown into the fire prepared for the paper, the mob shouting "Wilkes and liberty for ever!" A few days after he recovered 1000*l.* damages against Mr. Wood, the under-secretary of state, for the forcible entry of his house. A verdict, however, was obtained against him for No. 45, as well as for a piece called an *Essay on Woman*, an obscene and scurrilous libel in parody of Pope's *Essay on Man*, in which lord Sandwich and bishop Warburton had been reflected on and ridiculed. Wilkes now thought proper to go abroad; and not appearing to receive judgment, was outlawed. Wilkes's case derives its chief importance from the question which it raised respecting the legality of general warrants. Chief justice Pratt and all the most eminent lawyers of the day declared them illegal from their form, their tenor being to apprehend all persons guilty of a certain crime, thus assuming a guilt which remained to be proved. For the present, however, the government had influence enough to postpone a resolution to that effect being carried in the Commons.

§ 6. Another impolitic step of Grenville's, but attended with far more momentous consequences, was the extending of the Stamp Act to the North American colonies. The late war had been very expensive; and as it had been partly undertaken for the defence of those colonies, it occurred to Grenville, in an evil hour, that they might not unjustly be called upon to bear part of the burthen. He consulted the agents of the several North American colonies in London upon his project, inquired whether any other tax would be more agreeable, and gave a year's notice of his plan by a resolution entered in the Journals of the Commons in 1764.

These colonies had been continually increasing in strength and prosperity, and at this time consisted of 13 states, with a population of about two millions of whites, and half a million of coloured people. They were—1. The New England colonies, settled by the puritans, consisting of the four states of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island; 2. New York; 3. New Jersey; 4. Penn-



Virginia; 5. Delaware; 6. Maryland; 7. Virginia; 8. The two states North and South Carolina; and 9. Georgia. Each of these colonies was governed on the English model, and had a House of Assembly elected by the people. There was also a governor appointed by the crown, and a council. In Connecticut the governor was elective.

Hitherto the mother country and her colonies had lived in tolerable harmony; but at this time the American colonists were in a distressed and irritable condition. They were suffering from the effects of a terrible border war with the Indians; they considered themselves aggrieved by some new duties which had been imposed on their foreign trade, as well as by the stringent regulations by which their illicit traffic was repressed. All of them were decidedly opposed to a stamp act, which from its nature was far more obnoxious than any customhouse duties. The latter might be regarded as imperial, the former was a sort of local excise. Nor would they suggest any substitute, but based their opposition on the broad constitutional principle, that there should be no taxation without representation, and that they were not represented in the House of Commons. They intimated however a wish that, as in former instances, a letter from the secretary of state, in the king's name, requiring contributions for his service, should be laid before the different Houses of Assembly; and there seems little reason to doubt that, if this course had been pursued, the minister would have raised at least as much as he expected from the Stamp Act, the produce of which was estimated at less than 100,000*l.* a-year.

In 1765, however, the measure passed through parliament with little debate or opposition. Pitt was absent from illness, only one or two of his party made a slight resistance, and it attracted no public notice whatever. Nobody suspected that this little spark would burst out into a vast and inextinguishable flame. Even Dr. Franklin, the agent for Pennsylvania, one of the chief and ablest representatives of the views of the colonists, expected nothing but acquiescence from his countrymen, which he also inculcated.

Far different was the spirit which the act excited in America. It was reprinted, with a death's head at top in place of the king's arms, and was hawked about under the title of 'The Folly of England and Ruin of America.' The vessels in Boston harbour hoisted their colours half-mast high, and the muffled bells of the churches tolled out a death-knell. The Virginian House of Assembly, roused by the eloquence of Patrick Henry, took the lead in opposition, and drew up a series of resolutions, accompanied with a petition to the king, denying the right of the mother country to tax the colonists without their consent. Most of the other assemblies followed this example, and a general congress was appointed to meet at New York in October, when resolutions and petitions, much the same as those of Virginia,



re adopted. In some parts associations were formed against the importation or use of British manufactures; and presently a small party began to appear who promulgated their views of a united republic. When the ships arrived with the stamps it became necessary to put them away in some place of safety. Nobody would use them, and the persons who had been appointed distributors resigned their posts.

§ 7. While these things were going on the author of the mischief had been compelled to resign his office. George III. had this year been attacked with a severe illness, accompanied with symptoms of that dreadful malady which darkened his later years. He himself was the first to propose a regency. The ministers wished to leave out his mother's name, and surprised the king's consent; but he afterwards repented, and it was restored by the House of Commons. This was the cause which chiefly alienated the king's mind from Grenville; and when he recovered, for his illness was but short, he entered into negotiations with Pitt and Temple. These, however, went off; and resort was then had to a confederacy of the great whig houses, with the marquess of Rockingham at their head. That nobleman, who was descended, on the female side, from lord Strafford, and inherited the honours of Wentworth, now became first lord of the treasury. He was one of the greatest landholders in England. He had no great ability, but his judgment was sound and his character honourable. His chief passion was horse-racing. Under him the duke of Grafton and general Conway became secretaries of state; Mr. William Dowdeswell, chancellor of the exchequer; and the veteran duke of Newcastle was propitiated with the privy seal. Pitt was conciliated by raising his confidential friend, chief justice Pratt, to the peerage, with the title of lord Camden.

The state of America was a very embarrassing question for the new ministry. To withdraw the Stamp Act would be an ill precedent and a confession of weakness: to press it by force would be painful, and might lead to the most dangerous consequences. The vigour and eloquence with which Pitt denounced Grenville, and attacked his measure, in the session of 1766, decided the wavering cabinet. Adopting the advice of the "great commoner," they brought in two bills: one to repeal the Stamp Act, the other declaring the power of parliament over the colonies to be supreme. Both were carried. The majority of the colonists were still loyal, and the news of the repeal of the obnoxious act was received with great joy and satisfaction in America. It was not however in human nature but that some soreness should be left behind, as well as a still more dangerous feeling of secret triumph at the recognition of their strength.

Lord Rockingham adopted other measures of a popular nature. A silk bill, introduced by the late ministry, had occasioned serious riots in the preceding year among the Spitalfields weavers; siege had

was laid to the duke of Bedford's house in Bloomsbury-square, and it became necessary to disperse the rioters by means of the military. Pitt now restrained the import of foreign silks. He also repealed the unpopular cider-tax, obtained a resolution of the House of Commons declaring general warrants illegal, and another condemning the seizure of papers in cases of libel. The ministry, however, was tottering through internal dissensions; lord Northington, the chancellor, told the king at the end of the session that they could not go on, and advised him to send for Mr. Pitt. This time Pitt accepted, and succeeded in forming a ministry; but, to the surprise of all, he reserved for himself the office of privy seal, with a peerage! The king signed his warrant as earl Chatham on July 29. Pitt named the duke of Grafton as head of the treasury; Charles Townshend became chancellor of the exchequer; general Conway continued secretary of state and leader of the House of Commons, with the earl of Shelburne* as his colleague; and lord Camden was made chancellor.

The prospect of Pitt's support in the House of Commons had been the chief inducement with most of the ministers, to take office and they were naturally much disappointed to find themselves deprived of it by his elevation to a peerage. But their disappointment did not end here. Constant fits of the gout allowed lord Chatham to appear but seldom even in the Lords; and in the spring of 1767 a mysterious malady, arising apparently from suppressed gout, prostrated him to such a degree that he would neither see anybody nor open any papers on business. Edmund Burke, who was now rising into eminence, adverted to him in one of his speeches as a great invisible power—a being so immeasurably high that not even his own cabinet could get access to him. Affairs went wrong in his absence. The opposition carried a motion to reduce the land-tax, by which the revenue lost half a million. In order partly to repair this loss, Charles Townshend, in spite of the warning so recently received, resolved to raise some supplies in America by small taxes on tea, glass, paper, and painters' colours, the whole amount of which would not exceed 40,000*l.* a-year. For such a sum did he risk the fidelity of those magnificent colonies. In the following September Townshend died, and lord North accepted the vacant office of chancellor of the exchequer. Soon after some changes occurred in the ministry, and the new office of colonial secretary was established, in which the earl of Hillsborough† was installed. At this time the name alone of lord Chatham supported the administration.

* The earl of Shelburne, an Irish peer, became prime minister in 1782 (see p. 643), and was created marquess of Lansdowne in 1784: father of the present marquess.

† Wm. Hill, first earl of Hillsborough, created marquess of Downshire in Ireland in 1789: ancestor of the present marquess.



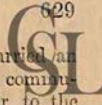
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8. In the elections for a new parliament in 1768, Wilkes, who was still under a sentence of outlawry, though rejected by the city of London, contrived to obtain his return as member for Middlesex, chiefly through the intimidation of the mob. He surrendered in the court of king's bench, when lord Mansfield pronounced the outlawry void, from a technical flaw in the proceedings; but the original verdicts were confirmed, and Wilkes was sentenced to two years' imprisonment, computed from the day of his arrest, and to pay two fines of 500*l.* each for No. 45 and the *Essay on Woman*. This sentence occasioned a riot. The mob rescued Wilkes's carriage, dragged it to a tavern in Cornhill, and insisted on his remaining at liberty; but he slipped out at the back door, and surrendered himself at the king's-bench prison. Some desperate riots ensued, and on the day of the meeting of parliament several persons were killed and wounded by the military in St. George's fields.

In the session of 1769 the House of Commons pronounced Wilkes guilty of an insolent libel, in publishing a letter of lord Weymouth's, now secretary of state, to the magistrates of Surrey, accompanied with some caustic remarks; and on the motion of lord Barrington he was expelled the house. Wilkes's popularity, however, had gone on increasing. In the city he had been elected alderman of Farringdon Without; and when the election for Middlesex came on he was again unanimously returned. Three times the House declared him incapable of sitting, and three times was he re-elected. On the third occasion, however, the ministers provided another candidate, colonel Luttreli; and the House pronounced him to have been duly elected. But though the ministers carried their point, they had rendered Wilkes the idol of the nation. In the autumn he brought an action against lord Halifax for having seized his papers, and obtained 4000*l.* damages.

We must now revert to the more momentous disturbances in the North American colonies, where Townshend's ill-advised taxes had revived all the animosity occasioned by the Stamp Act. The state of Massachusetts took the lead in the opposition. A violent altercation arose between the House of Assembly and Bernard the governor of that state, and finally lord Hillsborough dissolved the Assembly, July 1, 1768. Riots of the most serious description ensued at Boston. The other American states, though not so violent, displayed a sort of passive resistance. Associations were formed calling themselves "Sons of Liberty," and even "Daughters of Liberty," to enter into non-importation agreements, and to forbear the use of tea. Subsequently it became customary to strip those who would not enter into these agreements, and to cover them with tar and feathers.

The cabinet now deemed it prudent to repeal the obnoxious taxes



Lord North, on the suggestion of Lord Hillsborough, carried an exception in favour of the tea-duties. Lord Hillsborough communicated the determination of the ministry in a circular to the governors of the North American colonies, drawn up in harsh and ungracious terms, which increased the irritation occasioned by a merely partial concession. Lord Chatham, who had never taken any active part in the administration, had resigned in October, 1768. In the spring of the following year a return of the gout restored him to health and society, and in July he attended the king's levee, a sort of apparition from the dead. When the parliament was opened in January, 1770, he appeared in his place and denounced in severe terms both the foreign and the American policy of the ministers. Shortly afterwards the duke of Grafton resigned, when the king prevailed upon Lord North to accept the place of first lord of the treasury, in addition to that of chancellor of the exchequer, and he thus became prime minister.

During the following year or two nothing of much importance occurred. Two of the king's brothers, the dukes of Cumberland and Gloucester, having degraded themselves by private marriages, the former with Mrs. Horton, sister of Colonel Luttrell, the latter with an illegitimate daughter of Sir Edward Walpole, the King caused the Royal Marriage Bill to be introduced into the House of Lords, by which every prince or princess, the descendant of George II., except only the issue of princesses married abroad, was prohibited from marrying without the king's consent before attaining the age of 25. After that age they might be relieved from the king's veto by consent of the privy council and both houses of parliament. This statute is still in force.

§ 9. With the exception of some disturbances in Massachusetts, affairs had been going on pretty quietly in America. The tea-duty, which was only 3d. per pound, seemed to be acquiesced in, when in 1773 an act was committed which, though far from being so intended, finally estranged the American colonies. The East India Company had contracted a large debt, but they had also an enormous stock of tea in their warehouses, for which they could find no sale. Lord North, in order to relieve them by finding a market for their stock, now proposed that the tea exported to America, which had a drawback of only 3-5ths of the duty paid in England, should have a drawback of the whole duty, thus leaving it subject only to the 3d. duty in America. This appeared to be a boon not only to the East India Company, but also to the American colonists, as it would enable them to purchase their tea cheaper than they could even before the 3d. duty was imposed. Accordingly the East India Company freighted several ships with tea, and appointed consignees in America for its sale. But meantime a circumstance had occurred



which embittered the feeling against England. Mr. Thomas Whately, Grenville's private secretary, and under secretary of state to Lord Suffolk, had been engaged in a private correspondence with Hutchinson, governor of Massachusetts, Oliver, the lieutenant-governor, and other officers of the crown in that province. Whately having died, these letters were purloined, and came into the possession of Dr. Franklin; who, finding that they contained expressions inimical to the liberty of the colonies, sent them to America, but with strict injunctions of secrecy, and that they should not be permitted to circulate beyond a few of his friends. Such a caution, as might have been foreseen, turned out quite nugatory; the letters found their way into the House of Assembly of Massachusetts, were voted subversive of the constitution, and petitions were drawn up for the removal of Hutchinson and Oliver. The whole matter was subsequently referred to the privy council, where Wedderburn, the solicitor-general, attacked Franklin for his breach of confidence in a most biting and sarcastic speech. The privy council decided that the petition was founded on false and erroneous allegations, and that it was groundless, vexatious, and scandalous. Two days after Franklin was deprived of his post as deputy postmaster-general in America.

Meanwhile the arrival of the tea-ships in America—nay, the very anticipation of their arrival—had caused a violent outburst of popular feeling. It was given out that they were only the fore-runners of further taxation; some said that the ships were laden with fetters instead of tea. The consignees were threatened, and obliged to fling up their engagements. At Charleston the teas were allowed to be landed, but not to be sold, and were stowed in cellars, where they perished from damp. The Boston people went further. On December 16, 1773, a body of men disguised as Mohawk Indians boarded the tea-ships and scattered their cargoes in the water, to the value, it is computed, of 18,000*l*.

By way of punishment, Lord North now transferred the Boston custom-houses to Salem, another port of Massachusetts, and also made some important alterations in the charter granted to that state by king William. This last step excited the jealousy and alarm of the other states. Even the most moderate men began to tremble for their liberties; and they were encouraged to resistance by finding that they were supported by a powerful party in the British parliament, which numbered in its ranks Chatham, Burke, Charles Fox, son of lord Holland, and other eminent men. Virginia, where the popular feeling was directed by Patrick Henry and Thomas Jefferson, was one of the first provinces to give in its adhesion to Massachusetts. The conduct of the English puritans in Charles's reign was taken as a model, and a combination was set



foot with the ominous title of the "Solemn League and Cove-
Committees of correspondence were established, and a con-
gress summoned at Philadelphia. Delegates from 12 colonies met
in September, and debated with closed doors. The assembly drew
up a Declaration of Rights, claiming all the liberties of Englishmen,
and adopted resolutions to suspend all trade between England and
America till their grievances were redressed. Addresses were pre-
pared to the people of Great Britain, the people of Canada, and
to the king; and after appointing another congress for May 10th,
1775, the meeting quietly dispersed.

When the parliament met in January, 1775, lord Chatham de-
nounced the attempts which were making to coerce the Americans
as pregnant with the most fatal consequences, and foretold their
utter failure. But all his warnings were disregarded. Meanwhile a
militia had been raised in Massachusetts, called *minute men*, because
they were to be ready at a minute's notice; arms also were provided
and deposited in an arsenal at Concord, a town about 18 miles from
Boston. General Gage, commandant at Boston, despatched a few
hundred light troops on the night of April 18th, on a secret expedi-
tion to destroy these stores. The secret, however, had cozed out;
and the van, on reaching Lexington, a place about three miles from
Concord, found about 70 militiamen under arms, and drawn up on
the parade. A collision took place, about the manner of which
accounts vary; but several Americans were killed and wounded.
The troops then proceeded to Concord, spiked three guns, and
destroyed some stores. Meanwhile, however, the whole country
had been roused; the British were surrounded and galled on every
side by an incessant fire, and before they got back to Lexington
their retreat had become a perfect rout. Had not general Gage
despatched some reinforcements, the whole body would have been
annihilated. Their loss was 273 killed, wounded, and prisoners,
while the Americans did not lose a third of that number. This
victory, if such it can be called, excited the ardour of the Americans.
A force of 20,000 men was raised in the New England provinces,
and blockaded general Gage in Boston: whilst a party of Connecti-
cut men marched to lake Champlain, and surprised and captured
forts Ticonderoga and Crown Point.

On the appointed day the congress met at Philadelphia. They
prohibited the export of provisions to any British colony, the supply
of necessaries to the British army and navy, the negotiation of bills
drawn by British officers, &c. They took measures for providing
supplies of men and money, and they appointed, as commander-in-
chief, colonel George Washington, who had distinguished himself
in the wars with the French. On June 21st he set out to take the
command of the army blockading Boston. The English had then



reinforced by divisions under general Burgoyne, general William Howe, brother of Lord Howe, and general H. Clinton, which raised their whole force to about 10,000 men. A considerable body of Americans, having been sent to occupy Bunker's Hill, proceeded by mistake to Breed's Hill, which also forms part of the peninsula on which Charleston stands; and as that frontier overlooks Boston, from which it is separated only by an arm of the sea about as broad as the Thames at London, it became necessary to dislodge them. But this was not effected till after three assaults, and with the loss of 1000 men, while the Americans did not lose half that number. This was called the battle of Bunker's Hill.

§ 10. A civil war seemed to be now fairly kindled; yet on July 8th the congress signed a petition to the king, expressing their loyalty and their desire of a reconciliation, and sent it over to London. This petition they called the "Olive Branch," and they determined that it should be their last appeal. The king however declined to answer it, on the ground that he could not recognise the congress, a self-constituted body that had taken up arms against him; and in his opening speech to parliament in October he expressed his determination to put down the rebellion by force. This occasioned several changes in the ministry, and especially the American secretaryship was transferred to lord George Germaine, formerly lord Sackville, of Minden notoriety (see p. 614), a man of ability, but of a violent temper.

In November lord North obtained a repeal of the acts respecting the port of Boston and the Massachusetts charter; but on the other hand, all commerce with the insurgent colonies was strictly forbidden so long as they remained in a state of rebellion, and the capture of American goods and vessels was authorised. The burning of the town of Falmouth, and soon after of Norfolk on the Chesapeake, further incensed the Americans. They had this year invaded Canada, and laid siege to Quebec, which they blockaded during the winter; but in the following summer they were forced to evacuate the province.

As Boston did not afford a good point for entering the country, and as they were surrounded by a superior force, the British evacuated Boston in March, 1776, by a sort of tacit convention with the "Select Men," that, if their embarkation was not molested, the town should not be injured. They proceeded by sea to Staten Island, and Boston was immediately occupied by Washington's troops. The recovery of this place was regarded as a sort of triumph by the Americans. The inhabitants of Staten Island were loyally disposed, and admitted the British without resistance.

About this time the question of independence began to be agitated in congress. As is usual in such cases, the views of the Americans

and expanded with the progress of the rebellion. At first they had merely contemplated a redress of grievances; now, a large party was inclined to a separation and an independent republic. These sentiments were kept alive by a host of writers, and especially by Thomas Paine, an Englishman settled in America. A committee of five was appointed to draw up a Declaration of Independence, which was written by Jefferson, corrected by Adams and Franklin, and subsequently amended by the congress. It was signed on July 4th, 1776, as the act of the whole American people, though three or four of the colonies did not agree to it; and the United Colonies were declared Free and Independent States. Only a few hours after the proclamation of Independence, lord Howe arrived off Sandy Hook, furnished with full powers to treat. He despatched a friendly letter to Franklin, to which a hostile answer was returned. He then sent a flag of truce and a letter to Washington, who had gone with his army to Brooklyn in Long Island; but as the letter was addressed to G. Washington, Esq., instead of *General Washington*, he refused to receive it.

The British government had collected a body of about 13,000 German troops, for which they paid enormous subsidies to the landgrave of Hesse, the duke of Brunswick, and other petty German sovereigns. Having received reinforcements of these men, general Howe sent over in August a detachment of 8000 to Long Island, and compelled the Americans to evacuate it. In this affair the American general Sullivan had been captured, through whom lord Howe induced congress to send three members to Staten Island, to discuss an accommodation in the character of private gentlemen. The congress deputed three members known to be most inimical to the British connection: namely, Dr. Franklin, John Adams, and Edward Rutledge of South Carolina; and as these gentlemen at once declared that the colonies could enter into no peace except as independent states, the conference was of course abortive.

In September general Howe crossed the water and attacked New York, which was abandoned on his approach. A great portion of the inhabitants were loyally disposed. During the autumn the Americans gradually retired before the British, till they had crossed the Delaware into Pennsylvania. Howe had been very remiss in following up the advantages which he gained, and he now ordered lord Cornwallis, who was conducting the pursuit, not to attempt to follow the enemy over the Delaware, but to "disperse his troops in winter-quarters through the Jerseys. Washington, on the other hand, recrossed that river, and by some skilful manœuvres recovered nearly the whole of the Jerseys. These successes produced a great moral effect on the Americans, and the congress which met at Baltimore conferred extraordinary powers upon Washington.



11. The American cause was very popular in France, out of which it spread to this country. Franklin and Silas Deane had been sent as envoys to Paris, to solicit the support of the French; and though the latter were not yet prepared to declare openly in favour of the Americans, they gave them secret assistance. Many French officers proceeded to America to offer their services, among whom the most distinguished by rank and fortune was the young marquis de la Fayette, who was not yet 20 years of age. The Americans gave him the rank of major-general, and he undertook to serve without emolument. In England, Chatham again appeared in the House of Lords this summer, and made an eloquent appeal for conciliating America, but without success. The exertions of Chatham in this cause were noble, enlightened, and patriotic; but there was a class of turbulent demagogues, to whom it served as an occasion to excite sedition and disturbance. The Rev. Mr. Horne, better known by his subsequent name of Horne Tooke, was convicted before lord Mansfield of a libel, for having, in advertising for subscriptions for the relief of the Americans, stigmatised the affairs at Lexington and Concord as inhuman murders; and he was sentenced to 12 months' imprisonment.

In 1777 Howe abandoned the design of reaching Philadelphia through the Jerseys; and withdrawing his troops, embarked them at New York with the intention of proceeding by water. Finding the banks of the Delaware well fortified, he proceeded up the Chesapeake and landed his men at the head of Elk. Midway between that place and Philadelphia runs the stream called the Brandywine, where the Americans occupied a strong position. But they were defeated and completely routed (Sept. 11th), and the British vanguard took possession of Philadelphia without resistance. In an attempt to recover it the Americans were repulsed at German Town. These successes were more than counterbalanced by reverses in the north. General Burgoyne, who had more talent for writing plays than commanding armies, was directed to operate on the Hudson in order to prevent any further attempts on Canada. Two advanced divisions, consisting chiefly of Germans, which he had thrown across the Hudson, were defeated at Bennington by general Starke; but after collecting provisions, Burgoyne again crossed that river and advanced beyond Saratoga. He defeated the Americans at Behmus Heights (Sept. 19), but gained no advantage by the victory; and he was himself defeated shortly afterwards, near the same spot, by Arnold. Burgoyne was now obliged to retreat to Saratoga, where he found himself almost surrounded by the enemy; and as his provisions were nearly exhausted, while at the same time no news arrived from sir H. Clinton, by whom he had expected to be joined, he found himself compelled to enter into a convention with general



Gates, by which he agreed to lay down his arms (Oct. 17). His fighting men had been reduced to 3500, whilst Gates had upwards of 13,000 fit for duty. The capitulation of Saratoga was the turning-point in the American war. It was not faithfully observed by the Americans, who, because the English soldiers had retained their cartouche-boxes, which they pretended came under the description of "arms," detained them several years at Boston as prisoners.

The news of Burgoyne's disaster raised a patriotic spirit in England. Voluntary subscriptions were opened, and a sum was raised sufficient to maintain 15,000 soldiers without the aid of government. In France the news had a decisive effect. It was officially announced to the American envoys that Louis XVI. was prepared to acknowledge the independence of America; and two treaties of commerce and alliance with that country were signed at Paris, February 6, 1778.

Now, when it was too late, lord North attempted measures of conciliation. He formally renounced the right of the British parliament to tax America; he appointed five commissioners with the most ample powers, who were instructed to raise no difficulties respecting the rank or legal position of those who might be appointed to treat with them; and it seemed to be intimated that any terms short of independence would be conceded. The bills were received by parliament with astonishment and dejection; but no opposition was made, and they received the royal assent March 11, 1778. Two days after the marquis de Noailles, the French ambassador, delivered a note, couched in ironical and insulting terms, announcing the treaties concluded between France and the United States. And now, in the hour of danger, lord North deserted his post. On the very next day he tendered his resignation to the king, and advised him to send for lord Chatham; but the king's mind was embittered against that statesman by the invectives which he continued to utter, often groundless, it must be confessed, as when he inveighed against Bute's secret influence, which had long ceased to exist. The king expressed his determination not to accept the services of "that perfidious man," except in a subordinate post, which it was well known Chatham would not accept.

§ 12. But the days of that great statesman were drawing to a close. On April 7, although so extremely ill that he was obliged to be supported, nay almost carried, into the House by his second son William and his son-in-law lord Mahon, Chatham went down to oppose a motion of the duke of Richmond's for an address to the king recommending peace at any price, even the recognising of American independence; for though Chatham had always been the warm advocate of conciliation, he regarded such a step with the utmost abhorrence, as a dismemberment of the empire, and especially under present circumstances, when it would seem to be taken at



the dictation of France. He made a speech against the motion, which, though traces of faltering were sometimes visible, all his former glowing eloquence seemed to be revived as for some grand and last occasion. He was answered by the duke of Richmond, and, stung by some of his remarks, Chatham rose to reply; but his strength had been over-tasked—he staggered and fell back in convulsions. The peers crowded round him with marks of the deepest sympathy. He was carried to a neighbouring house, where, with the aid of a physician, he in some degree rallied; thence he was conveyed to his house at Hayes, where, after lingering a few weeks, he expired on May 11, in the 70th year of his age. A public funeral was voted, with a monument in Westminster abbey, an annuity of 4000*l.* attached for ever to the earldom of Chatham, and a sum of 20,000*l.* to discharge his debts.

The king now prevailed upon lord North to continue in office; and the ministry was strengthened in the House of Lords by conferring the great seal upon Thurlow.

§ 13. The Americans had been encouraged by the French alliance, and by the retreat of sir H. Clinton from Philadelphia to New York; and congress refused to hold any conference with lord North's commissioners unless the British fleets and armies were first withdrawn from America, or at all events the independence of the United States acknowledged—conditions which were of course inadmissible, and all communications were consequently broken off. In July a French fleet of 12 ships of the line and 6 frigates, under count d'Estaing, appeared off the coast of America. Sir H. Clinton reduced this summer the whole province of Georgia, the inhabitants of which were for the most part loyally inclined. By orders from home, 5000 of his troops had been detached, and effected the conquest of St. Lucia, St. Pierre, and Miquelon; but on the other hand the French took Dominica.

Several actions were fought in the Channel, where admiral Keppel commanded the English fleet. In July a general engagement took place off Ushant. The French fleet, under d'Orvilliers, was much superior in force; but the action was indecisive, and the respective fleets retired to Brest and Plymouth. Keppel had signalled sir Hugh Palliser, his second in command, to bear up with his squadron and renew the combat; but Palliser's ship being much crippled, he was unable to comply. Both admirals were in parliament, and political adversaries; and they now began to criminate each other. Keppel was brought to a court-martial on some charges made against him by Palliser, and after a trial of 32 days was honourably acquitted. As he was the popular favourite, all London was illuminated on his acquittal, whilst Palliser was burnt in effigy. The latter, having demanded a court-martial on himself, was also acquitted.



In the next summer (1779) Spain joined France in the war against England, and manifestoes were published, both at Paris and Madrid, containing long statements of alleged grievances. In answer to the former, Gibbon the historian drew up a *Mémoire Justificatif*, or justifying memorial, which, though not exactly official, was circulated in the different courts of Europe as a state paper. The combined Spanish and French fleets amounted to 66 sail of the line, besides frigates and other smaller vessels. The French began to threaten an invasion, and 50,000 men were spread along the coast of France, from Havre to St. Malo. The threat, as usual, created considerable alarm in England, which was perhaps all that was contemplated. Sir Charles Hardy, who now commanded the English fleet, had only 38 ships, and was therefore obliged to remain on the defensive; but dissensions broke out between the enemy's admirals about the mode of conducting the war, and, the Spanish commander having retired into port, it became necessary for the French admiral to follow his example. It was at this time that Paul Jones, a Scotchman by birth, but holding a commission in the American service, appeared off the eastern coast of Scotland, with three small ships of war and one armed brigantine. He attacked our Baltic fleet, captured the Serapis and the Scarborough that were convoying it, and carried his prizes to Holland. He then appeared in the Firth of Forth, and filled Edinburgh with alarm and humiliation, till a steady west wind blew him out of the Firth.

The war was now raging in various quarters of the globe. The Spaniards formed the siege of Gibraltar; the French made an attempt upon Jersey, took Senegal in Africa, but lost Goree. In the West Indies, d'Estaing, in the absence of admiral Byron, reduced St. Vincent and Grenada; but an attempt which he made, in conjunction with some American land-forces, on Savannah, the capital of Georgia, was repulsed.

§ 14. The year 1780 is memorable for the no-popery riots excited by lord George Gordon. To explain their origin it will be necessary to go back a year or two. In 1778 sir George Saville had procured the repeal of a very severe act against the Roman catholics, passed in 1700 in consequence of the number of priests that came over to England after the peace of Ryswick. By this law priests or Jesuits exercising their functions, or teaching, were liable to imprisonment for life; and all catholics who within 6 months after attaining the age of 18 refused to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and to subscribe the declarations against transubstantiation and the worship of saints, were declared incapable of purchasing, inheriting, or holding landed property. The very severity of this law had rendered it inoperative, yet its repeal excited among the more bigoted protestants, especially in Scotland, and among the English populace, a feeling of



the most violent animosity against the Roman catholics. Protestant associations were formed both in England and Scotland; and lord George Gordon, a younger son of the duke of Gordon, a young man of a turbulent temper, fond of notoriety, but without either ability or principle, had put himself at the head of the movement. He made many silly and violent speeches in the House of Commons, and even went so far as to insinuate that the king himself was at heart a Roman catholic. On June 2 he assembled a vast mob in St. George's Fields, to accompany him to the House with a petition against the recent changes in the penal laws. Many of the members of both Houses were insulted and ill treated; the mob broke into the lobby of the House of Commons, and, knocking violently at the door, shouted out "No popery!" while lord George appeared now and then at the top of the gallery stairs to encourage and incite them. There was then no organised police; but lord North, who displayed the utmost courage and firmness, privately sent for a detachment of the guards. Colonel Murray, a kinsman of lord George's, drew his sword and threatened to run him through the body if a single man of the mob entered the house. The guards arrived and cleared the lobby. Lord Gordon's proposal for immediate deliberation was rejected by an immense majority; and the rioters dispersed, but not before they had burnt the chapels of the Sardinian and Bavarian legations. On the following day (Saturday) the mob was tolerably quiet, but on Sunday the blue cockades reassembled in great numbers, and burnt two or three catholic chapels. On Monday more chapels were burnt, as well as the house of sir G. Saville in Leicester Fields. On Tuesday, lord George having appeared in the House with a blue cockade, Colonel Herbert desired him to remove it, or threatened to do so himself, upon which he submitted rather tamely. For two or three days the mob were in possession of London. Fiercer spirits had now appeared—men who thirsted for plunder and revolution. On Tuesday evening Newgate was broken open, the prisoners to the number of 300 released, and the building, lately rebuilt at a cost of 140,000*l.*, reduced to a heap of smouldering ruins. Clerkenwell was also entered, and the houses of three or four magistrates were destroyed. Towards midnight the mob proceeded to the residence of lord Mansfield in Bloomsbury-square, destroyed all his furniture, and his valuable library, containing letters which he had been collecting nearly 50 years, with a view to write the history of his times. Lord and lady Mansfield had barely time to escape by the back door. On the 7th the riot was at its height. All the shops were shut, the mob were uncontrolled masters, and most of the prisons were forced and their inmates released. The magistrates seemed paralysed; and Kennett, the lord mayor, displayed a great dereliction of duty, for which he was afterwards prosecuted and con-



valid; while alderman Wilkes, on the contrary, was active in suppressing the tumult. The king himself showed the greatest resolution on this occasion. Having assembled a council, he caused a proclamation to be issued warning the people to keep within doors, and intimating that the military had instructions to act without waiting for orders from the civil magistrates. That night London bore the aspect of a place taken by storm. In various quarters parties of soldiers were firing upon the mob, and the fire was sometimes returned; people were seen removing their goods in haste and alarm from the numerous houses which had been set on fire; and the streets resounded with the groans and yells of the wounded and the drunken. Nearly 500 persons were killed or wounded. But the riot was at an end: next day London was tranquil. Lord George Gordon was apprehended on the 9th, and committed to the Tower on a charge of high treason; and shortly afterwards 60 or 70 of the rioters were convicted, of whom 21 were executed. On this occasion Wedderburn, the solicitor-general, was made chief justice of the common pleas, with the title of lord Loughborough, his predecessor De Grey having resigned in alarm.

§ 15. Admiral sir G. Rodney gained a signal victory this year (Jan. 16) over the Spanish fleet off Cape St. Vincent. Eight Spanish ships were taken or destroyed, and only four of their fleet escaped into Cadiz. He had previously captured a rich Spanish convoy in the Bay of Biscay. But the Spaniards amply avenged their losses by intercepting, off the Azores, our East and West India fleets, which had been sent to sea with a convoy of only two men-of-war. These escaped, but nearly 60 sail of merchantmen, freighted with valuable cargoes, were carried into Cadiz. Besides her declared enemies, England had now to contend with the neutral powers, who, under cover of their flags, supplied our enemies with warlike stores. Our first quarrel on this account was with the Dutch; and in February the empress Catherine of Russia issued a declaration to the belligerent courts, in which it was insisted that free ships make free goods; that no goods are contraband, except those declared such by treaty; and that blockades to be acknowledged must be effective. This declaration became the basis of the "armed neutrality" subsequently established between Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, to which Holland and Prussia, and eventually Spain and France, also acceded. Its object was to support the claims of neutrals, if necessary, by force of arms. Thus all the most powerful nations of Europe seemed arrayed against England, if not actively, at all events in a sort of sullen and indirect hostility; and before the end of the year the Dutch were added to the number of her active enemies. On board an American packet that had been captured there was found among the papers of Mr. Laurens, an envoy to Holland, the plan of an alli-



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peace between Holland and America, dated as far back as September, 1781. Remonstrances and negotiations ensued; and on December 20, 1780, war was declared against the Dutch.

With regard to this year's campaign in America, sir H. Clinton, after a rather long siege, succeeded in taking Charleston. All the American naval force at that place was destroyed or seized by admiral Arbuthnot, and 400 guns and a great quantity of stores were captured. On the news that a French fleet, with a considerable number of troops on board, had sailed for New England, Clinton re-embarked for New York with a portion of his force, leaving lord Cornwallis, with about 4000 men, to hold Charleston and South Carolina; and, if possible, to annex North Carolina. General Gates was now approaching with a considerable army; and on August 16 an engagement ensued at Camden, in which the Americans were completely routed and dispersed, with the loss of all their baggage. The French expedition against New England appeared off Rhode Island in July; but admiral Arbuthnot, having been reinforced by admiral Graves, blockaded the French in Newport harbour the remainder of the year. Sir H. Clinton had now arrived at a just appreciation of the war. He perceived that his force was not strong enough, by some thousands, effectually to reduce the revolted provinces; and he wrote home to that effect, at the same time tendering his resignation of the command.

The campaign in America ceased in the next year (1781), though the war was not absolutely terminated. The last action, at Eutaw Springs, about 60 miles from Charleston, fought on September 8, was one of the sharpest of the whole war. The American artillery was taken and retaken several times, and several hundreds were slain. The English, who were commanded by colonel Stewart, remained masters of the field; yet in spite of their apparent victory they were obliged to retreat to Charleston Neck, and the Americans recovered the greater part of South Carolina and Georgia.

At this juncture the count de Grasse arrived from the West Indies with 28 sail of the line and about 4000 troops. Sir Samuel Hood had followed him with only 14 ships; but being reinforced by admiral Graves with 5 ships, the French were brought to an action off the coast of Virginia, September 5. It proved indecisive, and both fleets then retired—the English to New York, the French to the Chesapeake.

Meanwhile lord Cornwallis, with a force of 7000 men, had taken up a position at York Town, an ill-fortified place, in which he was soon surrounded by an army of 18,000 men with 50 or 60 pieces of artillery, and commanded by Washington, La Fayette, and St. Simon. The bombardment commenced on October 9; by the 14th two redoubts had been carried, and the town more closely invested. As all

relief or escape was impossible, Cornwallis was now obliged to capitulate, and obtained certain honours of war. With this capitulation the American war, which had been conducted without any adequate plan or vigour, may be said to have ceased: at all events there were no military operations afterwards.

§ 16. In other quarters the British were more successful. Among the feats of arms this year was the relief of Gibraltar by admiral Darby. In the Channell the immense superiority of the combined fleet, 49 sail of the line to 21, compelled admiral Darby to retire into Torbay, and remain on the defensive. Here the enemy dared not to attack him, and in September they were dispersed by some boisterous weather. About the same time admiral Hyde Parker, convoying a fleet from the Baltic, fell in with a Dutch fleet and convoy off the Dogger Bank; but though the Dutch admiral, Zenthman, was beaten, and bore away for the Texel, Parker was in no condition to pursue. In the West Indies admiral Rodney captured the Dutch island of St. Eustatia, with an immense amount of property and ships. The Dutch shipping lying at Demerara and Essequibo was also captured by English privateers, and these settlements were surrendered to the governor of Barbadoes. On the other hand, the French took Tobago.

In the next session of parliament the ministers intimated their intention of confining their attempts to the retaining of certain ports and harbours in America. The tidings of fresh disasters added to the depression of the nation. Before the close of the year the marquis de Bouillé had retaken the island of St. Eustatia. Shortly afterwards we lost Demerara and Essequibo, together with St. Kitt's, Nevis, and Montserrat: so that of all the Leeward Islands England retained only Barbadoes and Antigua. A little previously an attempt which we made upon the Dutch settlement at the Cape of Good Hope had been frustrated. All these misfortunes were crowned by the surrender of Minorca (Feb. 5, 1782), after an heroic defence, and when, chiefly from the ravages of disease, only about 700 men were left fit for duty.

On February 27, 1782, General Conway carried a resolution in the House of Commons against any further attempts to reduce the insurgent colonies; and subsequently an address to inform the sovereign that those who should advise the prosecution of the war would be regarded by the House as enemies of their king and country. On March 15, the ministry having escaped a vote of non-confidence, proposed by sir John Rous, only by a majority of 9, lord North announced his resignation. His administration had lasted 12 years, and had been characterised by harsh and rigorous measures, though he himself was eminently gentle and good-tempered. The marquess of Rockingham now became again prime minister, with lord John



Sendia as chancellor of the exchequer, admiral viscount Reppel lord of the admiralty, the duke of Richmond master of the ordnance, the earl of Shelburne and Mr. Fox secretaries of state, and general Conway commander-in-chief. The tory chancellor, lord Thurlow, retained the seals. Burke was not admitted into the cabinet, but was made paymaster of the forces; and a small appointment was given to his son.

In the preceding year two young men of distinguished ability had entered on the career of public life: Richard Brinsley Sheridan, and William Pitt, the second son of lord Chatham. Sheridan's maiden speech was a failure; but he was not discouraged, and soon retrieved his reputation. Pitt's first address, on the contrary, seemed to be that of a practised orator; and was received with applause and warm congratulations, even by Fox and the opposition. Sheridan accepted the place of under-secretary of state in the new ministry; and a choice of some of the smaller posts was offered to Pitt, but, though only 23 years of age, he had already declared in the House of Commons that he would not accept any subordinate situation.

The ministry were embarrassed at the very outset by the state of Ireland, where great discontent prevailed on account of some alleged commercial grievances. The catholic question had not yet arisen, but the question of the independence of the Irish parliament was agitated with great warmth. The eloquent Henry Grattan, the leader of the opposition, was a protestant. On April 16 he carried an address to the crown declaratory of the legislative independence of the Irish Houses. Such an independence was clearly an anomaly which might lead to the greatest practical inconvenience: as, for instance, if the Irish parliament should vote for peace with a foreign country against which England had declared war. The English ministers could not but perceive this glaring evil; but the present state of the country rendered a breach with Ireland highly inexpedient, and Fox carried a motion (May 17) which, by repealing the act 6 Geo. I., acknowledged the independence of the Irish legislature. The gratitude of the Irish was unbounded. They immediately passed a vote to raise 20,000 seamen, and they prevailed upon Grattan to accept of 50,000*l.* for himself.

The question of parliamentary reform had now begun to excite considerable attention in England. Lord Chatham had been its warm advocate; and Pitt, who took up his father's views on this subject, moved for a committee to inquire into the state of the representation. Opinions were divided in the cabinet, but the motion was negatived by 20 votes. Some measures of reform were however introduced by the ministry, such as a bill to prevent revenue-officers from voting at elections, and another forbidding contractors to sit in the House of Commons. A great many useless offices were abolished,



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the pension list was reduced, and the amount of secret-service money \$ 17. About this time the disgraces of England were in some measure retrieved by a brilliant naval victory. On April 12 admiral Rodney succeeded in bringing the French fleet under De Grasse to an engagement, which, with a large body of troops on board, had sailed from Martinico to attack Jamaica. Each fleet consisted of upwards of 30 ships of the line. The action lasted nearly 11 hours, and was desperately contested, but ended in the decisive victory of the English. The *Ville de Paris*, carrying admiral de Grasse's flag, the largest ship in the French navy, together with four more first-rate vessels, was taken, and another was sunk. Admiral Hood captured two more that were retreating. Owing to the French vessels being crowded with troops, they are said to have lost 3000 killed and 6000 wounded, whilst the loss on the side of the English did not exceed 900. On board the *Ville de Paris* were 36 chests of money to pay the soldiers, and their whole train of artillery was on board the other captured ships. The remainder of the French fleet were scattered, and could not contrive to reunite. Thus was Jamaica saved. The ministry had just previously recalled Rodney, with every mark of coolness and disgrace; but they now found themselves called upon to reward him with a barony and a pension. An Irish barony was bestowed on Hood.

Negotiations for a peace were soon after opened at Paris. Dr. Franklin, the American minister there, refused to treat on any other terms than the recognition of the independence of the United States, to which also he at first added a demand for the cession of Canada. In the midst of these negotiations lord Rockingham died (July 1). The king now sent for the earl of Shelburne, who accepted the office of first lord of the treasury, upon which a large part of the ministry, including Fox, lord John Cavendish, the duke of Portland, Burke, and Sheridan, resigned. Under lord Shelburne, Pitt became chancellor of the exchequer; Thomas Townshend and lord Grantham secretaries of state.

The combined French and Spanish fleets again swept the Channel this summer, yet lord Howe, with a far inferior force, contrived to screen from them the East and West India merchantmen convoyed by sir P. Parker. After Howe's return to Portsmouth the Royal George, of 108 guns, reckoned the first ship in the British navy, having been laid slightly on her side in order to stop a leak, was capsized at Spithead by a squall; and all her ports being open, immediately sank, when a great part of the crew, and many women and children who had come on board, as well as admiral Kempenfeldt, who was writing in his cabin, were drowned. Rodney's prizes also, including the *Ville de Paris*, unfortunately foundered on their way from the West Indies.



In September lord Howe sailed with 34 ships of the line to relieve Gibraltar, which had now endured a memorable siege of more than three years. It was defended by general Elliot, with a garrison of more than 5000 men. They had been relieved on different occasions by admirals Rodney and Darby, but they were at times reduced to such distress as to feed off vegetables and even weeds. In the spring of 1781 the bombardment was terrible. It is computed that the enemy fired 56,000 balls and 20,000 shells from the middle of April till the end of May, yet the casemates afforded so effectual a protection that only 70 men were killed. The bombardment was relaxed during the summer, but renewed again in the autumn. On the night of November 26 Elliot made a sortie with 2000 men. The Spaniards were taken by surprise, and fled on all sides; their works were destroyed, their guns spiked, their ammunition blown up. It was long before the bombardment was renewed, and then not with the previous vigour. Early in 1782 the Spaniards were encouraged by the arrival of De Crillon, the victor of Minorca, who assumed the chief command. The total French and Spanish force now collected before Gibraltar amounted to 33,000 men, with 170 pieces of heavy artillery. The English had likewise been reinforced, and had a garrison of 7000 men, with 80 guns of large calibre. The siege now attracted the eyes of all Europe. The comte d'Artois and duke of Bourbon came from Paris to share the expected glory of its termination. Charles of Spain was accustomed to ask every morning on waking, "Is it taken?" and to the invariable "No," invariably replied, "It will be soon." De Crillon, deeming the land-side impregnable, caused some immense floating batteries to be constructed, mounted with 142 guns; and on the morning of September 13 a fire was opened on the English works at a distance of about 600 yards, the batteries on the land-side playing at the same time. All day the terrible bombardment continued, but towards evening the effect of the red-hot shot from the English batteries began to tell. Before midnight one of the largest floating batteries, as well as the Spanish flag-ship *Pastora*, was in flames. The light served to direct the aim of the besieged, and at last every one of the battering-ships was on fire. The enemy lost 1600 men on this occasion. Soon after lord Howe entered the bay, and the combined fleet did not venture to attack him. The siege was continued till the peace in 1783, but only nominally. General Elliot, on his return to England in 1787, was raised to the peerage as lord Heathfield * of Gibraltar.

§ 18. As France and Spain seemed desirous of continuing the war, lord Shelburne hastened to renew the negotiations for a separate treaty with America; and though the terms of the American alliance

* The title became extinct on the death of the second lord Heathfield in 1813.

in France, which had been carried out in the most liberal spirit by the latter country, strictly precluded a separate peace, yet, as it was obvious that the continuance of the war for any object beyond the recognition of the independence of the American States could serve only French or Spanish interests, Dr. Franklin, and the other three American commissioners in Paris, did not hesitate to respond to the advances of the British government. Articles were signed on November 30, 1782, the chief of which were the recognition of the independence of the United States, an advantageous arrangement of their boundaries, and the concession of the right of fishing on the banks of Newfoundland. Great Britain recognised and satisfied the claims of the American loyalists to the extent of nearly ten millions sterling for losses of real or personal property, and of 120,000*l.* per annum in life annuities for loss of income in trades or professions—a splendid instance of good faith after so expensive a war. In England the treaty was received with various feelings. It was not till June 1785, that George III. had an interview with Mr. Adams, the first minister from the United States, which naturally occasioned considerable emotion on both sides. The king received Mr. Adams with affability and frankness. He remarked that he wished it to be understood in America, that, though he had been the last to consent to a separation, he would be the first to welcome the friendship of the United States as an independent power.)

During the Christmas recess the ministers exerted themselves to bring to a close the negotiations with France and Spain. The latter power at first insisted on the restoration of Gibraltar, and lord Shelburne seemed not unwilling to exchange it against Porto Rico, whilst his colleagues required the addition of Trinidad. But since its gallant defence the heart of the nation was fixed on that barren rock; lord Shelburne perceived that to cede it would bring great unpopularity upon the ministry, and he informed the Spaniards that no terms would tempt to its surrender. The Spanish court were indignant; but finding they were not backed by France, they sullenly acquiesced, and the preliminaries of a peace between the three countries were signed at Versailles, January 20, 1783. England restored St. Lucia and ceded Tobago to France, receiving in return Grenada, St. Vincent, Dominica, Nevis, and Montserrat. In Africa England yielded Senegal and Goree, retaining Fort James and the river Gambia. In India the French recovered Chandernagore, Pondicherry, Mahé, and the Comptoir of Surat. French pride was gratified by the abrogation of the articles in the treaty of Utrecht relative to the demolition of Dunkirk—a place which no outlay whatsoever could have rendered capable of receiving ships of the line.

To Spain were ceded Minorca and both the Floridas, while king Charles guaranteed to England the right of cutting logwood within



certain boundaries to be hereafter determined, and agreed to restore Providence and the Bahamas. The latter however were recovered before the suspension of hostilities. Some months after a treaty was also concluded with the Dutch on the basis of mutual restitution.

CHRONOLOGY OF REMARKABLE EVENTS.

A.D.	A.D.
1760. Accession of George III.	1775. Commencement of the American War of Independence. Battles of Lexington and Burker's Hill.
1761. The <i>Family Compact</i> between France, Spain, and Naples.	1776. American declaration of independence.
„ Resignation of Pitt.	1777. Capitulation of Saratoga.
1762. Lord Bute prime minister.	1778. Alliance between America and France.
„ War with Spain.	„ War with France.
1763. Peace of Paris. End of the Seven Years' War.	„ Death of lord Chatham.
„ Resignation of Bute. George Grenville prime minister.	1779. War with Spain.
„ Arrest of Wilkes on a "general warrant."	1780. Lord George Gordon's riots.
1765. Grenville's American Stamp Act.	„ Rodney's victory at Cape St. Vincent.
„ Resignation of Grenville. Marquess of Rockingham prime minister.	1781. Capitulation of lord Cornwallis and end of the American war.
1766. Repeal of the American Stamp Act.	1782. Resignation of lord North. Marquess of Rockingham prime minister a second time.
„ Resignation of Rockingham.	„ Irish parliament declared independent.
„ Pitt created earl Chatham. His second ministry. Duke of Grafton at the head of the treasury.	„ Rodney's victory over De Grasse in the West Indies.
1767. An act to levy a tax on tea and other articles in America.	„ Death of the marquess of Rockingham.
1768. Resignation of Chatham.	„ Lord Shelburne prime minister, and Pitt chancellor of the exchequer.
„ Duke of Grafton continues at the treasury.	„ Gibraltar relieved by lord Howe after a siege of three years.
1769. Repeal of the taxes imposed upon America in 1767, with the exception of the duty upon tea.	„ Recognition of the independence of the United States.
1770. Resignation of the duke of Grafton.	1788. Peace of Versailles.
„ Lord North prime minister.	
1772. Popular outbreak at Boston.	



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Medal in commemoration of Lord Howe's victory over the French Fleet, June 1, 1794.

Obv.: EARL HOWE ADM. OF THE WHITE E.G.: Bust to right. Below, M.D.C.C. LXXXIII. W: WYTON. P: Rev.: FRENCH FLEET DEFEATED OFF USANT VII SAIL OF THE LINE CAPTURED 1 JUNE MDCCXCIV Neptune, drawn by two sea-horses, to right.

CHAPTER XXXII

GEORGE III. CONTINUED. FROM THE PEACE OF VERSAILLES TO THE PEACE OF AMIENS. A.D. 1783-1802.

§ 1. Coalition ministry. Fox's India Bill. Pitt prime minister. His India Bill. § 2. Impeachment of Warren Hastings. Affairs of India till his governor-generalship. Vote of censure on Lord Clive. His suicide. § 3. Administration of Warren Hastings. § 4. His extortions in Oude. Charges against him. Result of his impeachment. § 5. The king's illness. Outbreak of the French Revolution. § 6. Riots at Birmingham. Attitude of Europe. State of feeling in England. The French declare war. § 7. Campaign in Flanders. Insurrection of Toulon, and siege of that city. § 8. Campaign of 1794. Holland overrun by the French. § 9. Naval successes. Lord Howe's victory. § 10. Sedition in England. Expedition to Quiberon. Dutch colonies taken. § 11. Alliance between France and Spain. Lord Malmesbury's negotiations. Attempted invasions of England. Bank Restriction Act. § 12. Battle of Cape St. Vincent. Duncan's victory off Camperdown. § 13. Mutinies at Portsmouth and the Nore. Threatened invasion. § 14. Expedition to Ostend. The French in Egypt. Battle of the Nile. Its consequences. § 15. English and Russian expedition to Holland. The Helder taken. The duke of York capitulates. Siege of Acre and flight of Bonaparte from Egypt. § 16. Disturbances in Ireland. Irish Union. § 17. Pitt's opinions on Parliamentary Reform and Catholic Emancipation. Warlike operations. The armed neutrality. § 18. Pitt resigns. Lord Addington prime minister. Expedition against Copenhagen. Dissolution of the armed neutrality. § 19. Threatened invasion, and attack on Boulogne. The French in Egypt. Battle of Alexandria, and death of Abercromby. § 20. The French expelled from Egypt. Peace of Amiens.

§ 1. THE war had added upwards of 100 millions to the national debt, and the country was so exhausted that it would have been diffi-



to send 3000 men on any foreign expedition. These particulars, however, were not generally known; and when the conditions of the peace were communicated to the parliament, they were received by the opposition with a perfect storm of disapprobation. The cession of Chandernagore and Pondicherry was especially the object of animadversion. The ministers having been twice left in minorities in the Commons, lord Shelburne resigned. The state of parties rendered it difficult to form a new administration. Mr. Pitt declined the task, and for some weeks there was a sort of interregnum. At length a coalition ministry was formed. The duke of Portland, a man of small abilities, became first lord of the treasury. The virtual ministers were lord North and Fox, the secretaries of state; yet only a little previously Fox had publicly declared that, if ever he could be persuaded to act with lord North, he should consider himself worthy of eternal infamy! Their power, however, was not of long duration. In November Fox brought in a bill to reform the government of India, which passed the Commons, but was rejected by the Lords. The ministers, having a large majority in the former House, did not think it necessary to resign; but the king, who had always viewed the coalition with disgust, sent messages to lord North and Fox requiring them to deliver up the seals. Mr. Pitt, as first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer, now became the head of a ministry of which the principal members were lord Thurlow, chancellor; earl Gower, president of the council; the duke of Rutland, privy seal; lord Caermarthen and lord Sydney, secretaries of state; and lord Howe, first lord of the admiralty.

Pitt, like his predecessors, was defeated on a bill which he introduced to regulate the government of India; but he resorted to a dissolution, and the elections, which took place in April, 1784, secured a large majority for the ministry. In August he succeeded in carrying his bill, the main feature of which was the creation of the Board of Control, consisting of six privy councillors nominated by the king, who, with the principal secretaries of state and the chancellor of the exchequer, were to be commissioners for India, with supreme control over the civil and military government and the affairs of the company. Pitt also adopted some measures to remedy the disordered state of the finances, and imposed various new taxes, amounting to nearly a million per annum. In the following year he brought in a bill for a reform of parliament, which was supported by some of his opponents, and opposed by some of his supporters, but finally lost by a majority of 74. The public at that period took little interest in the subject, and it was not resumed.

George prince of Wales, the king's eldest son, had attained his majority in 1783, when he had a separate establishment assigned him, with Carlton house as a residence, which stood in Pall Mall, on the



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He was now occupied by the duke of York's column. Like most pre-
lating heirs-apparent, he had thrown himself into the ranks of the
opposition, from which his friends were chiefly selected, as lord North,
Fox, Burke, Sheridan, Windham, Erskine, and others. By improving
his residence, by losses at the gaming-table and on the turf, as well
as by other expenses incident to his station, and to a youthful prince
of gay and voluptuous habits, he had contracted a large amount of
debt; and such was his distress that in 1786 an execution was put
into his house for the sum of 600*l*. The king, whose regular and
moral habits led him to view the prince's course of life with high
disapprobation, refused to assist him, especially as it was believed
that he had contracted a private marriage, contrary to the Royal
Marriage Act, with Mrs. Fitzherbert, a Roman catholic lady of great
personal charms, correct conduct, and elegant manners. The prince
was obliged to reduce his establishment, sell off all his horses, and
suspend the works at Carlton house. At length the prince's embar-
rassments were forced upon the notice of Mr. Pitt by the opposition;
and to avoid a threatened motion upon the subject, the king in-
structed the minister to propose, on the understanding that the
prince would reform his expenditure, an increase of 10,000*l*. per
annum to his income, together with the sum of 161,000*l*. for the dis-
charge of his debts, and 20,000*l*. for the works at Carlton house.

§ 2. In 1786 Burke brought forward his celebrated impeachment
of Warren Hastings. In order to understand this subject it will be
necessary briefly to resume the history of affairs in India.* During
the absence of Clive great disorder had prevailed. The government
had fallen into the hands of Mr. Vansittart, father of lord Bexley,
who was by no means competent to conduct it. The native princes
could no longer be kept in subjection; the servants of the company
were amassing great wealth by bribery and extortion, whilst the com-
pany itself was on the verge of bankruptcy. In May, 1763, lord
Clive again landed at Calcutta, having, after an arduous struggle,
obtained the appointment of governor and commander-in-chief in
Bengal. There was as yet no central government; and the three
presidencies of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay were on a footing of
jealous rivalry. Clive first applied himself to remedy the abuses in
the company's service. He made the civil officers bind themselves
in writing to accept no more presents from the native princes; and
he ordered the military to relinquish the double *batta*, or additional
allowances, granted to them by Meer Jaffier after the battle of
Plassy. This order produced a mutiny. Nearly 200 officers, and
among them sir Robert Fletcher, the second in command, conspired
to throw up their commissions on the same day. Clive immediately
repaired to the camp at Monghir; and having assembled the officers,

* See p. 623.



planted on them the guilt of their conduct, declared his resolution to suppress the mutiny, and to supply the place of the mutineers by other officers from Madras, or even by the clerks and civil servants of the company. He then cashiered sir R. Fletcher, and caused the ringleaders to be arrested and sent to Calcutta for trial. The rest now entreated to be allowed to recall their resignations—a request which was in most instances granted, but only as an act of grace and favour, whilst the vacancies were supplied by a judicious promotion of subalterns. Clive also placed the jurisdiction of the company on a satisfactory footing; and procured from Shah Alum, emperor of Delhi, a deed conferring on them the sole administration of the provinces of Bengal, Orissa, and Bahar. Clive returned to England in January, 1767.

In his absence affairs again went wrong. In the Madras presidency Hyder Ali, founder of the kingdom of Mysore, the most daring and skilful enemy the English had ever encountered in India, finding his advances neglected by the company, joined the Mahratta chieftains, threatened the capital itself, and extorted an advantageous peace. The company's trade suffered to such an extent that in the spring of 1769 India stock fell 60 per cent. In 1770 Bengal was afflicted by a famine which is computed to have carried off one-third of the inhabitants. The disasters and misrule in India, and the declining state of the company's affairs, at length attracted the attention of government, and committees of inquiry were appointed in 1772. In the spring of the following year lord North, by the act called the Regulating Act, made several reforms in the constitution of the company, both with regard to the court at home and the management of affairs in India. The most remarkable feature of this act was that the governor of Bengal was invested with authority over the other presidencies, and with the title of governor-general of India, but he was himself subjected to the control of his council. Warren Hastings, who had been appointed to the government of Bengal in the previous year, was the first governor-general of India.

In the same year general (then colonel) Burgoyne, who afterwards contributed to the loss of our empire in the West, moved a vote of censure on the man who had established our empire in the East. Clive's wealth, and his magnificent seat at Claremont, had attracted envy; and there were circumstances in his extraordinary career which might afford a handle to malignity. Such especially was his sanctioning the forgery of admiral Watson's signature in order to deceive the traitor Omichund, who had threatened to reveal the conspiracy to dethrone Surajah Dowlah, though Clive does not appear to have derived any private advantage from the act. This and other matters were objected to him, whilst all his eminent services seemed to be forgotten or overlooked. Burgoyne carried the first part of his reso-



ions affirming certain matters of fact that had been proved against him; the second part, censuring him for having abused his powers, was negatived; and, on the motion of Wedderburn, it was unanimously added to the resolutions carried, "that Robert, lord Clive, did at the same time render great and meritorious services to his country." But the taunts to which he had been subjected had sunk deep into his mind; he was accustomed to complain that he had been examined like a sheep-stealer; and his melancholy temperament, which even in early youth had displayed itself in an attempt at suicide, now further aggravated by ill health, and perhaps also by a life of inaction, led him to lay violent hands on himself (Nov. 1774) before he had attained his 50th year.

§ 3. The administration of Warren Hastings was also able and beneficial. He reformed and improved the revenues of India; he transferred the government of Bengal to the company, leaving only a phantom of power at Moorshedabad; he resumed the possession of Allahabad and Corah, and discontinued the tribute to Shah Alum. But his measures for replenishing the company's treasury were not always marked by scrupulous honour. The vizier of Oude being desirous of subjugating the neighbouring country of Rohilcund, Hastings did not hesitate to lend him some British bayonets for that purpose, in consideration of a payment of 40 lacs of rupees when the conquest should have been accomplished. But the measures of Hastings were impeded and disconcerted by his council. In October 1774, general Clavering, colonel Monson, and Mr. Philip Francis arrived in India, having been appointed members of the governor-general's council. These men were utterly ignorant of Indian affairs, yet they united together in opposing every measure of Hastings. Francis was their leader, and he and his confederates formed the majority of the council, which consisted, besides them, only of Hastings himself and Mr. Barwell. Thus they were able to control all the steps of the governor, and to wrest from him his patronage; nay, they even took steps to bring him to trial on a charge of corruption, but Hastings refused to submit to their jurisdiction. He afterwards prosecuted in the supreme court some of the natives who had been incited to accuse him; and in August, 1775, one of them, the Rajah Nuncomar, was hanged. By this decisive step Hastings recovered the respect of the natives, of which the conduct of the council had deprived him.

After the death of colonel Monson, in September, 1776, Hastings recovered his authority in the council, by virtue of his casting vote. Attempts were made both in India and at home to deprive him of the government, but without success; and when the war with France broke out in 1778, it was felt, even by his enemies, that his great abilities could not be spared. It was under his auspices, and with



the assistance of sir Hector Munro, that Chandernagore, Pondicherry, and the other French settlements in India, were captured. An expedition against the Mahratta chiefs proved not so fortunate. The British force, hemmed in at Wargaum, was obliged to capitulate, on condition of restoring all the conquests made from the Mahrattas since 1756. All India seemed now combining against us. Hyder Ali availed himself of our entanglement in the Mahrattas to overrun the Madras presidency; a body of 3000 of our troops, under colonel Baillie, was surprised and cut to pieces. Munro, at the head of 5000 more, only saved himself by a precipitate flight; all the open country lay at Hyder's mercy; and the smoke of the burning villages around struck alarm into the capital itself. At this juncture Hastings signally displayed his genius and presence of mind. He immediately abandoned his favourite scheme of the Mahratta war, and, conceding to the chiefs the main points at issue, tendered offers not only of peace but even of alliance. He then despatched every available soldier in Bengal, under the command of sir Eyre Coote, by whose military genius he was ably seconded, to the rescue of Madras. Coote defeated Hyder Ali in a great battle at Porto Novo, July 1, 1781, and again in August at Pollilore. These victories led to the recovery of the open country, and saved the Carnatic. After again defeating Hyder Ali at Arnee, in 1782, Coote retired awhile to Calcutta. In December of that year Hyder died, and Coote, anxious to measure swords with his son and successor Tippoo, proceeded in 1783 to the Carnatic. The vessel in which he sailed was chased two days and nights by some French men-of-war. Coote's anxiety kept him constantly on deck; his feeble health received a fatal blow, and two days after landing at Madras he expired.

§ 4. The exertions for the relief of Madras had exhausted the resources of Bengal; yet the India proprietors at home expected large remittances. In order to raise them Hastings had recourse to the feudatory rajahs, and above all to Cheyte Sing, rajah of Benares, from whom he extorted an exorbitant fine of 500,000*l.* for having delayed to pay 50,000*l.* He is said also to have received from this rajah two lacs of rupees for his private use, which he seems to have retained some time, and then to have placed to the credit of the company. But the worst feature in his conduct was his treatment of the Begums of Oude. The government had large claims on Asaph ul Dowlah, nabob vizier of Oude, to satisfy which Hastings compelled him to extort large sums from the Begums, his mother and grandmother, the mother and widow of Sujah Dowlah; although Asaph ul Dowlah, after previously wringing large sums from them, had signed a treaty, sanctioned by the council of Bengal, by which he pledged himself to make no further demands upon them. This



ty, however, had been made contrary to the wish of Hastings, his authority in the council was controlled, and he now disregarded it. In order to extort the money from the Begums, two aged eunuchs, their principal ministers, were thrown into prison and deprived of all food till they consented to reveal the place where the treasure of the princesses was concealed. Tortures and other severities were continued through the year 1782, till upwards of a million sterling had been extorted.

Hastings concluded a peace with Tippoo in the autumn of 1783, on the basis of mutual restitution, and then proceeded to Lucknow to tranquillise that district. Towards the close of 1784 he announced his intention of retiring; and when he sailed for England in the spring of 1785, peace prevailed throughout India. Mr. M'Pherson, senior member of the council, succeeded to the vacant government, till in February, 1786, lord Cornwallis was appointed governor-general.

Such were the chief transactions which gave rise to the impeachment before alluded to of Warren Hastings by Burke, who brought forward 22 articles, comprehending a great variety of charges. The first, on the subject of the Rohilla war, was negatived by a considerable majority, and the whole impeachment seemed to be upset. But on May 13th Fox moved the charge respecting Cheyte Sing and the proceedings at Benares; when Pitt, after a speech which at first appeared quite to exculpate Hastings, concluded by observing that he had acted in an arbitrary and tyrannical manner in imposing a fine so shamefully exorbitant. This conclusion took the House by surprise, and in a division the impeachment was voted. Nothing further was done in the matter till February 1787, when Sheridan moved the Oude charge in a most brilliant speech. This motion was also supported by Pitt, and an impeachment voted. Other articles were subsequently carried, and Burke, accompanied by a great number of members, proceeded to the bar of the House of Lords, and impeached Hastings of high crimes and misdemeanours; whereupon he was committed to custody, but released on bail. We shall here anticipate the result of this impeachment. The trial did not commence till the spring of 1788, and lasted seven years, when Hastings was acquitted by a large majority on all the charges. Whatever may be thought of the acts which he committed for the interest of the East India Company, his personal disinterestedness was proved by the fact that he was indebted to the bounty of the directors for the means of passing the remainder of his days in a manner becoming his high station.

§ 5. In 1788 the king was seized with a violent illness, which terminated in symptoms of lunacy, so that in October it became necessary to subject him to medical treatment; and he was put



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Under the care of Dr. Willis, who was both a physician and a clergyman. In this seclusion of the crown Fox insisted on the exclusive right of the prince of Wales to be appointed regent—a position which Pitt triumphantly refuted. Not however that he opposed the nomination of the prince; he merely denied that he had any natural or legal right without the authority of parliament. Committees were appointed in both Houses to search for precedents; but whilst the bill for a regency was in progress the king's convalescence was announced, February 1789.

An event was now impending which was to shake Europe to its foundations. To all outward appearance France was in a most prosperous condition. She was at peace with all Europe; she had achieved a triumph over England, her ancient rival, by helping to emancipate her rebellious colonies; yet she was herself on the brink of a terrible convulsion. To trace the causes, or to detail the events, of the French Revolution, comes not within the scope of this book; and we shall here confine our view to those results which, from the vicinity of the two countries, and the constant intercourse between them, could not fail to produce a great effect in England. The French had been regarded in England as the slaves of an absolute monarch, and the first efforts of the revolution were looked upon by a large number of persons in this country as the first steps towards a system of constitutional freedom. The storming of the Bastille was almost as much applauded in London as in Paris. But the burnings, the plundering, the murders which ensued, by which the politest nation in the world seemed to be degrading itself by acts which would disgrace a horde of savages, soon alienated most English hearts. The inoculation of the political virus embittered party feeling in England; the names of democrat and aristocrat bade fair to supplant those of whig and tory; and a stronger line of demarcation was drawn between political sections. Friends who had long acted together now parted for ever; and in particular the separation of Burke from Fox and his party was conspicuous from the genius and eminence of the men. The congratulations addressed to the National Assembly of France by a club in London, called the Revolution Society, established to commemorate the Revolution of 1688, under the signature of earl Stanhope, their chairman, incited Burke to publish his 'Reflections on the Revolution in France, and on the Proceedings of certain Societies in London;' in which, in the most eloquent and impressive language, he denounced the proceedings in France, and almost prophetically foretold the future destinies of that country. This publication called forth many attacks and answers, of which the most remarkable were Thomas Paine's 'Rights of Man,' and the '*Vindiciæ Gallicæ*' of Sir James Macintosh. The former is written in a coarse but forcible style; the latter in elegant

And polished language extenuates the most atrocious excesses, on the ground that they are the necessary concomitants of all revolutions: a position sufficiently refuted by our own, and especially by that of 1688. These three works produced a prodigious effect on public opinion in England, and became as it were the arsenals from which men of different parties drew their weapons of attack and defence. It was not, however, till May, 1791, in a debate concerning Canada, that Burke, in a powerful and affecting speech, publicly separated from Fox.

§ 6. The sect of the Unitarians were the most ardent admirers of the French Revolution. Dr. Priestley, a leading member of it, proposed to celebrate at Birmingham the anniversary of the capture of the Bastille by a dinner, which was prepared on the appointed day (July 14, 1791) at an hotel in the town, in spite of the plainest symptoms of an intended riot. The party of upwards of 80 gentlemen were received with hisses by the mob; the windows of the hotel were smashed; two meeting-houses were destroyed, as well as the dwelling of Dr. Priestley, together with his valuable library and philosophical instruments, and the manuscripts of works which had cost him years of labour. Several persons were apprehended for this disgraceful riot, and three were executed.

The decree of the Constituent Assembly, September 14th, 1791, wresting Avignon and the Venaissin from the pope, showed that the French, after the overthrow of their own government, would cease to respect the territorial rights of others, and inspired alarm in Germany. The emperor Leopold and the king of Prussia, attended by many of their chief nobility, had a conference in August at Pilnitz, near Dresden, towards the conclusion of which the count d'Artois, brother of Louis XVI., and several of the leading French emigrants, who had passed over in great numbers into Germany, unexpectedly presented themselves, and pressed for the forcible re-establishment of order in France. Hopes of succour were held out, and Russia, Spain, and the principal states of Italy, subsequently declared their adherence to the emperor's views. England alone observed a strict neutrality. But the war was begun by France. Leopold died in March, 1792, and Dumouriez, the minister for foreign affairs in the Jacobin administration which had now been forced upon the king of France, demanded from Leopold's son Joseph, now king of Hungary and Bohemia, an explanation of his views with regard to France. His answers being considered evasive, war was declared against him March 20th. An army of Austrians and Prussians now took the field under the command of the duke of Brunswick, who on July 25th published, against his own better judgment, that ill-considered manifesto which probably hastened the dethronement and murder of Louis XVI. The irritating and offensive language



the manifesto was not supported by vigorous action. The deposition of the king, the massacres of September in Paris, the defeat of Valmy, and finally the retreat of the duke of Brunswick, followed in rapid succession.

These events occasioned a great ferment in London. The militia was embodied, the Tower was fortified and guarded. A numerous meeting of merchants, bankers, and traders signed a loyal declaration, pledging themselves to uphold the constitution. The execution of the French king, January 21st, 1793, awoke a still deeper sensation throughout the country. The French ambassador was dismissed, and immediate hostilities were anticipated. The ancient jealousies and rivalries between the two nations still subsisted, in spite of the imitation of English fashions, and some ill-understood admiration of English literature, which had been introduced into France by the duke of Orleans, and which had obtained the name of *Anglo-mania*. The French had displayed their willingness to interfere in the domestic affairs of other countries, by the decree of November 19th, 1792, declaring themselves ready to fraternize with all nations desirous of recovering their liberty. In England various meetings and societies had voted congratulatory addresses to the French on their proceedings: Monge, the French minister of marine, in a circular letter of December 31, 1792, distinctly avowed the notion of flying to the assistance of the English republicans against their tyrannical government: and on February 3 the French declared war against England and Holland.

§ 7. Nearly the whole of Europe was now arrayed against the French, who had not a single ally; yet the vigour of their measures enabled them to disconcert the ill-conceived and dilatory schemes of the allies. In a short time they had no fewer than 8 armies on foot; but into the detail of military operations we cannot enter, even briefly, further than England is concerned. In the course of the spring (1793) 10,000 British troops under the duke of York landed at Ostend; and having joined the imperial army under the prince of Coburg, assisted to defeat the French at St. Amand. The success of the attack on the French camp at Famars, May 23rd, was chiefly owing to the British division, which turned the enemy's right. They were next employed in the siege of Valenciennes, which surrendered July 25th. The duke of York subsequently undertook the siege of Dunkirk, but without success; he was obliged to retreat upon Furnes, and in November the armies went into winter quarters. In the East and West Indies the English arms were more successful. In the former, Chandernagore, Pondicherry, and one or two smaller French settlements fell into our hands; in the latter, Tobago, as well as St. Pierre and Miquelon near Newfoundland, were captured, but the attempts on Martinico and St. Domingo failed.

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In the same year the insurrection at Toulon was aided by the fleet raising in the Mediterranean under the command of lord Hood, and consisting of English, Spanish, and Neapolitan vessels. A French fleet of 18 sail of the line lay in Toulon harbour; but after a little show of resistance Hood and the Spanish commander took possession of the place in the name of Louis XVII. General O'Hara arrived from Gibraltar with reinforcements, and assumed the command. But even then the garrison was too small for the defence of Toulon against a besieging army of 30,000 men, especially as they had to struggle with jealousies and dissensions among themselves and treachery on the part of the inhabitants. It was on this scene that first appeared the extraordinary man who was to wield for a brief period the destinies of Europe. Napoleon Bonaparte, then a *chef de bataillon*, was despatched to Toulon by the Committee of Public Safety as second in command of the artillery; but the siege was in reality conducted by his advice. By degrees, the heights which surround the place were captured by the French; and when the eminence of Pharon fell into their hands Toulon was no longer tenable. Before retiring it was determined to burn the fleet and arsenal; a task which was intrusted to the Spanish under admiral Langara, and a body of British under captain sir Sydney Smith: but owing to the remissness of the former the operation was badly conducted. Nevertheless 3 sail of the line and 12 frigates were carried to England, and 9 sail of the line and some smaller vessels burnt by sir S. Smith. The allies also carried off as many of the royalist inhabitants as possible, to save them from the vengeance of the republican army.

§ 8. In September Garnier des Saintes proposed and carried in the Convention a vote denouncing Pitt as an enemy of the human race. This patron of mankind wished to add to the resolution that anybody had a right to assassinate the English minister; but the Convention was not quite prepared to adopt so abominable a doctrine. The manufactures of Great Britain were strictly prohibited in France; and it was ordered that all British subjects in whatever part of the republic should be arrested, and their property confiscated.

The preparations for the campaign of 1794 seemed to promise something of importance. The French had three armies on their northern frontier, those of the North, the Rhine, and the Moselle, amounting to 500,000 men, and mostly animated with an enthusiastic spirit. Voltaire, one of the literary patriarchs of the Revolution, had laughed at the English shooting admiral Byng, "pour encourager les autres;" but the French themselves had on this occasion provided a little stimulus for defective patriotism or valour. An ambulatory guillotine, under the superintendence of St. Just and Le Bas, accom-



the march of the French army, and in cases of failure it was put into operation. The forces of the allies were also large, but inferior to the French. The emperor commanded in person 140,000 men, and had besides an army of 60,000 Austrians on the Rhine; the Prussians amounted to 65,000; the duke of York was at the head of 40,000 British and Hanoverians; and there was also a body of 32,000 emigrants and others. But division reigned among the allies. Austria and Prussia were jealous of each other, and intent on objects of selfish aggrandisement, to which the affairs of France were quite subordinate. Prussia demanded and received large subsidies from England, nor would Russia move an army without the same support.

The plan of the campaign was to take Landrecies and advance upon Paris. The siege was assigned to three divisions of the allied army, under the duke of York, the prince of Coburg, and the hereditary prince of Orange. There was much manœuvring along the whole line of frontier from Luxembourg to Nieuport, and several skirmishes and battles attended with various success. The most remarkable of these was the battle of Turcoing. The object was to cut off the left wing of the French and drive them towards the sea, when they must have surrendered. The emperor superintended the attack in person, which was made with 90,000 men; but the operation proved a failure in consequence of the various divisions not arriving at the appointed time. On the following morning, May 18th, the duke of York was surrounded at Turcoing by superior bodies of French, who took 1500 prisoners and 50 guns, but left 4000 men on the field. The duke himself escaped only through the fleetness of his horse. The British troops retrieved this disgrace a few days afterwards at Pont Achin; where Pichegru, with 100,000 men, made a general attack on the right wing of the allies. The battle had raged from 5 A.M. to 3 P.M., and the allies were beginning to give way, when the duke of York despatched to their support 7 battalions of Austrians and the 2nd brigade of British infantry. The latter threw themselves into the centre of the French army bayonet in hand, and completely routed them. The Convention were so alarmed at the display of British valour on this and other occasions, that they passed a dastardly and ferocious decree ordering that in future no quarter should be given to British or Hanoverians. But most of the French generals were unwilling to execute it.

On June 26th the allies were totally defeated on the plains of Fleurus and compelled to retreat. This battle sealed the fate of Flanders, nearly all the towns of which fell into the hands of the French. Led by generals Moreau, Jourdan, and Pichegru, they were equally successful on the Rhine and wherever they were engaged. During this time the Reign of Terror was in full vigour in

France; but it was drawing towards its close, and on July 28th Robespierre was executed.

The prince of Orange and duke of York had been compelled gradually to retire before the overwhelming armies of the French. Towards winter they entered Amsterdam, and a little afterwards the duke resigned his command to general Walmoden and returned to England. The Dutch had determined to defend themselves by inundating the country; but of this resource they were deprived by a severe frost. The French crossed the rivers and canals on the ice; and then was beheld the singular spectacle of a fleet frozen up at the entrance of the Zuyder Zee captured by land forces and artillery. The Stadtholder and a great number of Dutch of the higher classes fled to England. The British troops, unable to maintain their position in the province of Utrecht, retreated towards Westphalia, enduring the most dreadful sufferings, both from the rigour of the season and the barbarity of their allies, who plundered, insulted, and sometimes murdered the sick and wounded. They at length reached Bremen, and embarked for England in March. A large portion of the Dutch nation were willing to fraternize with the French, and the whole of Holland submitted to them almost without resistance.

§ 9. As in the preceding year, the disasters of England on the continent were in a great degree compensated by her naval successes and her victories in other quarters. In the summer Corsica was taken by admiral lord Hood and annexed to the British crown; but in the following year the French recovered it by a revolt of the inhabitants. In this expedition colonel Moore and captain Nelson highly distinguished themselves. At the siege of Calvi, Nelson received a wound which destroyed the sight of his right eye. But the most brilliant victory of the year was that gained by lord Howe. The French had resolved to dispute the sovereignty of the seas, and had prepared at Brest a fleet of 26 ships of the line, commanded by Jean Bon St. André, once a calvinist minister. Howe fell in with them May 28th with about the same number of vessels; but in weight of metal the French were much superior, having 1290 guns to our 1012. A general engagement ensued on June 1st, when after an hour's hard fighting Howe succeeded in breaking the French line. The French admiral then made for port, followed by all the ships capable of carrying sail: seven ships were captured and one sunk during the action. For this victory lord Howe and the fleet received the thanks of parliament; London was illuminated three nights; and the king and queen, accompanied by some of the younger branches of the royal family, visited the fleet at Spithead, when the king presented Howe with a magnificent sword set in diamonds. Success also attended our arms in the West Indies,



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where admiral sir John Jervis and lieutenant-general sir Charles Grey captured Martinique, St. Lucie, and Les Saintes. But an attack upon the French portion of St. Domingo proved a failure.

§ 10. In England attempts were made this year by seditious admirers of the French revolution to excite disturbances; but the great mass of the public remained unmoved. Several prosecutions were instituted by government, the most remarkable of which were those of Hardy, Horne Tooke, and Thelwall; but convictions were obtained only in two instances at Edinburgh, where one individual was hanged and another transported for life. The ill success of the continental campaigns had increased the peace party; but Mr. Pitt warmly supported the war as just and necessary, though in the spring of 1795 Prussia made a separate treaty with France, and the emperor required a loan of four or five millions to continue the war, which was granted. The western provinces of France were still in arms in favour of monarchy, and Pitt entertained their applications for assistance. A considerable body of French royalists, accompanied by a few English troops, were landed at Quiberon; but discord prevailed among the emigrants, and they had opposed to them the brave and skilful general Hoche, who speedily obliged them to lay down their arms.

After the flight of the stadtholder to England an embargo was laid on all Dutch shipping in English ports; and as the United Provinces had submitted to French domination, orders were issued for reprisals against them. In the West Indies, the Dutch colonies of Demerara, Berbice, and Essequibo were captured; in the East, the greater part of the island of Ceylon, Malacca, Cochin, and the other Dutch settlements on the continent. About the same time the Cape of Good Hope was taken; and the whole of a squadron sent out by the Dutch in the following year to recapture it fell into the hands of admiral Elphinstone. Against these successes must be set off the retaking of St. Lucie and St. Vincent's by the French. It would exceed our limits to recount the detached naval actions which took place in various parts. Towards the close of the year a great disaster occurred. To retrieve our losses in the West Indies, a large fleet was despatched under admiral Christian, with 15,000 troops commanded by sir Ralph Abercrombie. Scarcely had they passed the isle of Portland when they were caught in a violent gale from the west; many transports were wrecked; the Chesil beach was strewn with corpses; and the fleet was so much damaged that the expedition was wholly disconcerted. In the following year, however, the remains of it were refitted and despatched under admiral Cornwallis, and St. Lucie and St. Vincent's were recovered.

In England sedition was inflamed by a bad harvest and the high



of bread. The king, proceeding to open parliament in October, was assailed with groans and hootings, and a bullet, or marble, supposed to have been discharged from an air-gun, passed through his carriage-window. The same scene took place on his return. Missiles of every kind were hurled at his coach; which, when he had alighted, the rabble followed to the Mews, and broke into pieces. During these outrages the king displayed the greatest composure, and delivered his speech with his usual firmness and propriety.

§ 11. A peace had been effected between France and Spain by don Emanuel Godoy, afterwards styled the Prince of the Peace; and in the spring of 1796 an offensive and defensive alliance, with regard to England only, was concluded between those powers at St. Ildefonso. The design of this alliance was to injure British commerce by coercing Portugal; a French army was to march through Spain upon Lisbon; and the queen of Portugal, in her alarm, consented to declare that city a free port. Spain, which soon afterwards declared war against Great Britain, was by this alliance placed as much at the disposal of France as by the Family Compact; but she only prepared the way for her own subsequent misfortunes.

After their retreat from Holland the English for a long time took no part in the struggle on the continent, and the war was confined to France and Austria on land, and France, Spain, and Great Britain at sea. This was the year of Bonaparte's splendid campaign in Italy; but in spite of their great successes in that quarter, the French had met with reverses on the Rhine. The Directory seemed not disinclined for peace, and lord Malmesbury, who was despatched to make overtures, was received with acclamations by the Parisians; it was soon evident, however, from the arrogant and insincere tone of the French minister, that peace was not really desired, and above all Napoleon was opposed to it. Every opportunity was taken to insult and irritate lord Malmesbury, who admirably retained his temper, and in Dec. he received a rude message to quit Paris in 48 hours. The negotiations had been protracted so long merely to prepare an expedition against Ireland; and two days after lord Malmesbury's departure a French fleet sailed from Brest. It was, however, dispersed by a storm; only a small portion of it succeeded in reaching Bantry Bay; but the inhabitants proved hostile, and the attempt was frustrated. It was connected with another scheme for the invasion of England. A body of about 1200 malefactors and galley-slaves were to have ascended the Avon and burnt Bristol; but having been landed at Fishguard Bay in Pembrokeshire, they surrendered to about half their number of fencibles and militia collected by lord Cawdor. The two frigates which brought them were captured in their way home.



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The war had pressed heavily upon the resources of the country, and early in 1797 it was evident that the Bank of England, which had advanced 10½ millions for the public service, would be unable to meet its payments in specie. In February an order of council appeared prohibiting the Bank from paying their notes in specie. At a meeting of the principal bankers and merchants in London it was resolved to take Bank notes to any amount; notes of 1*l*. and 2*l*. were issued, and in March Pitt brought in his Bank Restriction Bill, the main provisions of which were to indemnify the Bank for refusing to make cash payments, and to prohibit them from so doing except in sums under 20*s*. The bill was to be in force till June 24th; but the term was afterwards prolonged, and the Bank did not resume cash payments till some years after the conclusion of the war. (See p. 706.)

§ 12. The French, to whom Spain and Holland were now subsidiary, determined upon an invasion of England on a grand scale, and large fleets amounting to more than 70 sail were got ready at the Texel, Brest, and Cadiz. Commodore Nelson, whilst sailing with a convoy to Gibraltar, descried a Spanish fleet of 27 sail of the line off Cape St. Vincent, and hastened to notify it to admiral Jervis, who was cruising with 15 sail of the line. Nelson accepted an invitation to hoist his pendant on board the Captain, 74; and the hostile fleets came in sight at daybreak on Feb. 14th. The Spaniards were not only superior in number, but also in the size of their ships, among which was La Santissima Trinidad, of 136 guns on 4 decks, supposed to be the largest man-of-war in the world; but the unseamanlike way in which their ships were handled caused the English to disregard the disparity of force. Jervis cut off 9 of their ships before they could form their line of battle, 8 of which immediately took to flight. Of their remaining ships, Nelson, supported by captain Trowbridge in the Culloden, engaged no fewer than 6; namely, the Santissima Trinidad, the San Josef, and the Salvador del Mondo, each of 112 guns, and 3 seventy-fours. After the action had lasted an hour Nelson was reinforced by the Blenheim, captain Frederick, and the Excellent, captain Collingwood. When Nelson's ship, which had been engaged in close combat with 3 first-rates, was nearly disabled, and his ammunition almost expended, he boarded and took the San Josef, and then the San Nicolas, he himself leading the way, exclaiming "Westminster Abbey or victory!" The Spanish admiral declined renewing the fight, though many of our ships were quite disabled, and at the close of day he made his escape in the Santissima Trinidad. For this victory sir John Jervis was raised to the peerage with the title of earl of St. Vincent, with a pension of 3000*l*. a-year. Nelson was included in a promotion of rear-admirals, and received the Order of the

Bath. In July admiral Nelson with a small squadron made an unsuccessful attempt on the town of Santa Cruz in Teneriffe. Nelson himself, when on the point of landing, had his arm shattered by a shot, and was obliged to have it amputated.

Notwithstanding the defeat of their Spanish auxiliaries, the French did not abandon their project of an invasion, and during the summer a fleet of 15 sail of the line, with frigates, under admiral De Winter, was preparing in the Texel to convey 15,000 men to Ireland. In October they put to sea with the intention of proceeding to Brest without embarking the troops; when admiral Duncan, who had been watching their motions with a nearly equal force, placed himself between them and a lee shore, off Camperdown, and after a desperate engagement, which lasted four hours, captured 8 sail of the line, 2 ships of 56 guns, and a frigate (Oct. 11th). For this victory he was made viscount Duncan* of Camperdown, with a pension of 3000*l*.

§ 13. Thus our navy formed both the glory and the safeguard of the country; yet in this very year it had threatened to be the source of our disgrace and ruin. Discontent was lurking among our seamen, who complained that they only received the wages fixed in the reign of Charles II., though the prices of articles had risen at least 30 per cent.; that their provisions were deficient in weight and measure; that they were not properly tended when sick; that their pay was stopped when they were wounded; and that when in port they were detained on board ship. In April a mutiny broke out in the fleet at Spithead. Upon the signal being given to weigh, the crew of the Queen Charlotte, the flag-ship, instead of obeying, ran up the shrouds and gave three cheers, which were answered from the other ships. Two delegates from each then went on board the Queen Charlotte, where orders were framed for the government of the fleet, and petitions drawn up to the House of Commons and the lords of the Admiralty for a redress of grievances. This alarming mutiny was at length suppressed by some judicious concessions, and by the personal influence of lord Howe, who was deservedly popular among the seamen, and who at the king's request proceeded on board the fleet. But no sooner was the mutiny at Spithead quelled than another still more dangerous broke out among the ships in the Medway. One Richard Parker was the ringleader, a man, though illiterate, of quick intellect and determined will; and he obtained the name of rear-admiral Parker. The ships were moved from Sheerness to the Nore to be out of reach of the batteries; the obnoxious officers were sent on shore and the red flag hoisted. The demands of the mutineers were both more peremptory and more extensive than those made at Portsmouth, and embraced im-

* His son was created earl of Camperdown in 1831.



Recent alterations in the Articles of War. Altogether 24 or 25 ships were included in the mutiny. The mutineers seized some store-ships, fired on some frigates that were about to put to sea, and had even the audacity to blockade the mouth of the Thames. Gloom and depression pervaded the metropolis, and the funds fell to an unheard-of price. All attempt at conciliation having failed, it became necessary to resort to stringent measures. Pitt brought in a bill for the better prevention and punishment of attempts to seduce seamen; and another forbidding all intercourse with the mutineers, on the penalty of felony. Several ships and numerous gun-boats were armed; batteries were erected on shore; the mutineers were prevented from landing to obtain fresh water or provisions; and all the buoys and beacons were removed, so as to render egress from the Thames impossible. A great part of the crews had in their hearts continued loyal, and the proposition to carry the fleet into a French port was rejected with horror. One by one the ships engaged in the mutiny began to drop off, and at last the Sandwich, Parker's flag-ship, ran in under the batteries and delivered up the ringleaders. Parker was hanged on the yard-arm of that vessel.

Duncan's victory was an effectual bar to all projects of invasion; nevertheless the French still continued their empty menaces. Bonaparte, who was now rapidly advancing towards supreme power, had conceived a deadly hatred of this country. After compelling the Austrians to the peace of Campo Formio he had returned to Paris, where he was enthusiastically received; the Directory called him to their councils, and consulted him on every occasion. An army called the Army of England was marched towards the Channel; a proclamation was issued in which it was difficult to say whether the abuse of England or the vaunting laudation of France were the most silly and extravagant; and a loan of about four millions sterling was proposed to be raised on the security of the contemplated conquest, but the money-lenders did not seem inclined to advance their cash upon it. The threatened invasion was in a great degree intended to conceal an expedition which Bonaparte was now meditating against Egypt.

§ 14. The English in turn were not backward in offensive operations, which, however, did not prove very successful. In May, 1798, Havre was ineffectually bombarded by sir Richard Strahan; and in the same month an expedition under sir Home Popham was undertaken against Ostend. General Cotte landed with 1000 men, and destroyed the basin, gates, and sluices of the Bruges canal, in order to interrupt the navigation between France and Flanders. But the surf did not permit them to return to the ships, and on the following morning they were surrounded by several columns of the enemy drawn from the adjacent garrisons, and, being outnumbered, were obliged to surrender.

At the same period Bonaparte sailed from Toulon with 13 ships of the line and transports, conveying 20,000 men, on his Egyptian expedition, accompanied by some generals of renown and a body of 40,000 men. It was undertaken from a mere desire of spoliation and aggrandizement, for the French had not the shadow of a grievance to allege against the Porte. On the way Malta, then governed by the Grand Master and Knights, was surprised and seized with as little pretence. At the beginning of July the French landed between 3000 and 4000 men at Marabou near Alexandria, and captured the latter city after a slight resistance, as well as Aboukir and Rosetta, which gave them the command of one of the mouths of the Nile. The French committed an indiscriminate massacre of men, women, and children, which lasted four hours; and Bonaparte issued a blasphemous proclamation, in which he declared that the French were Mussulmans, and took credit for driving out the Christian Knights of Malta. He then crossed the desert, fought the battles of Chebreisse and the Pyramids, and seized Cairo, the capital of Egypt.

Meanwhile Nelson had been vainly looking out for the French fleet, and it was not till Aug. 1st that he discovered their transports in the harbour of Alexandria. Their men-of-war were anchored in the Bay of Aboukir, as close as possible to the shore. Nevertheless Nelson determined to get inside of them with some of his vessels, a manoeuvre for which they were not prepared; and though the Culoden grounded in the attempt, Nelson persevered. Thus a great part of the enemy's fleet was placed between two fires. The battle began at 6 in the evening. By 8 o'clock four of the French van had struck, but the combat still raged in the centre. Between 9 and 10 o'clock L'Orient, the French admiral's ship, having caught fire, blew up with a terrible explosion, which was followed by a deep silence of several minutes. The battle was then renewed, and continued through the night, with only an hour's pause. Separate engagements occurred throughout the following day, and at noon rear-admiral Villeneuve escaped with four ships. On the following morning the only French ships remaining uncaptured or undestroyed were the Timoléon and the Tonnant, when the latter surrendered and the former was set on fire and abandoned by the crew. Such was the battle of the Nile. From the heights of Rosetta the French beheld with consternation and dismay the destruction of their fleet, which deprived them of the means of returning to their country. Soon afterwards the islands of Gozo and Minorca fell into the hands of the English.

The news of Nelson's victory was received with the sincerest demonstrations of joy not only at home, but through a great part of Europe. He was created baron Nelson of the Nile and of Burnham Thorpe in Norfolk; the thanks of both houses of parliament



was voted to him, and an annuity of 2000*l*. He also received some magnificent presents from the Grand Seigneur, the emperor of Russia, and the king of Sardinia. His return to the Bay of Naples animated the king to undertake an expedition against Rome, which was recovered from the French. At the same time Nelson landed 6000 men and captured Leghorn. These enterprises, however, were rash and ill-considered. In a few days the French retook Rome and marched upon Naples itself, when the king took refuge on board Nelson's ship and proceeded to Sicily, which for some time became his home. Naples, deserted by the sovereign and the greater part of the nobility, was heroically defended by the lower classes and the lazzaroni; but as they had no artillery, they were forced to succumb, and the French established the Parthenopeian Republic.

In consequence of the battle of the Nile an alliance was formed between England, Russia, and the Porte; and early in 1799 hostilities were recommenced between Austria and France. The Congress of Rastadt, which had been some time sitting with the view of arranging a general pacification, was dissolved, and the French, being defeated by the archduke Charles at the battle of Stockach, were obliged to recross the Rhine. At the same time the Russians under Suwarow, advancing into Italy, recovered with extraordinary rapidity all the conquests made by Bonaparte with the exception of Genoa. Suwarow then invaded Switzerland, but all his successes were compromised by the want of cordial co-operation between him and the Austrians.

§ 15. After the alliance between England and Russia a joint expedition was agreed upon for the recovery of Holland, which was to be undertaken with 30,000 British troops under sir Ralph Abercrombie and 17,000 Russians (1799). The first division of the British, under sir James Pulteney, general Moore, and general Coote, effected a landing, and after two severe encounters took the towns of the Helder and Huysduinen. About the same time the Dutch fleet of 13 ships of war, together with some Indiamen and transports, surrendered by capitulation to admiral Mitchell. About the middle of Sept., by the arrival of some Russian divisions, and of the duke of York with three British brigades, the allied army amounted to 33,000 men, of which the duke was commander-in-chief. Several actions took place, attended with varying success and considerable losses on both sides. At length the duke, sensible of the advancing season, and finding that his army was reduced by 10,000 men, retired to a fortified position at the Zype, which he might have maintained by inundating the country; but as such an operation would have destroyed an immense amount of property, and occasioned great misery to the Dutch, he preferred a capitulation, by which it was agreed that he

should restore the Helder in the same state as before its capture, together with 8000 Dutch and French prisoners, and that the allied army should re-embark without molestation before the end of November. Thus ended an expedition which, though unfortunate, can hardly be called disgraceful. As a sort of compensation the Dutch colony of Surinam was conquered this summer.

Meanwhile the situation of the French in Egypt had become very critical. The army was seized with alarm and dejection; many committed suicide; but Bonaparte retained his presence of mind. Having despatched Desaix against the Mamelukes in Upper Egypt, he himself undertook an expedition into Palestine against Djezzar Pasha. El Arish, Gaza, Jaffa, yielded to his arms; at which last he massacred in cold blood between 3000 and 4000 prisoners. But at St. John d'Acre, the key of Syria, he was met by sir Sydney Smith, to whom the sultan had intrusted his fleet. Sir Sydney destroyed the flotilla that was conveying the French battering-train; nevertheless they continued the siege with field-pieces. After a siege of two months, and several assaults, Bonaparte was compelled to retreat, though he had resorted to the treacherous action of ordering an assault after sending in a flag of truce. Having returned to Egypt towards the end of August, he went on board a French man-of-war in the night, accompanied by some of his best generals, leaving letters by which he delegated the command of the army to Ménou and Kléber. By hugging the African coast he escaped the English cruisers and arrived safely at Fréjus. Notwithstanding his ill-success, his popularity had if possible increased in Paris. Towards the end of the year the Assembly of Five Hundred having been dissolved, Bonaparte, Siéyès, and Ducos became consuls.

§ 16. A measure was now in agitation in England for consolidating the power and integrity of the empire by a union with Ireland. That country had been for some years in a very disturbed state. The examples of America and France had inspired many with the idea of establishing an independent republic; and in 1791 was formed the society of United Irishmen, consisting mostly of Protestants, whose principles would have led to that result. Its projector was a barrister named Theobald Wolfe Tone, who, having become secretary of the committee for managing the affairs of the Irish Roman catholics, effected an alliance between the two parties. The ramifications of this society extended throughout Ireland. Tone, having been detected in a treasonable correspondence with the French, was obliged to fly to America, whence he soon afterwards passed over to France and employed himself in forwarding the projected invasions already mentioned in 1796 and 1797. Notwithstanding the frustration of these expeditions, the Irish malcontents did not abandon their plan of an insurrection. One of their principal



was lord Edward Fitzgerald, a brother of the duke of Leinster; and he was seconded by Arthur O'Connor, Napper Tandy, Thomas Addis Emmet, Oliver Bond, and others. But the conspiracy was divulged by one Thomas Reynolds, and some of the principal conspirators were arrested, March 12, 1798, at a meeting which they held in Bond's house. Lord Fitzgerald happened not to be present, but he was discovered and seized about two months afterwards. He made a desperate resistance, wounding two of the officers sent to apprehend him, one of whom died of his injuries. But he himself was shot with a bullet in the shoulder, the effects of which proved fatal. After this discovery martial law was proclaimed in Ireland, and many acts of violence and cruelty took place on both sides. Numerous engagements occurred in various quarters, in which the rebels were almost invariably defeated, except in Wexford, where they were in greatest force, and where they sometimes made head against the king's troops. At Vinegar Hill, near the town of Wexford, was their principal camp or station; and here they were defeated (June 21) by general Lake, the commander-in-chief. Lord Cornwallis, the new viceroy, who arrived shortly afterwards, succeeded in reducing the country to comparative tranquillity.

The union of England and Ireland had been many years discussed as a speculative question, and these disturbances forced it upon the serious attention of the government. The king in his speech on opening the parliament (Jan. 22, 1800) alluded to the subject, and a few days afterwards Pitt brought forward a series of resolutions, which were carried after considerable debate. A bill embodying these resolutions passed both houses in the following May. The main provisions were, that 100 Irish members should be added to the English House of Commons, and 32 Irish peers to the House of Lords—4 spiritual and 28 temporal—whose seats were to be held for life. The measure also passed both houses of the Irish parliament, and it was agreed that the Union should commence on Jan. 1, 1801. We shall here anticipate what occurred on that day. A council was held consisting of the most eminent dignitaries of church and state, including the royal princes, &c., by which proclamations were issued for making the necessary changes in the king's title, the national arms, and the liturgy. The only thing worth noting on this occasion is, that the title of "King of France" was dropped and the *fleurs de lys* expunged from the royal arms; a pretension that for some centuries had been a vainglorious one, and which had proved inconvenient in recent negotiations with France.

§ 17. When Pitt brought forward this measure he publicly renounced the opinions which he had formerly held on the subject of parliamentary reform. The chief reasons which he assigned for his change of views were, the altered state of circumstances



produced by the French revolution, and the fact that England had ridden safely through the revolutionary storm.

During the debates on the Union the Irish catholics had remained almost entirely neutral, and what little feeling they displayed was in its favour. This is attributable to their hatred of the Orangemen, the warmest opponents of a union, as well as to the expectation that their demands would be more favourably considered in a united parliament than by a separate Irish legislature: and indeed Pitt, who was not adverse to their claims, had held out to them some hopes to that effect.

On May 15th this year the king was shot at in his box at Drury-lane theatre. The assassin being apprehended was found to be a lunatic named James Hatfield, and the attempt was not in any way connected with politics. But the deficient harvest this year, and consequent high price of bread, occasioned much distress and discontent. Attacks on the property of farmers, millers, and corn-dealers were frequent in the country, and mobs and riots occurred in London.

In the warlike operations of the year the battle of Hohenlinden, gained by Moreau in December, opened to the French the way to Vienna, and their progress was only arrested by the armistice of Steyer. On the other hand, they were obliged to surrender Malta after a blockade of two years.

Disputes had again occurred between England and the northern powers respecting the right of search, and they were artfully fomented by France. The emperor Paul was also offended by the rejection of his claims upon Malta, to which he thought himself entitled as Grand Master. In November he proceeded to lay an embargo on British vessels and to sequester all British property in Russia. The masters and crews of about 300 ships were seized and carried in dispersed parties into the interior, where only a miserable pittance was assigned for their subsistence. Towards the end of the year an armed neutrality was formed between Russia and Sweden, and was soon after joined by Denmark.

§ 18. Thus new difficulties were gathering around England, while the statesman who had hitherto so ably directed her course was about to retire from the helm. Pitt, as we have said, had previously to the Union expressed himself in favour of the catholic claims, and before the first parliament of Great Britain and Ireland assembled he addressed a letter to the king (Jan. 31, 1801), in which he expressed the opinion of himself and his colleagues that Roman catholics should be admitted to sit in parliament and to hold public offices. George III. entertained very strong scruples on this subject. He regarded any relaxation of the catholic disabilities as a breach of his coronation oath, and in this opinion he had been confirmed by



Kenyon, chief-justice of the king's bench. In his reply he entreated Pitt not to leave office, but he would make no concessions to his views, and Pitt determined to resign. The king then sent for Mr. Addington, the speaker, who after some delay succeeded in forming a ministry. Lord Eldon obtained the chancellorship, his predecessor, lord Loughborough, retiring with a pension and the higher title of earl Rosslyn.

The threatening nature of the northern league now demanded serious attention. In March the king of Prussia had notified to the Hanoverian government his accession to it, and the closing of the mouths of the Elbe, the Weser, and the Ems; and he demanded and obtained immediate military possession of Hanover. A little previously Hamburg had been seized in the name of the king of Denmark by prince Charles of Hesse, at the head of 15,000 men, and an embargo laid on all British property. Remonstrances having failed, a fleet of 18 sail of the line, with frigates, gunboats, and bomb-vessels, was despatched to Denmark, under the command of sir Hyde Parker, with Nelson as his second; but the latter was in reality the commander. The Danish navy itself was considerably superior to the force despatched against it, and Nelson pressed the necessity of hastening operations before the breaking up of the ice should enable the Russians to come to the assistance of the Danes. The passage of the Sound was preferred to that of the Belt, though more exposed to the guns of the enemy, and by keeping near the Swedish coast the fire of Kronborg castle was avoided. Between Copenhagen and the sand-bank which defends its approach the Danes had moored floating-batteries mounting 70 guns; and 13 men-of-war were also posted before the town. Nelson led in with the greater part of the fleet and anchored off Draco point, while sir Hyde Parker with the remainder menaced the Crown batteries. Two of Nelson's ships grounded in going in, so that he could not extend his line. The action was hot, and sir Hyde Parker hoisted the signal to desist, but Nelson would not see it, and, hoisting his own for closer action, ordered it to be nailed to the mast. The Danes, encouraged by the presence of the crown-prince, fought with desperate valour; but by half past three the Danish ships had all struck, though it was impossible to carry them off on account of the batteries. Nelson now sent a note ashore addressed "to the brothers of Englishmen, the Danes," in which he remarked that if he could effect a reconciliation between the two countries he should consider it the greatest victory he had ever gained. Subsequently he had an audience of Christian VII., the effect of which was that Denmark was detached from the league.

The happy effects of this blow were seconded by an accident. Just at this time the emperor Paul was assassinated. His son and



Successor Alexander immediately declared his intention of governing on the principles of Catherine, and he ordered all British prisoners to be liberated and all sequestered British property to be restored. When Nelson proceeded from Copenhagen to Cronstadt he found that the pacific disposition of Alexander rendered all attack superfluous, even had the strength of the place permitted one. Lord St. Helens negotiated a treaty at St. Petersburg, to which the king of Sweden acceded. On June 17th a definitive treaty was signed by Great Britain, Russia, Denmark, and Sweden, by which the rights of neutral navigation were placed on a satisfactory footing. The neutrality of the Elbe was re-established, the troops withdrawn from Hamburg and Lubeck, and the embargo on British property removed; whilst, on the other hand, England restored all captured vessels belonging to the northern powers, and the islands in the West Indies which she had taken from the Danes and Swedes. All these happy results were in great part due to the unhesitating vigour of Nelson.

§ 19. Foiled in their northern projects, the French renewed the threat of an invasion. Camps had been formed at Ostend, Dunkirk, Brest, and St. Malo, but the main force was assembled at Boulogne. It was rumoured that an immense raft, to be impelled by mechanical power, and capable of conveying an army, was to be constructed; but no such machine appears to have been begun. However chimerical such a project might be, precautions against it were adopted in England. Lord Nelson, having taken the command of a squadron commissioned to operate between Orfordness and Beachy Head, sent a few vessels into Boulogne which succeeded in destroying two floating batteries, two gun-boats, and a gun-brig. An attempt to cut out the flotilla in that harbour with boats proved abortive, and the French triumphed as if the memory of Copenhagen and the Nile had been obliterated.

Ever since the accession of Mr. Addington to power negotiations had been attempted for a peace with France, but the haughty views of the first consul rendered them abortive. The eyes of the English ministry were still anxiously directed towards Egypt, from which, on account of our East Indian possessions, as well as for other reasons, it was highly desirable that the French should be expelled. Towards the close of 1800 an army of about 15,000 men under the command of sir Ralph Abercrombie was despatched to Egypt. The French force there had been greatly underrated. In spite of our cruisers they had managed to procure reinforcements. Their army numbered more than 32,000 men, with upwards of 1000 pieces of artillery and some excellent cavalry, whilst the English were very deficient in both the latter arms. Early in March, 1801, the first British division, of between 5000 and 6000 men landed in boats in



Aboukir Bay under a hot discharge of shot, shell, grape, and musketry from Aboukir castle, and from artillery planted on the sand-hills. In the midst of this fire the British troops formed on the beach as they landed, and without firing a shot drove the French from the position at the point of the bayonet. Their loss, however, was very considerable. On March 18th Aboukir castle surrendered. Early in the morning of the 21st Ménou, who had succeeded Kléber as commander-in-chief, advancing from Cairo with a large force, attempted to surprise the English camp. The combat was sustained with great obstinacy, and, the ammunition of both parties being exhausted, was carried on with stones. At length, after a struggle of nearly seven hours and the loss of 4000 men, Ménou retired. The English loss was only about 1500, but among them was Abercrombie, who received a wound of which he expired in a week.

§ 20. General Hutchinson, on whom the command now devolved, being reinforced by some Turks, successively captured Rosetta, El Aft, and Cairo, which last surrendered June 24th, after a siege of 20 days. It was agreed that the garrison, consisting of about 13,000 French, should be conveyed to France at the expense of the allied powers. Ménou still held out in Alexandria. General Hutchinson, being again reinforced by 7000 or 8000 Sepoys from India as well as by British troops, laid siege to that city on August 3rd, and on the 22nd it surrendered in spite of Ménou's boast to hold out to the last extremity. The French garrison of 11,500 men obtained the same terms as that of Cairo. Six ships of war in the harbour were divided between the English and Turks. The *savans* were permitted to retain their private papers, but all manuscripts and collections of art and science made for the republic were surrendered.*

The French now began to listen to the proposals for peace, and preliminaries were signed October 1st. England was to cede all the French, Spanish, and Dutch colonies acquired during the war except Trinidad and Ceylon; the Cape of Good Hope to be open to both the contracting parties; Malta to be restored to the Order of St. John, Egypt to the Porte; the French to evacuate Naples and the States of the Church, the English Porto Ferrajo. On these terms a definitive treaty was signed at Amiens, March 28th, 1802. It was joyfully received in London as well as in Paris; yet even the ministers did not venture to call it great or glorious. It left France in a state of unjust aggrandizement, whilst we had acquired little or nothing by the expenditure of so much blood and treasure. France retained the Austrian Netherlands, Dutch Flanders, the course of the Scheldt, and part of Dutch Brabant, Maestricht, Venloo, and other fortresses of importance, the German territories on the left

* It was on this occasion that the celebrated Rosetta stone, together with many statues, oriental MSS., &c., now in the British Museum, was acquired.



of the Rhine, Avignon, Savoy, Geneva, Nice, &c. Yet Bonaparte's ambition was not satisfied. Charles Emmanuel, king of Sardinia, having abdicated his throne in favour of his brother (June 4), Bonaparte annexed Piedmont to France as the 27th military department, on the pretence that, this being the king's second abdication, his subjects were released from their allegiance. Soon after, on the death of the grand duke of Parma, his territories were also seized. In all the neighbouring countries the influence of France was paramount. Spain was her abject vassal; her troops, under pretence of a Jacobin plot, still occupied Holland, contrary to the treaty of Amiens; and in Switzerland, whose constitution had been overthrown by Bonaparte, he reigned supreme under the title of Mediator. France herself was rapidly passing from anarchy to despotism. On May 9th Bonaparte was elected consul for life, and in his court at the Tuileries and St. Cloud displayed as much magnificence as the ancient sovereigns of France. His power was supported by the establishment of the Legion of Honour, a sort of new nobility, consisting of 7000 men receiving honours and pensions, and dispersed throughout the republic. But amidst these selfish aims much was also effected for the public good by the establishment of the civil code, of the means of public instruction, and by other measures of the like nature. The church and the authority of the pope were restored by a concordat, though the clergy were still held in an oppressed and degraded state.

CHRONOLOGY OF REMARKABLE EVENTS.

A.D.	A.D.
1783. Resignation of lord Shelburne. Coalition ministry.	1797. Victory of Duncan off Camperdown.
" Fox's India Bill.	" Mutiny at Spithead and the Nore.
" Pitt prime minister. His India Bill.	1798. French expedition to Egypt.
1786. Impeachment of Warren Hastings.	" Nelson's victory at the Nile.
1789. Outbreak of the French Revolution.	1799. Failure of the British expedition to Holland.
1793. Execution of Louis XVI.	" Bonaparte first consul.
" War declared between France and England.	" Irish rebellion.
1794. Defeat of the duke of York. Conquest of Holland by France.	1800. Union with Ireland.
" Lord Howe's victory.	" Armed neutrality of the northern powers against England.
1797. Bank Restriction Act.	1801. Resignation of Pitt. Addington prime minister.
" Victory of Jervis off Cape St. Vincent.	" Battle of Copenhagen.
	" Battle of Alexandria.
	1802. Peace of Amiens.
	" Bonaparte consul for life.



CSL



Medal in commemoration of the Battle of Trafalgar.

Q177.: HORATIO VISCOUNT NELSON. K.B. DUKE OF BRONTE. &c. Bust to left.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

GEORGE III. CONTINUED. FROM THE PEACE OF AMIENS TO THE DEATH OF THE KING. A.D. 1802-1820.

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Rev.: ENGLAND EXPECTS EVERY MAN WILL DO HIS DUTY. English and French fleets engaged. Below, TRAFALGAR OCT. 21. 1805.

Liverpool prime minister. Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz taken. Battle of Salamanca. Wellington enters Madrid. § 17. War with the Americans. Napoleon's Russian expedition. Treaties with Sweden and Russia. § 18. Wellington advances into Spain. Battle of Vittoria. Retreat of the French, and battles of the Pyrenees. Wellington enters France. § 19. Coalition against Napoleon. Battles of Orthez and Toulouse. Abdication of Napoleon. § 20. Congress of Châtillon. The allies enter Paris. Restoration of Louis XVIII., and peace of Paris. § 21. Progress of the American war. Peace of Ghent. § 22. Congress of Vienna. Escape of Napoleon. Battle of Waterloo. § 23. The allies enter Paris. Napoleon carried to St. Helena. Peace of Paris. § 24. Distress and discontent in England. Hampden clubs. Spa-fields riot. Algiers reduced. § 25. Hone's trial. Death of the princess Charlotte. Royal marriages. Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle. § 26. Peel's Act to repeal the Bank restriction. Manchester riots. Repressive measures. Death and character of George III.

§ 1. It was soon felt that the peace could not last. Bonaparte evidently designed to exclude England from all continental influence or even commerce. Libels and invectives appeared both in the French and English newspapers. The harbouring of French emigrants in England, and the allowing them to wear orders which had been abolished, were prominent topics of complaint. In order to remove one cause of dissatisfaction, Peltier, the editor of a French paper published in London, called the *Ambigu*, was prosecuted and convicted of a libel on Bonaparte; but he escaped punishment from the altered state of the relations between the two countries before his sentence.

It was known that extensive preparations were making in the ports of France and Holland, which it was pretended were designed



for the French colonies : but George III., in a message to parliament on March 8, 1803, adverted to the necessity of being prepared, and it was resolved to call out the militia and augment the naval force. This message excited the high indignation of the first consul. In a crowded court at the Tuileries he addressed our ambassador, lord Whitworth, on the subject, in an angry and indecent tone ; he even lifted his cane in a threatening manner ; when lord Whitworth laid his hand on his sword, and afterwards expressed his determination to have used it, had he been struck. Satisfaction for this insult having been demanded and refused, after some further negotiations and an ultimatum to which no satisfactory answer was returned, lord Whitworth quitted Paris, May 12th, and at the same time general Andréossy, the French ambassador, was directed to leave London. Thus after a short and anxious peace, or rather suspension of hostilities, the two nations were again plunged into war.

Lord Whitworth's departure was protracted as long as possible by Talleyrand ; nevertheless there was time to seize about 200 Dutch and French vessels, valued at nearly three millions sterling. Bonaparte in retaliation ordered all English residents or travellers in France, and in all places subject to the French, to be seized and detained. About 10,000 of every class and condition, and of all ages and sexes, were apprehended and conveyed to prison. Subsequently a considerable portion of them was cantoned at Verdun and in other French towns. Immediately after the declaration of war, a French army, under marshal Mortier, marched to Hanover ; the duke of Cambridge, the viceroy, capitulated, and retired beyond the Elbe, and the French entered the capital June 5th. On the other hand, the French and Dutch colonies in the West Indies soon fell into our possession. The most enthusiastic patriotism was exhibited in England. No fewer than 300,000 men enrolled themselves in different volunteer corps and associations. The French camp at Boulogne still held out an empty menace of invasion, and in July the " Army of England " was reviewed by Bonaparte : but our cruisers swept the Channel, and occasionally bombarded some of the French towns.

§ 2. Early in 1804 the king had a slight return of his former malady. Upon his convalescence, Addington, whose decreasing majorities rendered it impossible for him to carry on the ministry, retired from office, and Pitt again became premier. The latter was very popular, especially in the city. After the peace of Amiens a reputation of London merchants had waited upon him and informed him that 100,000*l.* had been subscribed for his use, and that the names of the contributors would never be known : but Pitt declined this magnificent offer. The state of the king's health, as well as the alarming crisis of the country, induced Pitt to waive for the present the question of the catholic claims.



The friendship of Spain was more than doubtful. A large armament was preparing in the port of Ferrol, and its destination could hardly be questionable. It was therefore determined to intercept Spanish frigates on their return to Cadiz from Monte Video with treasure. Commodore Moore, with 4 English frigates, having in vain summoned them to surrender, an action ensued, in which 3 of the Spaniards were captured and the fourth blown up. The treasure taken on this occasion was valued at nearly a million sterling. The policy of the act, setting aside the question of justice, may, however, be questioned, as it alienated from us a large party in Spain that was hostile to the French. It was of course followed by a formal declaration of war on the part of Spain, December 12th.

This year (May 15) Bonaparte assumed the imperial crown with the title of Napoleon I. His conduct displayed an equal disregard of the laws of nations and those of humanity. In March he caused the unoffending duke d'Enghien, a Bourbon prince who was residing at the castle of Ettenheim in the neutral territory of Baden, to be seized by a secret expedition in the night, and to be conveyed to the castle of Vincennes, where he was shot. In October sir G. Rumbold, the English minister at Hamburg, was in like manner seized in the night in his house at Grindel by a detachment of 250 soldiers of the army occupying Hanover. His papers were likewise seized, and he was conveyed to Paris and confined in the Temple. This case was too flagrant even for the time-serving king of Prussia; and Napoleon, who wished to keep that country neutral, consented to send sir George to England. By means of an infamous spy named De la Touche, who was receiving money at once both from the French and English governments, Napoleon concocted a charge of encouraging assassination against Mr. Drake and Mr. Spencer Smith, our envoys at Munich and Stuttgardt, and procured their expulsion from the courts of Bavaria and Württemberg. It is hardly necessary to observe that this charge, which was indignantly repelled by Pitt in the House of Commons, was utterly groundless. Yet the dependent states of Europe were instructed to address Napoleon on the subject, and the base and self-seeking court of Prussia congratulated him on his escape.

§ 3. Pitt's ministry was not strong. Grenville, having coalesced with Fox and the party called the "Talents," offered a formidable opposition. Towards the end of the year, at the suggestion of the king, a reconciliation was effected between Pitt and Addington: the latter was created viscount Sidmouth, and became president of the council in place of the duke of Portland. Soon afterwards lord Melville (Dundas), first lord of the admiralty, was compelled to resign, since Mr. Whitbread had carried a charge (April 6th) against him of conniving at the misapplication of the public money, and even of



defeating benefit from it himself. Pitt, with a bitter pang, was compelled to advise the king to erase the name of his old friend and companion from the list of the privy council. Lord Melville acknowledged at the bar of the House of Commons that his paymaster, Mr. Trotter, might have used the public money for his own advantage; and as there were some circumstances of suspicion against Melville himself, Mr. Whitbread, in the name of the Commons of England, impeached him of high crimes and misdemeanours at the bar of the Lords (June 26th). The impeachment was not heard till the following April, when he was acquitted after a trial of 16 days. His culpability appears to have been owing rather to negligence than dishonesty.

In April a treaty was concluded between England and Russia by which they bound themselves to resist the encroachments of France, and to secure the independence of Europe. The league was afterwards joined by Sweden and Austria; but the king of Prussia kept aloof, intent on the Hanoverian dominions of his relative and ally.

The year 1805 was the period of Napoleon's most brilliant successes. In May he was crowned king of Italy in the cathedral of Milan with the iron crown of the Lombard kings; and he appointed his adopted son, Eugene Beauharnais, to be viceroy of that kingdom. At the same time the republic of Genoa was united to France. Napoleon introduced the conscription into Italy, and an army of 40,000 Italians proved of great service to him in his subsequent wars with Austria. On his return from Italy he again repaired to Boulogne; but when the hostile disposition of Austria was ascertained, the Army of England, consisting of 150,000 men, was declared to be the Army of Germany, and was rapidly marched towards the Rhine (August 28th). The Austrians, who had protracted hostilities too long, afterwards precipitated them before the Russians could come to their support; and the power of Austria was completely broken by the disgraceful capitulation of general Mack at Ulm. The road was now open to Vienna, which was occupied without a struggle, Nov. 13th. Meanwhile Massena had driven the archduke Charles out of Italy, and obtained possession of the Tyrol. Napoleon pushed on into Moravia, the emperor and the czar retreating before him. The court of Berlin, guided by the detestable counsels of its wretched minister Haugwitz, was temporising and awaiting the result of another battle. That battle was Austerlitz (Dec. 2), in which the Russians and Austrians were completely defeated. The former retired into their own country; and Austria made a separate peace with France, by which she lost Trieste, her only port, and recognised the regal titles of Bavaria and Württemberg. The Confederation of the Rhine was now formed, with Napoleon for its protector.

§ 4. Thus the objects of the English and Russian league seemed completely frustrated. England appeared destined to be successful!

only when she acted by herself on her own peculiar domain, the Mediterranean. Nelson had been in command of the Mediterranean fleet since 1803. The winter of 1804 was spent in watching the harbour of Toulon, where the French fleet was preparing to embark a large body of troops whose destination was unknown. To draw them out, Nelson sailed for Barcelona, and in his absence Villeneuve, the French admiral, put to sea with 10 sail of the line besides several frigates and brigs. Nelson concluded that they were bound for Egypt, and made sail for Sicily; but he soon learned that they had passed the straits of Gibraltar. At Cadiz they were reinforced by 6 Spanish and 2 French line-of-battle ships, thus making their whole number 18 sail of the line. Nevertheless, as soon as the wind permitted, Nelson followed them to the West Indies with 10 sail of the line, but returned to Europe without having been fortunate enough to discover them; when, being in a bad state of health, he struck his flag at Spithead and retired to his seat at Merton.

Sir Robert Calder was more fortunate. On July 22nd he fell in with the enemy at some distance from Cape Finisterre, and, though much inferior in force, an action ensued, in which 2 of the Spanish ships were taken. Calder, having neglected to renew the engagement on the following day, was brought to a court-martial for so unsatisfactory a victory, but was honourably acquitted. Villeneuve ultimately got into Cadiz, where he now found his fleet to amount to 35 sail of the line. Collingwood, who was watching that port, communicated the interesting intelligence to Nelson, who had led his friends to expect that he had finally retired from the service. But at this news his ardour could no longer be restrained. He immediately volunteered his services to the admiralty, which were gladly accepted, and on the 15th September he was again on board the Victory, accompanied by the Ajax and Thunderer and the Euryalus frigate. On the 29th, his birthday, he arrived off Cadiz, and joined Collingwood; but his arrival was kept secret from the enemy, lest they should not venture out of port. No salute was fired, and Nelson kept well out at sea.

On October 19th want of provisions obliged the enemy to leave Cadiz, and the English fleet immediately gave chase, the course being towards the straits of Gibraltar. It was not till the 21st that Nelson fell in with them about 7 miles east of Cape Trafalgar, there being a light breeze from the west. Nelson felt a sure presentiment of victory, but at the same time of death. The enemy tacked, in order to be able, if necessary, to run back to Cadiz, when Nelson steered a little more to the north in order to cut off their van. He now asked captain Blackwood of the Euryalus, who was on board the Victory, whether a signal was not wanted? The latter replied that he thought all knew what they were about: but Nelson ran up



the mast-head his last signal—ENGLAND EXPECTS EVERY MAN
TO HIS DUTY—which was greeted with three cheers from every
ship. Nelson led the weather-line in the Victory; but the lee-line,
under Collingwood, was the first to get into action. The British
fleet comprised 27 sail of the line, 4 frigates, a schooner, and a
cutter; the combined French and Spanish fleets numbered 33 sail of
the line, 5 frigates, and 2 brigs; and they were vastly superior in
weight of metal, having 2626 guns to our 2148. The enemy's line
had accidentally fallen into the shape of a crescent, which rendered
the attack more difficult. It was a little after noon that Colling-
wood, in the Royal Sovereign, began the action. He was soon sur-
rounded by 5 French and Spanish vessels; but finding that they
damaged one another, they gradually drew off and left Collingwood
in single combat with the Santa Anna. He had been engaged nearly
a quarter of an hour before the other ships got into action. As the
Victory bore down, she was made a mark by the enemy: her rigging
was much damaged, her wheel shot away, and 50 officers and men
killed or wounded before she fired a shot. The foremost ships of the
enemy, to the number of 19, closed round Nelson's column, leaving
a gap of nearly a mile between the spot where Collingwood and his
comrades were engaging the remaining 14. Nelson's ship was first
engaged with the Santissima Trinidad, then with the Bucentaur, a
Frenchman of 80 guns, and lastly with the Redoubtable: that ship
and the Victory getting as it were locked together by their anchors.
The tops of the Redoubtable were filled with riflemen, and Nelson,
who on going into action had put on his finest and most conspicuous
coat, embroidered with the order of the Bath, afforded an excellent
mark. The action had lasted about half an hour when he was struck
by a musket-ball and fell on the quarter-deck. On his captain
expressing a hope that he was not seriously wounded, Nelson replied,
"They have done for me at last, Hardy—my back-bone is shot
through." He was carried to the cockpit, where it was found that
the shot, having entered the left shoulder at the epaulette, had lodged
in the spine, inflicting a mortal wound. While the hero lay there
expiring, the battle still raged two hours, distressing him with the
concussion of the firing, though ever and anon he was cheered by the
huzzas of the crew as one after another the enemy's ships struck
their colours. He had the satisfaction to hear from captain Hardy
before his death that he had gained a complete victory. Almost
his last words were to recommend to his country lady Hamilton,
with whom he lived, and his daughter. Then exclaiming, "Thank
God, I have done my duty!" he expired almost without a struggle
about three hours after receiving his wound. He had said almost
prophetically when going into action that he should be content with
20 ships; 19 of the enemy's line actually struck at Trafalgar, and



one blew up. The prisoners taken, including the troops on board, amounted to about 12,000. Four French and one Spanish ship that had taken little part in the action were subsequently captured by sir Richard Strahan, November 4th. By this glorious victory the French navy was nearly annihilated, and England rescued from all chance of an invasion.

Nelson was honoured with a magnificent public burial; a lying in state in Greenwich Hospital; a funeral procession by land and water; but, strange to say, his last requests were forgotten or neglected. He had always expressed a wish to be interred in Westminster Abbey, and he was carried to St. Paul's; he had recommended his mistress and her daughter to the care of the country, and no notice was taken of the dying hero's prayer. His brother, a clergyman, was made an earl; 100,000*l.* were voted him to buy an estate, and a pension of 6000*l.* a year; 10,000*l.* were given to each of his sisters.

§ 5. Pitt did not long survive England's greatest naval commander. The cares and anxieties of office, at a crisis so tremendously agitating had undermined a constitution naturally feeble; and the stimulus with which he sought to relieve them, by indulging too freely in convivial wine, contributed to hasten his decease. He expired at the age of 46, January 23rd, 1806. Of his disinterestedness no greater proof can be offered than that, in spite of his apparent opportunities of enriching himself, he died 40,000*l.* in debt. This was discharged by a vote of parliament, who likewise decreed him a public interment in Westminster Abbey: the latter was ungenerously opposed by Fox and his party. Notwithstanding some errors, Pitt must be regarded as one of the greatest ministers this country ever saw. His councils chiefly enabled England to stem the overbearing insolence and ambition of the French republic and early empire; but his share in this praise lies more in the skill with which he raised the sinews of war than in the prudence and wisdom with which he directed and controlled its operations.

Attempts were made to patch up the ministry, but failed, and the king was obliged to have recourse to Lord Grenville and all the "Talents." This involved the readmission of Fox, who was now allied with that party, and the king was obliged to waive his personal dislike of that statesman. Early in February a ministry was formed with lord Grenville first lord of the treasury, Fox foreign secretary, lord Howick (afterwards earl Grey) first lord of the admiralty, Erskine lord chancellor, &c.

It was naturally expected that Fox, who had so long denounced the war both as iniquitous and impolitic, would exert himself to terminate it; and he did, indeed, open communications with the



French government through lord Yarmouth, afterwards marquis of Eborac, one of the *détenus* at Verdun. But he soon discovered that Napoleon would never agree to terms which this country could accept with honour. The financial measures of the new government were universally complained of, and especially the increase of the obnoxious property-tax to 10 per cent.

§ 6. Napoleon had now installed his brother Joseph as king of Naples, his brother Louis as king of Holland, and had bestowed 12 Italian duchies upon as many of his most favoured generals. Ferdinand IV. of Naples had, as before related, been driven to take refuge in Sicily; and at the request of his consort, Caroline of Austria, sister of the unfortunate Marie Antoinette, sir John Stuart, who commanded the British forces in that island, was induced to pass over into Calabria with a small army of less than 5000 men, and to try his fortune against the French general Regnier, who occupied that province. On July 3rd an engagement took place at Maida, in which the French, though considerably the stronger, were entirely defeated. Regnier fled across the Apennines, and Stuart cleared the whole of Lower Calabria of the French; but his force was too small to hold it, and he was obliged to return to Sicily. It was one of the mistakes of the government to fritter away the strength of the nation in small expeditions of this fruitless kind. At the same time sir Sydney Smith's squadron harassed the French on the coast of Italy from the Tiber to the bay of Naples.

During the negotiations with Napoleon after the accession of the ministry, he had offered to restore Hanover. The desire of possessing that country had induced the court of Prussia to desert the cause of Germany; and they likewise found other causes of complaint against France in the confederation of the Rhine, and in the depreciatory tone in which the *Moniteur* spoke of Prussia and her pretensions. On October 1st Prussia required the French to evacuate Germany; on the 14th the battle of Jena laid her at the feet of Napoleon, a fitting reward of her perfidy and selfishness. On the 25th the French entered Berlin, and Mortier was sent forward to occupy Hamburg and seize all British property. On November 21st appeared the celebrated Berlin Decree, forbidding all intercourse with England, and all use of her manufactures or colonial products.

§ 7. Fox did not live to see this event. He had been attacked with dropsy, and after July became too unwell to attend to business. On September 13th he expired at the duke of Devonshire's seat at Chiswick, whither he had proceeded on his way to his own house at St. Ann's Hill. He was in his 58th year. He received a public funeral, and was buried in the Abbey, October 10th, close

by the side of his great rival Pitt. Posterity will be rather at a loss to discover in his character any transcendent merits as a statesman, or to point out any great benefits that he achieved for the country. His influence during his lifetime seems to have been principally acquired by his powerful and fervid oratory, and by his engaging qualities, which attached to him a host of personal friends. His death did not break up the ministry; lord Howick succeeded to his place of foreign secretary, and Mr. Thos. Grenville became first lord of the admiralty.

Lord Grenville had made no compact with the sovereign on the subject of catholic emancipation, and early in March, 1807, lord Howick brought in a bill to enable Roman catholics to serve in the army and navy in England as well as Ireland. In the latter country a Roman catholic officer could attain any rank except commander-in-chief, master general of the ordnance, or general on the staff. The bill was opposed by Spencer Perceval and others; and as the king had a great repugnance to the measure, it was not difficult to persuade him to dismiss the ministers. Before the end of the month a new administration was formed, with the duke of Portland as first lord of the treasury, George Canning foreign secretary, lord Castlereagh secretary at war and colonies, Spencer Perceval chancellor of the exchequer, lord Eldon chancellor in place of Erskine, &c. A "No Popery" cry was raised, in which Wilberforce and the evangelical party loudly joined; the ministers took advantage of it to dissolve the parliament, though it had been returned only a few months, and the elections secured them a large majority.

A little before the dismissal of lord Grenville the abolition of the slave-trade had been carried. That question had now been 20 years in agitation. A society had been formed for its promotion, of which Mr. Granville Sharpe was chairman, and of which Mr. Wm. Wilberforce and Mr. Clarkson were distinguished members. The inhuman traffic had been denounced by several writers, but it required the zeal and enthusiasm of the evangelical party, which had sprung up of late years, in order to effect its abolition. The society adopted every means by newspaper articles, pamphlets, speeches, &c., to influence the public mind on the subject. Pitt approved the cause, and a board of the privy council had been formed to consider the state of the African trade; but the commercial interests of the country offered a great impediment, and all that could be obtained at first was a mitigation of the horrors of the middle passage.

§ 8. The military expeditions arranged by lord Grenville's ministry had turned out unfortunate in all quarters. Two expeditions had been despatched early in 1807 against Constantinople and Egypt. French intrigues, ably conducted by general Sebastiani, had induced



Turks to declare war against Russia, and thus diverted a great part of the force which might have been useful against Napoleon. Sir John Duckworth was despatched with a squadron to bring the Turks to reason: he succeeded in passing the Dardanelles, and appeared before Constantinople in February; but the Turks amused him with negotiations till they had put their city in a formidable posture of defence; and Duckworth made a disgraceful retreat, for which he was subsequently brought to a court-martial. At the same time the expedition to Egypt under major-general Frazer proved equally unfortunate; the new ministry declined to support it, and, in September, the remnant of the British force was obliged to return to Sicily. The only effect of these proceedings was that the Turks declared war against us, and confiscated all British property.

§ 9. Meanwhile the Russians, exhausted by the well-contested fields of Eylau and Friedland, and receiving no assistance either in men or money from England, concluded with France the peace of Tilsit, July 7th, 1807, to which Prussia afterwards acceded. Both these countries agreed to shut their ports against the English; and, indeed, the French were in possession of those of Prussia. When it was too late Canning despatched lord Leveson Gower to conciliate the emperor Alexander: he could not even obtain an audience, and he returned with the conviction that Alexander, by a secret article of the treaty of Tilsit, had placed not only his own fleet, but also those of Sweden and Denmark, at the disposal of Napoleon. It was no time for hesitation. Denmark commands the entrance to the Baltic; a large fleet was lying in her harbours; the north of Germany was full of French troops; and, however friendly might be the disposition of the Danes, it was evident that their movements would depend on the will of Napoleon. A powerful armament, consisting of 25 sail of the line, 40 frigates and other small vessels, and 377 transports carrying 27,000 troops, was secretly and promptly fitted out, and sailed from Yarmouth roads, July 26th, under the command of admiral Gambier. Lord Cathcart was at the head of the land forces, under whom served sir Arthur Wellesley, an officer who had greatly distinguished himself in India. On August 9th the expedition was safely anchored in the roads of Elsinore: negotiations were opened for the delivery of the Danish fleet, under the solemn promise that it should be restored on the conclusion of a peace with France. The proposal being indignantly rejected by the crown prince, preparations were made to enforce it. The fleet proceeded to Copenhagen, the troops were landed, and batteries constructed; and on September 2nd a bombardment commenced both by sea and land. On the evening of the 5th the Danish commander surrendered, and on the 8th the troops

took possession of Copenhagen. Our whole loss did not much exceed 200 men. By October 20th the whole of the Danish fleet was prepared for sea, and carried off to England, together with an immense quantity of naval stores, and between 2000 and 3000 pieces of artillery. The island of Heligoland was also captured, and served as a depôt for English goods to be smuggled into the continent. The rage of Bonaparte at this intelligence was terrific. The entry of the French into Stralsund, September 1st, showed the wisdom of our rapid and decisive movement. The Danes declared war against us, the consequence of which was the capture of the Danish West India islands of St. Thomas, St. John's, and Santa Croce in December.

§ 10. The king of Portugal having refused to enforce the Berlin Decree against England, Napoleon determined to attack that country. For that purpose he entered into a treaty with Spain (October 27th), which was to have a portion of Portugal; and before the treaty was signed he despatched an army of 30,000 men under Junot across the Bidassoa, which entered Lisbon November 30th. The prince regent, with many of his nobility and 18,000 of his subjects, had sailed the day previously for the Brazils, and Bonaparte proclaimed that the house of Braganza had ceased to reign. Towards winter Napoleon visited Italy, and issued in the capital of Lombardy, December 17th, his celebrated Milan Decree, declaring all vessels, of whatsoever nation, that should submit to the British orders in council, lawful prizes. These orders had been issued in retaliation for the Berlin Decree. They declared the whole French coast in a state of blockade, thus rendering neutral vessels with French goods on board liable to seizure, a proceeding which formed the principal ground of quarrel with the Americans. But, in fact, both the Berlin Decree and the orders in council were in great degree inoperative.

No sooner was Bonaparte in possession of Portugal than, with the help of Godoy, the Prince of the Peace, the prime minister of Spain and paramour of the queen, he treacherously turned his arms against that country. Murat occupied Madrid with a French division. The imbecile Charles IV., and his son Ferdinand, who was not much better, together with Godoy and the queen, were decoyed to Bayonne, where a renunciation of the Spanish throne in favour of Napoleon was extorted from them in consideration of the palace and domains of Navarre and a pension of 400,000 francs! It was declared that the Spanish Bourbons had ceased to reign: Joseph Bonaparte, much against his will, was compelled to exchange the crown of Naples for that of Spain, while the former was bestowed upon Napoleon's brother-in-law Murat. King Joseph entered Madrid July 20th (1808); but by this time the Spaniards, who had



rise in insurrection, had established at Seville a "supreme junta of Seville and the Indies," and had declared Ferdinand king with the title of Ferdinand VII., though he was now residing in Talleyrand's house at Valençay. In this struggle the Spaniards displayed the greatest animosity towards the French, and murdered all the strangers they could lay hands on.

These revolutions were destined again to bring the English into contact with the French on land as well as sea. General Castaños, who commanded the Spanish army of Andalusia, applied to sir Hew Dalrymple, commandant of Gibraltar, with a view to obtain the assistance of England. The merchants of that place supplied the junta of Seville with some money; Collingwood carried his fleet into Cadiz and lent the Spaniards what assistance he could in ammunition, stores, &c.; and the English government at length undertook to aid the Spanish loyalists with some troops. On July 12th sir Arthur Wellesley sailed from Cork for the Peninsula with about 10,000 men. Preceding the fleet in a fast vessel, he landed at Corunna in order to consult the junta of Galicia as to his proceedings. By their advice, with which his own views entirely coincided, he determined to land near Oporto. Portugal at this time, like Spain, was in full insurrection against the French. In the latter country Joseph had been driven out of his new capital before he had been a fortnight in it. He had taken up his abode at Vittoria in order to be nearer the French frontier, and Madrid had been occupied by Castaños. The British army landed near the town of Figueira, August 1st, and, being reinforced by some troops from Cadiz, numbered in all about 14,000 men. Junot had 17,000 or 18,000 men in Portugal; but as many of these were in garrison, his disposable force was not much larger than the British; and the successes of the loyalists in Spain had cut him off from all communication with his countrymen in that kingdom.

§ 11. Wellesley began his march upon Lisbon August 9th. In about a week he came upon a French division of 5000 men, under Delaborde, occupying a strong position at Roliça, which was carried after a struggle of two hours. On the 19th he reached Vimiera, where he was reinforced by two British brigades, under generals Anstruther and Acland, making his whole force about 17,000 men, besides 1600 Portuguese. On the 21st was fought the battle of Vimiera, in which in two hours the French were completely defeated with the loss of 14 guns and many prisoners. But Wellesley was now superseded by sir Harry Burrard. The government had determined to raise the army in the Peninsula to 30,000, under sir Hew Dalrymple, with sir Harry Burrard as second in command, while sir Arthur Wellesley, sir John Moore, and others were to be generals of division. Sir H. Burrard by suspending the pursuit



lost the fruits of the victory, and the French, to their own great astonishment, got safe to Torres Vedras. Next day sir Hew Dalrymple arrived, the command being thus twice changed in 24 hours. On August 30th a convention was signed by which Junot agreed to evacuate Portugal. This treaty is often erroneously called the "Convention of Cintra," because sir H. Dalrymple's despatches announcing it were dated from that place: but in fact Cintra lies between Torres Vedras and Lisbon; and consequently, had the convention been made there, the British must have been already in possession of the former strong position, which, on the contrary, fell into their hands through the convention. The French were deprived of the spoils of the royal museum and library, church plate, &c., which they were preparing to carry off. A Russian fleet blockaded in the Tagus was surrendered. Early in September the British army entered Lisbon, when sir A. Wellesley, who was justly of opinion that his achievements with the army deserved something more than a subordinate post, obtained leave to return home.

Soon after the battle of Vimiera sir John Moore was appointed to the command of 20,000 men destined to co-operate with the Spaniards in driving the French from the north of Spain. On November 11th he crossed the frontier into Leon, and advanced by Ciudad Rodrigo to Salamanca. Meanwhile Napoleon himself had entered Spain at the head of some chosen troops; and having replaced his brother at Madrid, December 4th, he proceeded to seek sir John Moore. The latter had discovered that there was no Spanish force on which he could rely for support, and he had been contemplating a retreat; but in consequence of some false intelligence that he received from Mr. Frere, formerly our minister at Madrid, he determined to advance, and, before Napoleon could come up, strike a blow at Soult, who was on the banks of the Carion with about 18,000 men. But Soult had withdrawn; and Moore, apprehensive of being surrounded, commenced a retreat. Napoleon was close at his heels. On January 1st, 1809, he was at Astorga with 70,000 infantry, 10,000 cavalry, and 200 guns; and from this place he could descry the British rear. But he was now called away by news from Austria, and left the pursuit to Soult. The weather was bad, the roads miserable, provisions scanty, and the British had often to face about and repulse the enemy. At last, on January 13th, Moore reached Corunna; but the transports did not arrive till the following day; Soult had got possession of the hills round the town, and it was necessary to fight a battle to cover the embarkation. This took place on the 16th: Moore had between 15,000 and 16,000 infantry in line, Soult about 20,000,—the ground was not good for cavalry. In defending the village of Elvina, against which the French were making a con-



coasted attack, Moore was struck in the breast by a cannon-ball, and was carried to Corunna in a blanket, often stopping to look behind on the progress of the battle. The French were beaten off along the whole line, but night coming on prevented all pursuit; and as the remainder of Soult's forces might be expected every hour, it was determined to hasten the embarkation. Sir J. Moore died that evening, and was buried at midnight on the ramparts "with his martial cloak around him," for the Spaniards use no coffins. The embarkation, being covered by some line-of-battle ships, was completed in safety by the 18th. During the whole campaign Moore received no assistance from the Spaniards, who, on the contrary, were a positive hindrance to him by crossing his line of retreat at Astorga.

§ 12. The English ministry, however, were determined to pursue the war in the Peninsula, in which they were encouraged by the distraction caused to the French arms by the war with Austria; and Mr. Canning executed a treaty of alliance with the Spanish insurgents, or rather loyalists, January 14th. The English nation, in spite of the long struggle it had already maintained, was so little crippled in its resources, that a loan of eleven millions was raised at a lower interest than had ever before been known. Yet many abuses were at this time discovered in the bestowal of military and naval patronage, in some of which the duke of York himself, the commander-in-chief, was implicated. It appeared, from some charges brought against him in the House of Commons by Mr. Wardle, a Welsh colonel of militia, that the duke, abandoning himself to the influence of one Mrs. Clarke, a profligate but clever and insinuating mistress, had bestowed commissions in the army on several unworthy persons, such as Mrs. Clarke's brother, and even her footman. Before the termination of the proceedings the duke resigned his office, and the investigation was dropped. About the same time the commissioners of naval and those of military inquiry brought to light a great many abuses and frauds in the method of conducting the business of those departments.

The chief command in the Peninsula was now given to sir Arthur Wellesley, who advised that in the first instance our exertions should be confined to Portugal. On April 22 he arrived at Lisbon, where, including a body of Portuguese under lord Beresford, he found himself at the head of about 25,000 men. On the 9th of May he directed his march upon Oporto, now occupied by Soult, who, after the battle of Corunna, had invaded Portugal. In a few days the Douro was crossed and the French driven out in precipitate flight. Wellesley now entered Spain, and formed a junction with the Spanish general Cuesta at Oropesa in Estremadura. Cuesta's army, however, amounting to about 30,000 men, was in very bad condition.

On July 26th and the two following days marshals Victor and Sebastiani attacked the position of the allied armies before Talavera. The attack was mainly directed against the allied left, held by the British, and especially a height occupied by general Hill: the Spaniards on the right were comparatively safe, from the nature of the ground. At one time the British centre was broken, the guards, after repulsing the French, having got into disorder by pursuing them too far; but the advance of the enemy was arrested by the 48th regiment. On the evening of the 28th all firing ceased, both armies retaining their original position; but in the night the French retreated over the Alberche. This was one of the most bloody and best contested battles in the Peninsular war. The French lost 7000 men killed and wounded; the British upwards of 5000. This victory gained Wellesley the title of viscount Wellington of Talavera. The British, however, were not in a condition to penetrate further. The French, who had 200,000 men dispersed in Spain, were gathering from all sides, and early in August, besides Victor and Sebastiani, marshals Soult, Ney, Mortier, Kellermann, and king Joseph himself, were in Estremadura. The English general retired into Portugal by Trujillo and Badajoz; and sir Robert Wilson also returned, who at the head of a light corps of Spanish and Portuguese had pushed on as far as Madrid. Before the end of the year the French had virtually annihilated the Spanish forces, and lord Wellington now concentrated his attention on the defence of Portugal, fixing his head-quarters at Viseu, with advanced posts towards Ciudad Rodrigo.

§ 13. We must now turn our attention towards another theatre of war. We have already adverted to Napoleon's sudden abandonment of the pursuit of sir John Moore, which was occasioned by a breach with Austria. In March, 1809, the emperor Francis declared war against him. But Napoleon, inflicting a severe defeat upon the archduke Charles at Eckmühl, marched rapidly to Vienna, which he entered with little resistance May 13th. He had still, however, to fight the battle of Aspern, near Vienna, in which he may be said to have been defeated. But the French army was allowed time to recover from the shock, and the bloody battle of Wagram followed, which laid Austria at Napoleon's feet. This was succeeded by the disgraceful peace of Schönbrunn, October 14th, which subsequently led to the marriage of Napoleon with the archduchess Maria Louisa. In the same year Napoleon annexed the States of the Church to France, and, having been excommunicated by Pius VII., he caused that pontiff to be carried off to Savona.

In order to support the Austrian struggle, the English ministry resolved to divert the French arms by an expedition to the



especially as Napoleon was attempting to convert Antwerp and Flushing into great naval depôts. Before the end of July 37 sail of the line and an army of 40,000 men were despatched, but under two most incompetent leaders—the earl of Chatham, Pitt's elder brother, and rear-admiral sir Richard Strachan. The opinion of the more experienced officers was for a *coup-de-main* on Antwerp; instead of which, a fortnight was spent in reducing Flushing, during which time the Scheldt had been strongly fortified, and 40,000 men thrown into Antwerp. The enterprise was then abandoned as impracticable, and the expedition returned home, leaving about 16,000 men in possession of the isle of Walcheren. These however began rapidly to disappear, from the effects of the fever and ague common on that unhealthy coast, and in a short time half the force were in hospital. After the treaty of Schönbrunn the occupation of Walcheren was deemed of no advantage, and towards the middle of November it was evacuated, the harbour, arsenal, and magazines of Flushing having been destroyed as far as possible. Such was the end of an expedition said to have cost 20 millions.

Another diversion was attempted in Calabria, where the news of Napoleon's excommunication had excited a great sensation among the people. In June sir J. Stuart again crossed over from Sicily, with 15,000 men, while sir William Hoste's squadron and flotillas of gunboats and small armed vessels operated upon the coast. The French retired before sir J. Stuart, but little was effected besides the dismantling of the castles of Ischia and Procida, and the destruction of several forts and batteries; and after the capitulation of the Austrians the army returned to Sicily. In the autumn five of the seven Ionian islands, then held by the French, were captured. Santa Maura held out till the following spring; and Corfu, the most important of the whole, was not obtained till 1814, when it was ceded by Louis XVIII. We pass over the remaining exploits of this year, the taking of some French West India colonies, and various minor successes at sea.

§ 14. A feeling of jealousy had long existed between Mr. Canning and lord Castlereagh, which being heightened by mutual recriminations after the failure of the Walcheren expedition, a duel ensued, in which Canning was wounded. Both had previously resigned; and the duke of Portland dying soon after, the ministry seemed tottering to its fall. Mr. Perceval, however, accepted the office of first lord of the treasury, retaining also the exchequer; the marquess Wellesley, our representative with the Spanish junta, was sent for and became foreign secretary in place of Canning; lord Liverpool was transferred from the home office to lord Castlereagh's place of secretary at war, with lord Palmerston as under-

In April, 1810, some serious riots occurred in London. John Gale Jones being charged with a breach of privilege for abusing the House of Commons for closing their gallery during the discussion on the Walcheren business, sir Francis Burdett, in defending him, used language for which he was committed to the Tower. On his way thither the mob were very riotous; the windows of several unpopular noblemen and gentlemen were broken, and some lives were lost. On the prorogation of parliament sir Francis was of course liberated; but he disappointed the populace of an expected ovation by going home by water.

In the Peninsula the Spaniards had been beaten on every point, and the junta itself was obliged to take refuge in Cadiz, which in February, 1810, was invested by a French army. A British force of about 6000 men had been thrown into that place to assist in the defence, and the English fleet kept open the communication by sea; but the blockade was not raised till August, 1812. After the peace with Austria Napoleon was enabled to throw large reinforcements into Spain, including some of his best troops. The "Army of Portugal," comprising 90,000 men under Massena, was cantoned in Old Castile and Leon. Massena threatened to drive the English out of Portugal in three months, for which purpose he advanced with a force of more than 60,000 men. Lord Wellington had 24,000 British troops, and more than double that number of Portuguese, who made much better soldiers than the Spaniards; but part of his force was detached south of the Tagus, to watch Soult's Army of Andalusia. The French advanced by Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida, which they took; and Wellington fell back upon a strong position at Sierra de Busaco, near Coimbra. The British line, extending nearly eight miles, but with extensive gaps, was attacked by the French with great vigour on the morning of September 27th. They were repulsed, however, with the loss of 5000 men; and Massena, instead of renewing the attempt, seized the pass of Boialva, thus opening the road to Coimbra by turning the British left. Wellington now retired upon the famous lines of Torres Vedras, nearly 30 miles north of Lisbon, a position which his eagle eye had marked out in the preceding year. These lines were three: the first or outermost ran from Alhandra on the Tagus to the heights of Torres Vedras, and thence along the little river Zizambre to the sea; the second began at Quintilla, lower down the Tagus, and ran, at a distance varying from six to ten miles from the former, by Bucellas and Montachique to the mouth of the little river San Lorenzo; the third or innermost was merely intended, in case of need, to cover the embarkation of the army on board the fleet in the



The streams were dammed up and reservoirs formed, so the ground could be inundated if necessary. The right of the lines was covered by the fleet and gunboats in the Tagus. The lines were fortified with breastworks, abattis, &c., and nearly 100 redoubts or forts, mounting upwards of 600 guns. Some of them were capable of holding several hundred men, and one required a garrison of 3000. Wellington entered these lines October 8th. Massena came up three days afterwards, and was filled with despair at the sight. After viewing them about a month he retired in the middle of November into winter-quarters without having attempted anything.

Our general operations this year were not unattended with success. An attempt of the French upon Sicily was repulsed with great loss. By the end of the year they had been deprived of all their possessions in both Indies. The Dutch had also lost most of their East Indian settlements, and in the following year the remainder were reduced. On the continent, however, the French empire was extending. Napoleon, having deposed his intractable brother Louis, annexed Holland to France; and the German coast to Hamburg being afterwards added, the French empire might be said to extend from Naples to the frontiers of Denmark, embracing a population of 80 millions. Nearly all the rest of Europe were Napoleon's allies; and Bernadotte, one of his marshals, had been elected crown prince of Sweden. Between him and Napoleon, however, there was a great antipathy; and when the former came next year to the Swedish crown, he adopted Swedish views, conciliated the friendship of England, and ultimately declared against his former patron.

§ 15. At home the scene was clouded by a return of the king's malady, brought on perhaps by the death of his beloved daughter, the princess Amelia. Mr. Perceval now proposed the prince of Wales as regent, under the same restrictions with regard to the creation of peers, the granting of offices, &c., as those laid down by Pitt in 1788. The arrangements were not finally completed till January, 1811. George III. never recovered, and the regency consequently lasted till his death in 1820. At first it was anticipated that there would be a change of ministry, and lords Grey and Grenville were actually employed to draw up answers to the addresses of parliament; but being disgusted by some alterations suggested by Sheridan, they declined any further interference, and the old ministry was retained. Shortly after the duke of York was reinstated as commander-in-chief.

Early in 1811 Soult invaded Portugal from Andalusia, in order to co-operate with Massena. He took Olivença and Badajoz; but by this time Massena's army was in a state of sickness and disorganization, and he was obliged to commence a retreat, closely

followed by the English. His march was first directed on Coimbra and Oporto; but his attempt to pass the Mondego at the former place being repulsed, he retreated up the left bank of that river, much harassed by the British. The French committed the most horrible cruelties and devastations in their retreat, burning every town and village through which they passed, and maltreating the inhabitants. For these excesses, Massena, a man of brutal and ferocious character, must be held responsible. He entered Spain April 6th. In this pursuit much extra fatigue fell upon lord Wellington, in consequence of several general officers having returned to England on pretence of private business.

The draughts made by Soult for Portugal having reduced the French army blockading Cadiz to 16,000 men, general Graham (lord Lynedoch), with about 4000 men, partly Portuguese, proceeded by sea to Algeciras, in the bay of Gibraltar; and having been joined at Tarifa by 7000 Spaniards, marched by way of Medina Sidonia towards the French position, with the view of taking them in the rear. Graham had expected that the Spaniards would have held the heights of Barrosa; but when he arrived there he found them occupied by marshal Victor with 8000 men and a formidable artillery. With his small division Graham carried them at the point of the bayonet in little more than an hour; with great loss, indeed, though almost twice as great on the side of the French. But not being supported by the Spaniards, he was unable to follow up his victory, and the whole enterprise led to no result.

Towards the end of April, Massena, who had received reinforcements which swelled his army to 40,000 foot and 5000 horse, re-entered Portugal with the view of relieving the fortress of Almeida. Wellington marched to oppose him with 32,000 foot and 1200 horse. They met at Fuentes de Onoro, on the evening of May 3rd: a fierce struggle ensued for the possession of the place, and ultimately the French were driven out. Early on the morning of the 5th Massena vigorously renewed the attack, which was kept up till evening, when the French retired with great loss. A few days after they evacuated Almeida. Napoleon was so dissatisfied with Massena, that he superseded him in the command by general Marmont. Marmont, however, could do no better than his predecessor, and retired to Salamanca.

A little after (May 15th) a memorable battle was fought between marshal Beresford, who was besieging Badajoz, and Soult, who had marched to its relief. Soult had about 23,000 men and 50 guns; Beresford had 27,000; but of these more than a third were Spaniards, who fled at the first attack, and left the centre, where the British were posted, exposed to all the fury of the French assault. The victory was Beresford's, after six hours of desperate



but of 6000 British who contended with the French for the ridge of Albuera, only about 1500 were left un-
wounded. The French lost 9000 men. Soult did not think fit to renew the attack; and Beresford being reinforced a day or two after with 1500 English, Soult retreated on Seville. On the 19th Wellington himself arrived with two fresh divisions, and the siege of Badajoz was resumed. But a large French force approaching, the siege was abandoned after two unsuccessful assaults, and Wellington fell back on Campo Mayor. A little after, the successes of general Hill obliged the French to evacuate the greater part of Estremadura. But in the eastern provinces of Spain they were everywhere triumphant.

§ 16. The beginning of 1812 was marked by some ministerial changes. The marquess Wellesley resigned, objecting to serve under Mr. Perceval, though not *with* him, and lord Castlereagh occupied his place as foreign secretary. Shortly afterwards Perceval himself was removed by the hand of an assassin. He was shot in the lobby of the House of Commons about five o'clock in the afternoon of May 11th, by one Bellingham, a Liverpool broker, whose petitions had been rejected, and expired in a few minutes. The assassin was convicted and hanged within a week. Upon this event all the ministers tendered their resignations, and an attempt was made to construct a whig cabinet; but it failed. Lord Liverpool now became premier, and Mr. Vansittart chancellor of the exchequer. The financial measures of Perceval were adopted, and it was resolved to push the war with vigour.

Wellington opened the campaign in the Peninsula with the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo, which was taken, Jan. 19, after less than a fortnight's siege. The Spaniards now first began to appreciate his genius: the Cortes voted him their thanks, and the title of duke of Ciudad Rodrigo. The English parliament granted him an annuity of 2000*l.*, to be annexed to the earldom to which he was now raised. Shortly after Badajoz was again invested (March 16), and was carried, April 6, but with a terrible slaughter. Soult, who was advancing to its relief, now again retreated towards Seville, pursued by the British, who overtook and routed his rear-guard at Villa Garcia. General Hill having by a masterly movement cut off the communication between Soult and Marmont, by seizing Almaraz, which covered the passage of the Tagus, Wellington, no longer reduced to the defensive, prepared to advance into Spain. He had now 40,000 men, but one division consisted of Spaniards. Marmont had about 50,000, and was much superior in cavalry and artillery, yet he evacuated Salamanca when Wellington appeared before it (June 16). As an instance of the barbarous manner in which the French conducted the war in Spain, it may be mentioned that during their occupation of



the celebrated university town they had destroyed 22 out of 25 colleges. In July both armies were facing each other on the banks of the Guareña. On the 20th, Marmont, who had been reinforced, put his army in motion to regain the banks of the Tormes, and cut off Wellington's communication with Salamanca. Wellington immediately started after him, the two armies moving in parallel columns within sight of each other, yet refraining from all hostilities, except the occasional exchange of a cannon-shot. It was a sort of race which should arrive first at the Tormes. The armies crossed that river, the British at the bridge of Salamanca, the French at the fords higher up; and both took up positions on the south bank. On the 22nd, Marmont having too much extended and weakened his left, Wellington took advantage of the error and completely defeated him. Wellington in his despatch calculates the French loss at from 17,000 to 20,000 men, and says it was admitted that their whole army would have been in his hands had there been an hour more daylight. Marmont himself was wounded by a shell. The French, now under general Clausel, fled precipitately to Valladolid, which they abandoned on the approach of the British. Hearing that king Joseph, with 20,000 men, was threatening his flank and rear, Wellington, leaving a force on the Duero to watch Clausel, turned upon him, pursued him on the road to Madrid through St. Ildefonso, and entered the Spanish capital August 12, the French and their Spanish partisans hurrying from it in the greatest haste. On the 14th the French garrison in the Retiro palace surrendered, when 180 guns, 20,000 stand of arms, and an immense quantity of warlike stores were captured.

One of the first results of the fall of the capital was that Soult abandoned the blockade of Cadiz and retired to Granada; but Wellington soon found that it would be impossible with his force to hold an open town like Madrid in the presence of the large and well-disciplined French armies both in the north and south of Spain, and he retired on Salamanca, and subsequently went into winter quarters at Ciudad Rodrigo.

§ 17. During our arduous struggle with the French the Americans had displayed no friendly disposition towards this country. They were incensed at our exercise of the right of search, which had been forced upon us by the Berlin Decree, and they insisted on the doctrine that the neutral flag makes free goods. In 1811 Napoleon released the Americans from the observance of the Berlin and Milan decrees; and in the same year the Americans passed against us a non-intercourse act, by which all British goods arriving in America were to be seized, unless we recalled the obnoxious orders in council before alluded to. These were revoked in favour of America in June, 1812, although we had been already subjected to many insults from the



Americans, which we had disregarded. But the concession, it was said, came too late: the Americans had declared war a few days previously. They had long been making preparations for a struggle which promised to be profitable to them; and they immediately despatched to Canada a body of 2500 men under general Hull. Proclamations were issued inviting the Canadians to throw off the British yoke; but they remained faithful, and the military measures adopted by general Brock were so judicious that in less than two months Hull was obliged to capitulate. A second attempt under general Wadsworth was repulsed with great loss. At sea the Americans succeeded in capturing some of our frigates, owing to their own being much more heavily armed.

Meanwhile that breach between France and Russia had occurred which ultimately proved one of the chief causes of Napoleon's downfall. Both Russia and Sweden had declined to carry out the Berlin Decree; and in March, 1812, a treaty was concluded between those powers, in consequence of which Napoleon made active preparations for war. Before entering on it he was willing to patch up a peace with England, and was ready to make large concessions; but as he still demanded Spain for his brother Joseph, his proposals were not entertained. Napoleon then undertook his disastrous expedition into Russia, which it does not belong to our subject to narrate. The burning of Moscow, which he entered September 15, forced him to a retreat, during which the greater part of his vast host was annihilated either by the inclemency of the weather or the sword of the enemy; whilst Napoleon himself, with his usual intolerance of reverses, abandoning his army to its fate, travelled post-haste to Paris, where he arrived December 18, thoroughly beaten and discomfited. During the summer a treaty was concluded between England and Sweden, and subsequently between England and Russia; and when the British parliament assembled in November, a grant of 200,000*l.* was voted for the relief of the sufferers in Russia, in addition to a large amount raised by private subscription. The parliament also voted 100,000*l.* to lord Wellington.

§ 18. The French reverses, which not only prevented Napoleon from sending reinforcements into Spain, but also obliged him to recall marshal Soult and 20,000 men from that country in order to oppose the advance of the Russians, opened a brightening prospect for the British arms in the Peninsula. The Spanish provisional government, at last throwing aside their ridiculous pride, made lord Wellington commander-in-chief of the Spanish forces—a proceeding, however, which did not add much to his strength, as they were little better than an undisciplined rabble. The greatest service the Spaniards rendered was in guerilla warfare. The whole force on which Wellington could rely was under 70,000 British and Portu-



of which about 6000 were cavalry. In May, 1813, he entered Spain in three divisions, the centre being led by himself, the right by sir Rowland Hill, the left by sir Thomas Graham. The advance was made by Valladolid, the French retreating before him till they took up a strong position in front of the town of Vittoria. This was attacked June 21, and carried after an obstinate resistance, the French being driven through the town, and pursued till it grew dark. The whole of the French artillery, baggage, and ammunition, together with property valued at a million sterling, was captured on this occasion; and king Joseph himself was nearly seized by a party of the 10th hussars. The French army fled in the greatest disorder to Pampluna; but as that place would evidently have to sustain a siege or blockade, the garrison would admit none of their countrymen except king Joseph. The remainder of the fugitives pursued their flight, and did not rally till they reached the Pyrenees. Pampluna and St. Sebastian were soon invested by the allies, and the passes of the Pyrenees occupied from Roncesvalles to Irun, at the mouth of the Bidassoa.

Napoleon now sent Soult, with the title of "lieutenant of the emperor," to reorganise the defeated army and defend the frontiers of France. The former commission he executed with great promptitude and skill at St. Jean Pied de Port; the latter was beyond his power, though he made some desperate attempts, and even succeeded in regaining two of the mountain-passes. On four consecutive days (27th to 30th July) bloody and persevering attacks were made upon the allied line, but they were repulsed; and on the 31st Soult was in full retreat for France. These engagements have been called the "Battles of the Pyrenees." Soult would have been fairly entangled and surrounded at San Estevan, but for the imprudence of three drunken English soldiers who were surprised near his quarters. His army suffered severe losses in that terrible pass. He now retired behind the Bidassoa, and Wellington halted.

On August 31 St. Sebastian was carried by assault, but with terrible loss; and the castle surrendered in a few days after. Pampluna held out till October 31; but Wellington, leaving that fortress invested, crossed the Bidassoa early in that month with his left wing, and Soult retreated to the Nivelle. Before the middle of November all the allied army was on French ground. Wellington had issued a proclamation containing the strictest injunctions not to molest the peaceable inhabitants, which the Spaniards could not be brought to obey, and at last he was obliged to send most of them back over the frontier. The peasants of the south of France, oppressed by the conscription, welcomed the English as deliverers. On November 10 the French position on the Nivelle was forced. Soult then retired to his entrenched camp at Bayonne whence he made some skilful attacks



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the English posts, but without success. The allies then went for
new weeks into winter quarters.

§ 29. The whole continent was now in arms against Napoleon. During his disastrous retreat from Russia the emperor Alexander had hung upon his rear; and as the forces of Russia approached the west, the Poles, and then the Prussians, rose to join them. A sentiment of the national degradation had at length been aroused among the Prussians which the king dared not venture to oppose. The news of Wellington's glorious campaign in the Peninsula also stimulated the Germans to resistance. Frederick William III. king of Prussia, and Alexander emperor of Russia, contracted an alliance offensive and defensive (Feb. 28), which was ratified at Kalisch. This coalition, being the sixth against France, was joined by Great Britain (June 14). Napoleon, however, was still superior in force to the allies. By the most unsparing conscription he had raised 700,000 men, half of whom were despatched into Germany; but they were raw recruits, necessarily much inferior to those with which he had won his early victories. He gained in May the battles of Lutzen and Bautzen; but they were bloody, and led to little result. The French reoccupied Leipsic and Dresden, and an armistice was agreed upon, from June 5 to August 10, to give time for negotiations mediated by Austria. Napoleon haughtily refused to give up his conquests beyond the Rhine; and at the conclusion of the armistice Austria joined the coalition against him, although the emperor's daughter had been left regent of France. England supplied the Prussians, Hanoverians, and Swedes with money and stores. Then followed the battles at Dresden, Gross Beeren, Dennewitz, and the Katzbach, in all which the French were defeated, and finally the crowning battle of Leipsic, called by the Germans the *Völkerschlacht*, or battle of the nations, from the numbers engaged, at which Napoleon was completely overthrown, and compelled to a retreat as disastrous as that from Moscow, recrossing the Rhine with less than a quarter of the enormous army he had collected in Germany. He reached Paris November 9, though beaten, still arrogant and presumptuous.

In February 1814 Wellington again took the field, and Soult retired before him across the Gave d'Oléron. On the 27th he was defeated at Orthez with great loss, and Wellington pushed on to the Adour, directing sir John Hope to invest Bayonne, and marshal Beresford to occupy Bordeaux. On the arrival of the last the mayor and citizens proclaimed Louis XVIII. of their own accord, for Wellington studiously avoided all interference in favour of the Bourbons. Soult now retreated upon Toulouse; and Wellington, who reached that city March 27th, found him posted on the right bank of the broad and rapid Garonne. It was the 9th of April before the British army could be conveyed to the other side, and on the 10th.

On Sunday, was fought the bloody battle which takes its name from the town. The force of Wellington was a little superior, but Soult was much stronger in artillery. His position was carried, but with considerable loss, and on the night of the 11th he evacuated Toulouse and retreated towards Carcassone. In that night he marched 21 miles: yet some French writers have claimed the battle of Toulouse as one of their victories! Wellington entered Toulouse on the 12th, and in the afternoon received intelligence that Napoleon had abdicated at Fontainebleau six days before the battle. Soult at first refused to acknowledge the provisional government established in the name of Louis XVIII.; but on receiving further intelligence a convention was signed on the 18th. On the 14th general Thouvenot, though apprized of the state of affairs at Paris, brutally made a night sally from Bayonne, in which a great number of men were killed and wounded on both sides.

§ 20. We must now briefly advert to the events which thus put an end to the glorious progress of Wellington. During February and March Napoleon had obstinately contested with far inferior forces the advance of the allies from the Rhine, displaying all his great qualities as a general. During this campaign a congress of the ministers of the allied powers and of France was held at Châtillon-sur-Seine, England being represented by lord Castlereagh. They offered those boundaries which France pretends to claim as her natural limits—the Pyrenees, the Alps, and the Rhine; but to these proposals Napoleon refused to accede till too late. It does not belong to our subject to narrate this campaign, and it will suffice to say that after several battles the emperor Alexander and the king of Prussia entered Paris, March 31st. The allied sovereigns now refused to treat with Napoleon, who had retired to Fontainebleau; he was obliged to abdicate, April 11th, and a provisional government was formed to effect the restoration of the Bourbons. At the instance of the emperor Alexander, Napoleon was allowed to retain the imperial title, the isle of Elba was assigned as his dominion, and he was to receive from France a pension of six million francs. England was no party to this treaty, but afterwards assented to it. Louis XVIII., who during his exile had resided in England, entered Paris in state May 3rd, and on the 30th he signed with Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia a treaty of peace and alliance, by which the French boundaries, with some additions, were determined and secured as they existed in 1792. The possession of Malta and its dependencies was confirmed to England: the Cape of Good Hope had been secured by a previous treaty with Holland; but all the Dutch East India colonies, except Ceylon, were restored. All the colonies possessed by France in 1792 were also restored, except Tobago, St. Lucie, and the Isle of France: and several islands