THE

HISTORY

of

MODERN EUROPE.

PART III.

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

LETTER I.

A view of the situation of Great Britain consequent on the termination of
the late war. Approaching dissensions with the American colonies.
A. D. 1764—1773.

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

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

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

Great Britain, which already governed with one arm the banks of the Ohio, and with the other those of the ancient Ganges, at this time fitted out several expeditions in quest of new objects of dominion. In the year 1764, Commodore Byron was sent to take as correct a survey as was possible of the straits of Magellan. He traversed the Pacific Ocean, in which he discovered two islands, which he named King George's islands, after which a third presented itself, which was denominated from the Prince of Wales; and a fourth from the Duke of York. In May 1769, the expedition appeared in the Downs, after an absence of twenty-two months, from the time it had first sailed. This paved the way for the celebrated voyages of Captains Wallis, Carteret, Cook and Mulgrave, which followed each other in quick succession, and of the result of which we shall give a more detailed account in its proper place.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE HISTORY OF

PART III.

phere, arose Philadelphia, the establishment of the virtuous Penn. The inhabitants of the city were supported by the produce of the neighbouring country, and enriched themselves by their industry. Their manners, in process of time, began to suffer from the effects of prosperity; the affection that had been hitherto testified for the family of Penn, was in a great measure lost, and some symptoms of confusion began to appear in the interior of the country. The administration of Maryland belonged to the descendants of its founder, lord Baltimore; and was conducted by its governor, with the assistance of a council of twelve, and of the deputies of the districts. Religion was everywhere without restraint; agriculture was held in honour; and peace and order were protected against the attempts of parties, and of wild and lawless men. Every colony cultivated in security that species of production which it found most suitable to its soil and climate. New England produced wheat, Turkish corn, rice, and barley. This colony contained noble tracts of pasturage; and six thousand fishermen gained an annual income of more than £322,000 sterling. The healthy colony of Rhode Island produced Turkish corn in great abundance. Nova Scotia, the circumstances of which were less favourable, because its government was military, enriched itself by its coal mines. On the other hand, New York was situated in a beautiful district, and rose to great importance. One hundred and eighty-eight ships, and four hundred and twenty-six sloops sailed from this port; and the banks of the East River were adorned with the residences of superfluity and pleasure. New Jersey was almost a garden. Maryland produced thirty millions of pounds of tobacco; and Virginia could deliver fifty millions. The romantic banks of the Shenando were cultivated by industrious Germans. Farther toward the south, the sun darted his scorching rays on immeasurable tracts of sand. North Carolina, however, rose to prosperity. South Carolina, the cherished object of solicitude to Coligny, Shaftesbury, and Locke, no longer dreaded the Indians, whose people were now entirely subdued,—this colony, in which the cultivation of the vine and the silk succeeded as well as in Italy, was second to none in value. At a still greater distance, where Savannah, situated between sand and forest, endures a degree of heat as great as that of Africa, Georgia was now rising to importance. In Florida, only the first beginnings of cultivation were visible in a few spots.

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

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

While the minds of the colonists were in this state of fermentation, the
Parliament imposed a duty on tea, for the purpose of relieving the India company of a tax of 29 per cent, in order to enable the company to sell that article as cheap as the Dutch. This occurrence manifested that English government, when it allowed the Stamp Act to be repealed, did not intend to abandon its right to tax the colonies. The Americans, however, were extremely enraged, and refused to pay the duty on its importation to their harbours. Nor can we wonder that the popular leaders should avail themselves of the circumstances of the times to promote their own designs; but the imprudent conduct of the English ministry furnished them with all they wanted.

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

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

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

In this state of things, New York endeavoured to obtain the honour of effecting a compromise between the mother-country and the colonies; but the documents transmitted to the British parliament with a view to this desirable end, were rejected because they emanated from a body not recognised in England. The parliament declared, That in pursuance of the fundamental law of 1698, only the lords and commons in parliament assembled, and no other body in the British empire, had the right of making any regulation with regard to taxes! It cannot be doubted that it would have been very
possible to give to the British empire a constitution, in which its provinces should be admitted to their reasonable share of influence; in which case, the freedom and power of the state would have been established on new foundations, and Great Britain would still have continued at the head of the empire, until the maturity of the New World should at length have rendered it necessary to transport the seat of supreme power across the Atlantic: but a measure of this kind required more wisdom and foresight than swayed the British councils at this period.

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

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

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

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

MODERN EUROPE.

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

LETTER II.

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

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

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

PART III.

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

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

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

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

THE CALAMITIES OF POLAND. A.D. 1764.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The dissidents were detested, as the party which had given occasion to the injuries inflicted on the independence of the country, and were subjected to all possible oppressions. A confederation was formed against them at Bar, under marshal Krazinsky; one at Halizir, under Potocky; and another at Lublin; which latter place was, on that account, set on fire by the Russian artillery. Civil war now arose in all its horrors: the Russians encreased their force to a degree which could not be a matter of indifference to the Turks, and conquered Bar, seizing all the wealth of Podolia, Volynia, and the Ukraine. Krazinsky and Potocky threw themselves into the Turkish fortress of Chotin. The terrors of this war of religion was augmented by the incessant incursions of the Haidamaks, who entered the country from the Russian vice-royalty of Elizabethgorod. On one occasion, they burnt ten
towms and one hundred and thirty villages; and on another, three of the former and fifty of the latter. The Jews were everywhere committed to massacre and the flames, and the roads were covered with dead bodies, until at length neither man nor beast was to be found alive within sixty miles of the borders. The Russians in the mean time were besieging Cracow, where the confederates for a long time held out against famine and pestilence. Martin Ludomitzsky, in the utmost extremity, made a sally, in which he lost one half of his followers; but he made good his retreat with the rest through the midst of the enemy. The Russians extended themselves over all the voivodeships, in order that the confederates might be prevented from forming an union in any part. That party, however, brought reinforcements out of Turkey, and the detestation inspired by their wanton cruelties, exceeded the terror of their first revenge. In the year 1769 the king proclaimed them rebels; and they declared his authority illegitimate. Thirteen contests took place in the course of one month, and the progress of the war was only arrested by the devastations of pestilence. Two hundred and fifty thousand men died within the space of a few weeks in Volhynia, the Ukraine, and Podolia. Kaminioi was abandoned by its garrison, and all its inhabitants, and the whole force of the confederates crowded toward Great Poland.

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

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

These proceedings at length opened the eyes of the confederates, and mar-
shal Zarembe first offered his services to king Stanislaus, in order to effect
an union between the conflicting parties, for the preservation of their com-
mon country; but the king in all probability considered this proposal to be
already too late. The party of the emperor Joseph in the court of Vienna
was about this period engaged in combating the religious adherence of Ma-
ria Therssa to her promises, and the rights of others. She in vain repre-
ented the consequences of infringing the public morality; and the salt works
of Vielitschka, which yielded an annual produce of six hundred thousand cwt.
were now taken possession of by the Austrians.

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

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

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

(1) Gilhes view of the reign of Frederick II. chap. vi.
(2) Œuvres Posthumes du Roi de Prusse.
1637, by which the Poles assigned the sum of four hundred thousand dollars on the security of the city of Elbing, to the elector of Brandenburg, who was to deliver them* from the Swedish arms; but the promise then made had never been fulfilled!

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The latter now established a permanent council, which was dependent on themselves, and could easily be influenced according to their pleasure. The king of Prussia declared, that if the republic did not place this council in actual existence on a certain day, he would consider its refusal or delay as a declaration of war; and he, at the same time, demanded possession of
district on the Netze, not usually bounded by the river, but which was occasionally covered with its waters during extraordinary floods. The Austrian commissioners of boundaries drew a line from the mouth of one river to another, and demanded all the districts comprised within the windings of the streams, as the shores of these rivers. Instances frequently occurred in which a district was usurped, without assigning any reason whatever. And a similar proceeding often took place out of pure philanthropy, in which the object of the appropriation was to relieve the country people from illegitimate authority. The permanent council was established: it consisted of forty senators and noblemen, nominated by the diet, who continued in office until the succeeding session of that assembly, and transact all military and foreign affairs, with the business of the high police. It can expound the laws, but cannot make them.

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

LETTER III.

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

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

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

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

(1) Wraxall's Memoirs of the courts of Berlin, Dresden, Warsaw, and Vienna.—Tunke's life of Catharine the Second.—Gillies's life of Frederic the Great.—Coxe's Travels in Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark.—Posthumous Works of the king of Prussia, by Holcroft.
Constantinople for their departure, the multifarious hordes of militia assembled themselves out of Asia, and covered the Bosphorus and Hellespont with numerous transports. On the other hand, the different nations composing the extensive empire of the autocrat of all the Russians, most of whom were barbarous, put themselves in motion, and sent a three hundredth part of their whole population to open the campaign on the Dniester, under the command of general Rumjanzoff; and a body of troops selected from among the corps dispersed over Poland was assembled on the side of the Ukraine and Podolia, under Soltikoff. The capitation tax of the Russian empire was raised, a war contribution of twenty per cent. levied on all salaries, and an impost of five roubles laid on all coach-horses.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Toward the end of this campaign, some ignorant or selfish Russians at Yassy, purchased some goods infected with the plague. The commandant of the place thought he displayed his courage by adopting no precautions: the disorder soon raged throughout the city, and men fell dead in the streets. The pestilence arrived at Chotin, and in a short time reduced five regiments of infantry to four hundred men: it was communicated by infected clothes to the grand army, which Rumjanzoff was therefore obliged to separate in the utmost haste. Some soldiers had already conveyed it to the great town of Kyow, where the physicians were either ignorant of its character, or afraid to mention its name: its fury therefore soon became irresistible; fugitives spread it beyond the Dnieper, and in the mountains; poor people, and even the officers of the police, plundered the houses whose inhabitants had been destroyed by the disease; and the remainder of the population was saved with difficulty by the effects of the winter, and the courageous arrangements adopted by major Skippow. Some wool received from the Ukraine in the mean time infected the great manufactory at Moscow, on which account
processions were performed, which only served to spread the disease: all the commanders and nobles quitted the city, and order and authority were entirely at an end. Nine hundred men fell victims daily, and numbers lay unburied in the streets and houses. A merchant who represented himself to have been cured miraculously by an image, gave occasion, by this means, to a most dangerous assemblage of the multitude, who collected to pray to the holy virgin for their lives: and the effect of this practice was so fatal, that the archbishop gave orders that the image should be removed in the night.

When this circumstance came to the knowledge of the people, all Moscow became a scene of fury and insurrection, and the archbishop was murdered, by blows of hammers, before the high altar in the monastery of Donsk, which lay without the city. All the sick, in order to enjoy the remaining moment of their lives, quitted the hospitals, stormed and plundered the bishop’s palace, and inflamed their own rage with the contents of the cellars. At this moment Jerapkin made his appearance at the head of the garrison: his soldiers marched over corpses; persons were infected on both sides in the scuffle, and others died under strokes of the knout. The calamity was at last arrested by Gregory Orloff and the cold of winter, after ninety thousand individuals had been its victims in Moscow and the neighbouring villages.

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

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

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

He now took flight through the deserts of Palestine, and arrived at Rama, the abode of the prophet Samuel, where he found his old friend the Scheikh Daher, the conqueror of the Samaritans and the Druses, who, though ninety-three years old, was still full of vigour, and surrounded by his nephews and grand-children. In this country he formed a corps of thirteen thousand men, with which he advanced into Egypt where Mohammed awaited him with an army of sixty thousand. The battle took place on a Friday, which the moelam keep as a holy day, and was contested with such fury, that of four hundred Greeks and Russians in the service of Ali, three hundred and eighty fell on the field of battle, and his army of thirteen thousand men was reduced to five hundred: his head was sent to Constantinople. Europe had taken a more lively interest in his adventures, because he appeared to be elevated above national prejudices: but his fault consisted in manifesting his contempt for those errors too early, and in too decided a manner.
The Russians at length crossed the Danube, A.D. 1773, and the janissaries gave way. Mussun Oglu, however, availed himself of the advantages afforded by the strong regions of the Haemus; from which he made two descents, and compelled the Russians to abandon the siege of Silistra and to hasten back to their bridges on the Danube before he should cut off their retreat. They lost a great part of their artillery near Varna: and at length Hassan pacha swore that not a Russian should pass the autumnal equinox on the Turkish side of the river.

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

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

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

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

---

LETTER IV.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE DISPUTE FOR THE BAVARIAN SUCCESSION.

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

Charles Theodore von Sulzbach, elector of the palatinate of the Rhine, and head of the next branch of the family of Wittelsbach, was entitled to the succession by a family compact which had been formerly concluded, and was agreeable to the laws of the empire: he was therefore immediately proclaimed; and repaired without delay to München. He had, however, scarcely arrived in that city, when he was informed that the house of Austria had determined to enforce its ancient claims on lower Bavaria; and the new elector, conscious that he was able to oppose no successful resistance to the preponderating power of that dynasty, consented to a treaty by which he secured the possession of the remainder of his new dominions. Maria Theresa was still living; but Joseph possessed the chief influence in all state affairs
of great importance: and the court of Austria, at his instigation, took possession of Lower Bavaria, required an immediate profession of fealty from the states of the country, and declared that the taxes should for the present remain upon the same footing as in the preceding year. The emperor also declared the counties of Schwabeck, Hohenwaldeck, Leuchtenberg, Wolfstein, Hals and Haag, the barony of Wiesensteig, the jurisdiction of Hirschberg, and other imperial fiefs, to have become vacant by the extinction of the family which had acquired them: and the barony of Mundheim in Swabia, with all that part of Upper Bavaria which is held as a fief of Bohemia, was also pronounced to be forfeited, in the name of the empress-queen.

A large tract of country, along the course of the Danube, the Inn; and the Iser, and the suburb of Ratisbon, where the imperial diet had held its sittings during one hundred and sixteen years, now fell to Austria.

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

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

The court of Vienna, on the other hand, replied; that the whole of Bavaria, before the period at which the house of Wittelsbach had acquired the sovereignty of that country, had been restored to their ancestors by the dukes of Austria, out of pure moderation and love of peace: that it was reasonable to require indemnification for so many expensive wars; that the present was not a question relating to an indivisible electorate, because Bavaria, as it was publicly and universally known, had acquired the electoral dignity by the contrivance of Maximilian, only a few generations previously to this time; which dignity could be transferred only to his immediate descendants: that the whole country of Lower Bavaria, which from very early times had always been ruled by its own land-marshal, was in reality no essential part of the duchy of Bavaria: that the house of Austria could perceive no impediment in the constitution of Germany, to the enforcement of
indisputable rights, provided it were done with moderation and with the consent of those princes of the empire whose interests were most immediately concerned; and that it was important to know whether the king of Prussia was resolved to assume the office of arbitrator in all instances; and whether he, whose aggrandizement had been the most rapid, and was attended with the greatest share of peril to his neighbours, intended to set up his arbitrary will as the law by which all the princes were to regulate their conduct; that the emperor Sigismund, who had sold the Electorate of Brandenburg to the ancestor of the present king of Prussia, had also conferred Lower Bavaria, which happened to fall vacant during his reign, on his own son-in-law, Albert of Austria; that the sister of the last elector of Bavaria at the same time transferred to her son, the elector of Saxony, all her claims to the alodial possessions and acquisitions of the deceased branch, to their moveable property, the revenue of the preceding year, and thirteen millions which had been expended on the Upper Palatinate; lastly, that the family of Mecklenburg recalled to mind the reversion of Leuchtenberg and other imperial fiefs which had been granted by the emperor Maximilian the First; and founded its claims on a number of sacrifices which it had made for the benefit of Germany.

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

The affair was in this manner conducted diplomatically during five months, until in the end of July, A. D. 1779, the king advanced into Bohemia near Nachod, while his brother Henry marched toward another pass. This kingdom is accessible by thirteen different roads, the least frequented of which is that by way of Rumburg: and the Prussian general Möllendorf, who commanded under prince Henry, took this latter route, which was the least provided with means of defence, being naturally the most difficult of access. This whole campaign, in which Frederick and Lascy, Henry and Laudohn, displayed the effects of long and uninterrupted reflection and the practice of the highest science, was a school of military tactics: few marches deserve to be compared with that of Rumburg, and few retreats with that from Lauterwasser to Schanzlar. In this campaign, as in that in which Turenne was opposed to Montecuculi, no battles were fought; the king was not obliged to compromise the safety of an army which was the chief foundation of his power; though on the other hand he exposed no weak point to the attacks of Lascy and Laudohn. Military science is the foundation of political importance, because the other sources of power exist only under its protection: and hence the advancement or decline of this art always makes an epoch in history. It was a grand spectacle to see the ardent emperor Joseph, at the head of the finest army in the world, excellently provided with artillery and arms, opposed to the hoary conqueror of Czászalan, Hohenfriedburg, Robach, Leuthen, Torgau and Lignitz. But before the question in dispute could be decided by deeds of arms, Russia and France effected a mediation, by which the pacific empress-queen satisfied herself with a tract of territory, containing scarcely forty square miles, between the Danube, the Inn, and the Salsa. Her army was not defeated: but her son was a great loser by the contest, because these occurrences excited alarm throughout all Europe.

The treaty was concluded at Teschen in Upper Silesia, A. D. 1779, and its
obervance was guaranteed by Russia and France. The court of Austria acquired the district of the Inn, and engaged not to oppose the union of the Franconian principalities of Baireuth and Anspach with Prussia, on the deace of the reigning margrave: and when that should happen, to renounce the feudal claims which the crown of Bohemia possessed in those territories, in return for the renunciation of those which the margraves held in Austria, the greater part of which had subsisted for four hundred and fifty-seven years. Promises were made that the emperor and the empire should be induced to invest the elector palatine with all the fiefs held by the deceased branch of his family; to indemnify the dukes of Mecklenburg by an extension of their sovereign power over their own subjects, which is called de non appellando to the tribunals of the empire; and in general to bestow approbation on the treaty. With respect to the Palatine family, Austria renounced all claim to the remainder of the possessions of the late sovereigns of Bavaria, and conferred the Bohemian fiefs in the Upper Palatinate on the new electors. The elector of Saxony was gratified by the acquisition of a country on his frontiers. (1)

LETTER V.

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

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

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

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


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

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

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

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

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

On the day appointed to carry this horrid plot into execution, 3rd September, 1755, the conspirators to the number of one hundred and fifty, divided themselves into small troops, and took post in different parts of the way which the king was to pass. His majesty was in a calash, drawn by two mules, conducted by one postillion, and was accompanied only by his valet de chambre. The first band of conspirators let him pass on till he was in the midst of them, when two of them fired at the king's calash, which was pierced in various places, and the king received three wounds, the most considerable of which was in his shoulder. His valet de chambre, whose name was Texeira, had the presence of mind to make the king truckle down at the bottom of the chaise, that he might sit over him, and at all risks cover his body. At the same time, the postillion, as brave and as faithful as Texeira, instead of pursuing the road or turning back again, turned with great address, and with the utmost speed, into a bye way, amidst many other random shots, and by a circuitous road got back to the palace of Bellem. These two men, to whom the king owed his life, were amply recompensed.

The king on arriving at the palace, covered himself with a cloak belonging to one of his guards, ordered Carvalho to be instantly called to him, and waited at the gate, without thinking of his wounds, or discovering the least sign of pain or apprehension. The minister with his usual resolution, and maintaining the same magnanimity as his master, prohibited Texeira, the postillion, and guards, from making any discovery of what had happened.
He also recommended to the king himself silence and dissimulation. Nevertheless the news of this event having spread abroad, perhaps by the conspirators themselves, the people ran in a state of alarm and confusion to Bellem, and the nobles repaired to the palace. The duke d’Aveiro appeared the most anxious and alarmed of them all, and offered to place himself at the head of the cavalry to go in search of the assassins. But Carvalho removed his fears, pretended to make him his confident, and with a mysterious air, recommended him to appear to know nothing of the matter: nevertheless, the minister already suspected him, from the knowledge he had of his turbulent spirit, and the well known hatred he bore to himself. The king, to dissipate the fears of his people, appeared at a window, and declared from thence, that the report of his assassination was false, that the slight hurt he had received was from no other cause but the accidental overturning of his calash. To confirm this belief, he engaged in his usual exercises even before he was cured of his wounds, and the agitated spirit of the people was universally quieted: even the conspirators themselves, deceived by the general tranquillity, took no precautions whatever to prevent discovery, and remained at ease. One alone, named Polycarp, a domestic of the Tavora family, being suspicious of this mysterious state of inaction quitted the kingdom.

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

However, in about six months, Carvalho proposed the marriage of his daughter with the count of Sampayo, a nobleman of high birth. The king accordingly signed the contract of marriage, and took upon himself the expenses of the wedding. All the grandees of the kingdom were invited to assist at the ceremony; and the duke d’Aveiro returned in great haste to Lisbon to be present at it. Ten battalions and as many squadrons of troops arrived the same night, and at the same hour in the capital. There were two balls which occupied the attention of the city; the one at Bellem, given by the minister, and the other at the Long Room, a place of entertainment belonging to foreign merchants, who gave it in honour of the marriage. At the same hour all the conspirators were arrested, their palaces invested, and the process against them being already prepared, ten of the principal of them were executed in the course of a week, in the square of the palace of Bellem. Saturday, January 18, 1759, a scaffold having been built in the square opposite to the house where the prisoners were confined, eight wheels were fixed upon it: on one corner of the scaffolding was placed Antonio Alves Ferreira, and at the other corner the effigy of Joseph Policarpio de Azevedo, who had escaped; these being the two persons who fired at the king’s equipage. About half an hour after eight o’clock in the morning the execution began. The marchionesa de Tavora was the first who was brought upon the scaffold, when she was beheaded at one stroke. Her body was afterwards placed upon the floor of the scaffolding, and covered with a linen cloth. Young Joseph Maria of Tavora, the young marquis of Tavora, the count of
Atouguia, and three servants of the duke of Aveiro, were first strangled at a stake, and afterwards their limbs broken with an iron instrument; the marquis of Tavora, general of horse, and the duke of Aveiro, had their limbs broken alive. The duke, for greater ignominy, was brought bereheaded to the place of execution. The body and limbs of each of the criminals, after they were executed, were thrown upon a wheel, and covered with a linen cloth. But when Antonio Alvarès Ferreira was brought to the stake, whose sentence was to be burnt alive, the other bodies were exposed to his view; the combustible matter, which had been laid under the scaffolding, was set on fire, the whole machine, with the bodies, were consumed to ashes, and thrown into the sea. Aveiro died like a coward. The rest supported their torments with resolution. But the two criminals who displayed the greatest strength of mind on the occasion, were a woman, the old marchioness de Tavora, and a young man of nineteen years of age, her second son. He had suffered the most cruel tortures without acknowledging his guilt; when his father being brought to tell him that he said the other accomplices had confessed the whole, he replied, "as you gave me life, you may take it from me." As for the old marchioness, she escaped the torture on account of her sex; but received her sentence, and saw the preparations for her punishment with an indifference that would have done honour to a better cause. She had been accustomed to breakfast after the English fashion, and after she had heard her sentence read, and been dressed as usual by her women, she demanded her breakfast. Her confessor represented to her that she had something else to do; when she answered, "that there was a time for every "thing." She took her breakfast in perfect tranquillity, and made her women partake of it. When she came to ascend the scaffold, she said to those who offered to assist her, "I will ascend it alone, I have not suffered "the torture like the rest." The marquis de Tavora, who did not possess an equal strength of mind, reproached her for having brought her family to such a fate; she replied, "support it as I do, and reproach me not." She herself placed the fillet over her eyes, shortened the duties of her confessor, entreated the executioner to dispatch her quickly, and by dropping her handkerchief gave the signal for the fatal stroke. The young marchioness de Tavora was confined in a convent, as well as the young countess of Atouguia, who has been since persecuted by the inquisition as a visionary. The principal part of the nobility were carried away and confined in dungeons, while some escaped; of the latter number were the Almeidas and Sousas. As for the Jesuits, they were expelled from every part of the Portuguese dominions as accomplices in this horrid conspiracy, but without process or proof. There remained of them but twenty-two, decrepit old men, who were shut up in a villa of the duke d'Aveiro; and eight prisoners, of which the most criminal, viz. Malagriga an Italian, Alexander an Irishman, and Matos, a Portuguese, were executed secretly in prison, after having been denounced as chiefs of the plot.

The minister has been accused of gratifying, by these executions, his own personal vengeance. But surely this crime merited the severest chastisement; nor could it be considered as bad policy to humble an insolent nobility who insulted the king, and tyrannized over the people. These two fatal events which followed one upon the other, occupied all the attention of the minister, and suspended the operations of every other department of the state whose strength they had exhausted. War being lighted up throughout all Europe, the Portuguese, who had no interest in it, began to recover themselves and to draw some advantage from the state of peace which they enjoyed. But their neutrality was not equally preserved. They were considered as very much attached to the English; they triumphed on their victories, they received them with joy into their harbours, they profited of their captures, and they were regarded rather as the subjects than the allies of England. This opinion determined the Spanish court to attack Portugal, as the best way of attacking the English, whom they considered as the commercial possessors, at least, of Lisbon and Oporto. It was supposed that this war with Portugal would have a considerable influence on
the negotiations for peace; and to accelerate it, Spain resolved to break its neutrality. If Portugal had been subdued, it is certain that such an event would have been the source of great advantage to Spain at the conclusion of a peace; but success alone could justify the conduct which the court of Madrid pursued at this period. That power was particularly interested in preventing the English from aggrandizing their power in America, and crushing the French navy; but this interest did not furnish sufficient motives to quit its neutrality. It might, on all occasions, have favoured the French, have opened their ports to them, and supplied them with money; but they had no just pretense to declare war against England. The piracies of certain privateers, which were disavowed by the court of London, and the strict but lawful examination of Spanish ships which carried ammunition to France, were not sufficient pretext. All the commercial nations suffered the same inconvenience, without thinking themselves authorized to take up arms to prevent it. Besides these causes of complaint, whether well or ill founded, Spain had nothing to do with Portugal. War was, however, declared in 1762.

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

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

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

The count de Lippe is a prince distinguished by his military talents; and above all by his superior knowledge as an engineer, and officer of artillery. He is haughty, presumptuous, ardent, and leaves much to fortune. He was obliged in Portugal to bend to the various and opposing circumstances that
surrounded him, and he there served an apprenticeship to patience. Although he had no opportunity in this campaign to signalise himself, his whole conduct proved him to be an able and experienced soldier.

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

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

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

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

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

On June 21st, an officer named Alvarez, attacked the village of Freixal, and after having pillaged it, "set it on fire. Three hundred peasants, who were shut up in it, and made some resistance, were converted by the gazettes of Madrid into six thousand men. After such a brilliant expedition, the army took the road of Zamora, and it was determined to lay siege to Almeida. On the 4th of August the place was invested; on the 15th the trenches were opened without the least difficulty, as the besieged did not, during the course of the siege, discharge more than four or five cannon. On the 28th the place surrendered, although no breach had been made, nor the first pa-
ralled completed. The batteries of the besiegers were at the distance of one thousand eight hundred feet from the walls, and the siege was attended with the loss only of an ostler, a labourer, and four horses; not one person was wounded during the short time it lasted. There were found in the town ninety-six pieces of cannon of different calibres, all sorts of ammunition and provisions, and three thousand six hundred Portuguese, who composed its garrison, all unhurt and in good health. Almeida is a considerable place, and might have stopped the progress of the Spaniards for at least a month: but the governor was fourscore years of age, had been a captain of cavalry in the war of the succession, and was a vain-glorious character. A very able engineer, named Miron, who had thrown himself into the place, was anxious to put it in a state of defence, but the governor having refused to advance the money necessary to carry on the works, a dozen of English and Scotch officers, who were at the head of the regiments in garrison, raised among themselves a very considerable sum for that purpose. But when Miron, on the strength of this subscription, was determined to begin his works, and spoke firmly on the subject, the governor ordered him to be confined in irons, and sent him to be tried at Lisbon. Having, however, deprived himself of his engineer, he retired into his chamber, where he passed all the time of the siege in reciting his rosary. When the English officers ordered the Portuguese garrison to man the outworks, they revolted and refused to obey. Not a single man was seen in the covered way, nor along the curtains during the whole siege, so that no place was ever taken with more ease; and if the Spaniards could have conceived the interior state of the town and garrison, they would not have given themselves the trouble to open the trenches.

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

Such were the transactions of this campaign which finished in the month of September. The Spanish army retired to Alcantara, but at the same time, an attack was made upon Campo Mayor, which failed, because the detachment destined to this object arrived with a view to surprise the place at noon-day. The Spanish forces, when they arrived at the frontier, were reduced to Vol. III.
twenty-five thousand men, and never did troops experience a more horrible campaign. The sick and the stragglers were almost all of them massacred by the peasants, who were rendered ferocious by the marauding conduct of the Spanish army, and emboldened by the timidity of its generals.

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

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

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

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

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

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

(1) See an Account of Portugal as it appeared in 1786 to Dumouriez, afterwards a celebrated general in the French army. Printed at Lausanne in 1775, and reprint in London in 1797.
established upon a good footing; at the same time, the English, the Swedes, the Dutch, the Danes, and the French were invited to teach navigation to the Portuguese; who, two centuries ago, conquered three quarters of the globe, carried on the commerce of it, and directed all its views to the improvement of its marine. The actual state of its navy consists of ten ships of the line, and double that number of frigates, all built of the finest Brazil timber. Two ships have been launched at Lisbon of 74 and 72 guns, and admirably constructed for resistance as well as duration. But neither the officers or the sailors are kept in sufficient practice; and I am of opinion, that vessel against vessel, the Spaniards would beat them at sea, from the superioriety of their equipage. But this deficiency may always be supplied by the English navy. The present state, however, of the Portuguese marine, is sufficient to protect the coasts, and the war against the Algerines, and the corsairs of Salé, may serve as a school to teach the art of naval combat, and accustom them to it, which is the more necessary as they have not the reputation of being brave at sea. The war with Morocco may be, one day or other, fatal to the Portuguese: for if the emperor should fortify Mogadore, invite to his service renegade seamen, and order his corsairs to cruise about the Cape Verde Islands, the Canaries, Açores, and Madeira, the ships coming from Brazil would often risk being taken.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

LETTER VI.

View of the internal affairs of France from the Peace of Versailles, in 1763, to the death of Louis XV. in 1774—Including some account of Corsica.

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

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

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

Add to this, the expiring influence of the Jesuits, which was exerted with redoubled force, on the eve of its total extinction. Actuated by the infernal principles of revenge, they secretly thwarted the designs of an adverse court, and stirred up the people to complain bitterly of the weight of the
taxes, the extortions of the farmers general, and the universal mal-adminis-
tration of public affairs.

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

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

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

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

From the produce of the fines, it was reasonably expected, the French mi-


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

We are now brought, in the order of time, to a domestic event of another nature, from which as great revolutions were expected in the internal government of France, as if a new monarch had ascended the throne, the death of the king's favourite mistress, and prime minister. It happened on the 15th of April, 1766, in the forty-third year of her age.

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

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

The French ministry had, for some time past, formed a secret plan to get possession of Corsica, under the open profession of assisting the Genoese government, incapable of itself, to defend those parts of the island which it still possessed. A more favourable opportunity could not present itself; the supporters of the liberties of Europe, and of the political balance of power, either exhausted of men and money by the late wars or firmly resolved not to involve themselves in any fresh broils, when they had scarce recovered
breath from the last; "tumely beheld the military operations of France against Corsica, without tendering the least succour to the brave inhabitants, who, the instant they received intelligence of the designs of the court of France, called an assembly, composed of deputies from all the provinces of the island, and with a noble firmness, becoming a manly race of free-born citizens, resolved that the French troops should not be permitted to land on the island, on any pretence whatever. And that no decent measure on their part might be neglected, they ordered their commander-in-chief, Pascal Paoli, to make the most respectful remonstrances to his most Christian Majesty, against the unchristian conduct of his ministry, in sending French troops to aid and assist the avowed enemies of their civil freedom and independency; the preservation of which they had hitherto successfully contended for, and were now on the eve of perpetuating, having nearly driven the Genoese off the island.

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

The year 1765 was opened by a finance operation, which partly restored the credit of the court of France in England. The French ambassador at London tendered the payment of £670,000, as a compensation for the maintenance of the French prisoners in different parts of the British empire, during the course of the last war. By the advice of parliament, this sum was accepted, and £70,000 was immediately paid on account, the remainder was to be cleared by instalments of £40,000 every three months; and some hopes being given that the Canada bills would likewise be adjusted amicably, the price of these bills, which had been sold by auction at thirty per cent. discount, increased considerably. Soon after, the king gave a convincing proof of the goodness of his heart; for the widow and children of the unfortunate Calas, having gained their cause in the parliament of Paris against their inhuman bigotted persecutors, exactly three years after the execution of their innocent father; his majesty not only ordered the re-establishment of the reputation of that unhappy victim of superstitious fury to be printed and published in all parts of the kingdom, but he made the widow a present of 10,000 livres, to her two daughters he gave 6,000 livres each, and to one of her sons 3,000, without depriving them of their expectations of great damages from the judges who first condemned their father.

No alteration happened in the political state of France at this period; but proper resentment was shown to the emperor of Morocco, who had refused to punish a Sallee rover for seizing a French trading vessel: a squadron of ten ships of the line, under the command of M. de Chassagny, bombarded Salé from the 31st of May to the 14th of June, thieving into the old and new towns upwards of four hundred shella, but with little effect. They afterwards attacked Larrache, but without success; for they met with a warm reception from the Moors, who suffered them not to advance in their boats, and to burn some vessels without opposition, and then swam to them from the shore with poniards in their mouths, and obliged them to beg for quarter. The Bachi gave orders to preserve the lives of the prisoners, but took all the French boats, and would listen to no terms of accommodation,
so that M. du Chassey found himself under a necessity to put an end to this expedition, without obtaining any satisfaction for the present.

A domestic event interrupted the usual gaiety of the court of Versailles, in the last month of this year, 1764, and involved the whole kingdom in a deep universal sorrow: the dauphin of France, father of Louis XVI. died at Fontainebleau, December 20th, in the thirty-seventh year of his age, leaving the character of an inoffensive good-natured man, too much attached indeed to the priesthood, and particularly to the Jesuits, whose society it is confessed, he would have restored in France, if he had ascended the throne soon after its dissolution; but the moral tenor of his conduct gave the people room to hope, they should be freed at least from the capricious government of worthless women. The care he took of the education of his children, and particularly his endeavors to preserve them from pride and arrogance, with which the minds of young princes are but too early tainted, either by self-interested courtiers, or by the example of royal hauteur, does honour to his memory. It is related of him, that he made his children look over the baptismal registers in which their names are entered, by the custom of France, indiscriminately with others, and that he made the following remark to the princes his sons. "Behold your names intermixed, without distinction, with those of the children of the poor and needy: religion and nature place all men upon a level; virtue alone can make any essential distinction between them, and perhaps the child, whose name precedes each of "yours in this register, will be greater in the sight of God than you will ever "be in the eyes of the people of France." At another time, he ordered them to be carried to the cottage of a poor peasant; "I will have them see the "black bread that they eat; I insist on their handling the straw which serves "the poor for a bed. Learn them to weep," said he to their governor, "a "prince who has never shed tears, cannot make a good king." When an augmentation of his appointments was offered him by the late king, he politely refused, and wished that the sum proposed might be taken off annually from the taxes on the poor. It has been suggested, that he was too good to live; but as his public capacity for government was not so distinguishable as his private virtues, it cannot be imagined there was any political necessity to cut him off; though in countries where Machiavelian politics prevail, the life of a prince is more precarious than that of a peasant.

It has been already observed, that the representations of France had been obliged to submit to military force, but the army was now come not only to make them obey every arbitrary mandate of the court, but effectually to put a stop to all remonstrances, or applications to the throne of any kind, to obtain the restoration of their rights and privileges. The parliament of Britanny having been actually dissolved for their spirited measures, and a new commission consisting of sixty members appointed by the king having been vested with the authority of that senate; the other parliaments presented fresh remonstrances to the king in more determined language, and the parliament of Paris were proceeding to still bolder measures, when the king, apprehensive of the consequences, resolved by one single act of absolute power to put an end to this internal commotion. According to the great surprise of the Parisians, his majesty, who scarcely ever visited the capital but upon such occasions, suddenly arrived at Paris on the 3d of March, 1766, and repairing instantly to the grand chamber of the parliament he there held what is idly termed his lit de justice; but instead of a bed of justice, it was proved the very reverse, in the two last instances of its being held by Louis the XV. The chambers being assembled, the king told them that he was come himself to answer all their remonstrances in person; that he should have remained silent, if the reunion of the parliaments, the indelicacy of their style, the erroneous principles, and the affectation of new expressions to disguise them, had not clearly manifested the pernicious consequences of the system of union which he had already prescribed; he added, "I will not suffer an association to be formed in my kingdom, "which may grow up to a confederacy of resistance." This proceeding how-
ever did not deter a grand deputation of the parliament of Rouen from following him the next day to Versailles with a remonstrance, in which they hinted at the dissolution of the compact between king and people, when the former violates his coronation oath. The king, without any consultation with his ministers, in the language of every despotic prince upon earth, replied, "The oath which I have taken, not to the nation, as you say, but to God, "alone binds me."—He then annulled all the arrests of this parliament, as he had done those of the parliament of Paris at his lit de justice, passed by them in justification of the conduct of the parliaments of Pau and Brittany. We must not quit this subject without recording the laudable behaviour of the counsellors of the parliament of Brittany,(1) who, though ordered by the king to resume their functions, positively refused to plead before the new commissioners, upon which they were enrolled in the lists of the militia, when some were drafted off, by lot, to join battalions at a distance, and others were made part of the city guard.

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

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

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

(1) In France, every parliament has its special timidaries, who alone are privileged to plead causes before the respective parliaments to which they belong.
(2) See Part II. Let. XX-XXIV.
(3) Voltaire's age of Louis XV. chap. 34.
court, irritated the king to such a degree, that he ordered his minister, the chevalier de Beauteville, to talk to the commissaries of the people of Geneva, in the same style that he himself had used to his parliament at Paris. "The "king, my master, prohibits you, as well as the representing citizens, all "commercial intercourse with his dominions; and if after this declar- "tion, any of you shall presume to come within the territories of France, you "will be arrested, and your merchandise will be seized and detained at his "majesty's pleasure." This declaration was made by the French minister, on the 16th December, 1766. Every one knows, that the citizens of Geneva almost entirely depend on their trade with France. The sale of watches, trinkets, and a variety of other articles in the mechanic branch to the French, forms their chief support, and therefore an effectual method was taken to make them submit to an interested mediation, calculated to answer the polit- ical views of France and her allies on the continent.

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

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

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

• The policy of the close union of the several branches of the house of Bour- bon, began now to manifest itself upon more occasions than one; and, it is no slender proof of Choiseul's great abilities, that though the refusal of the court of Madrid, to give any satisfactory account of the nature of this famous compact to the British ambassador, had caused a war between England and Spain, yet not the least mention of this alliance, or of its dreaded con- sequence, was made at the peace. It was suffered to pass unexamined by our able negotiators, as if we had lost our right to canvass every article, after a
successful war against Spain, undertaken with the avowed purpose of scrutinising the whole. The quarrel between the duke of Parma and pope Clement XIII. independent of the family-compact, was of so limited a nature, that it would have been decided without the intervention of other powers, if France had not stood engaged by the secret articles of this compact, to support the pretensions of the race of Bourbon in every part of Europe. The clergy, and the religious orders in all the territories belonging to the duchy of Parma, had enjoyed such exclusive privileges, and in consequence, had increased to such a degree, that the revenues of the state were considerably diminished; for the ecclesiastics not only claimed an exemption from all taxes on their estates and effects, but also a power of assigning over this right to the purchasers of lands held by them. This most extraordinary and unjust privilege, occasioned fraudulent sales and conveyances, by which the state was greatly distressed, and was making such a progress, that scarce any of the lands in the duchy would be subject to taxation, if a stop was not put to such proceedings. Respectful application had been made to the pope, to exert his authority, and to act in concert with the government of Parma, in the measures that should be taken to reform this abuse; but the pope gave no answer to the duke’s memorials upon this subject, upon which he exerted his sovereign power to eradicate this evil; accordingly, he published an ordinance, which struck directly at the root of the papal authority, and entirely put an end to it in the duchy of Parma, for it cut off all communication between the ecclesiastics and the court of Rome, and deprived all foreign priests of their benefices. The pope, on his part, had recourse to the old exploded resource of issuing out his bull against the duke, threatening him with excommunication and interdiction, if he did not restore to the clergy their antient privileges; declaring also, that ecclesiastics are not subject to any temporal power. He went further, for he laid claim to the sovereignty of the duchy, though every pretension of this nature, had been long since given up by his predecessors.

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

The pope, persisted in his refusal to withdraw this bull, though strongly solicited by the courts of France, Spain, and Vienna: All the Roman-catholic princes of Europe took the alarm, and joined the common cause; even the republic of Venice, for once, took part against the Holy See; and, it is generally believed, that the grief and vexation which this unexpected stroke occasioned, hastened the death of the holy father, who now saw himself beset on every side, and his dominions invaded by different powers. It was too late to repent the insult he had offered to one of the princes of the house of Bourbon: nor was it before discovered, that if the rights of any one of the family should be invaded, the whole association would appear in arms to resent it. The pope was the first to experience the uniform operations of the compact. France revived a claim to Avignon and the Venaisin, as siefs of that kingdom, and without waiting for a discussion of the title, took possession in virtue of a commission given by Louis XV. to the marquis de Rochefort, at the head of the regiment of Dauphine, and to the president, and a deputation of the parliament of Paris, who jointly carried it into execution without loss of time. On the 11th of June, the French dragoons appeared
before the gates of the pope's palace at Avignon, removed the old Swiss guards, kicked open the gates with their jack-boots, and entered the palace in triumph, when the marquis, in great state, received the homage of the people, in the name of the king his master, and caused the arms of France, which he had brought with him, to be affixed over the city gates; after which, the president of the parliament, with his attendants, appointed proper persons to administer justice according to the laws of France. The towns of Carpentras and Cavaillon, in the Vaucluse were given up to the French forces in the same peaceable manner, and the pope's officers, civil and military, retired to Antibes, from whence they embarked for Italy. On the other hand, the king of Sicily laid claim to the duchies of Castro and Ronciglione, which extend almost to the environs of Rome, and publicly threatened to send commissaries, in the space of two months, supported by a sufficient military force, to take possession of these duchies, which he considered as dismembered parts of his ancient kingdom. He likewise adopted the same reformation in his dominions, which had incensed the pope against the duke of Parma; the Jesuits were expelled; and the king published an edict, informing his subjects, that the pope should be considered only as the first bishop of the Catholic church, and that his authority was less than that of a general council. These doctrines could not have been hazarded while the Jesuits remained in the country.

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

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

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

In the midst of these enterprises, the wheels of the French government at home were clogged by fresh disputes between the king and the parliament of Paris, but they were smothered for a few months by the national concern for the death of the queen, whose most amiable disposition, and pious resignation to the will of providence, had manifested itself in a most exemplary manner, under one of the most mortifying circumstances in life, that of holding her royal consort a constant dupe to his lascivious desires, and placing
all his confidence in, as well as dedicating all his leisure time to, an artful ambitious mistress. Her majesty died on the 25th of June, after a lingering illness, universally regretted by all ranks of people throughout the kingdom of France. She was the only daughter of Stanislaus the deposed king of Poland, who died about two years before her, in an extreme old age, of the hurt he received from setting fire to his night-gown, being negligently left alone by his attendants.

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

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

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

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

Every sum taken from the Treasury of France at this time was highly distressing; for the reduction of Corsica had cost near twenty millions of livres, and the internal state of the kingdom plainly shewed that the people could bear no further imposts, for bankruptcies in trade of the most alarming nature happened every day, and amongst the number of private failures were reckoned some very considerable bankers, besides a variety of persons
who stood connected with government, and had been ruined by advancing money in its service on securities which depended on the good faith of its administration, but which were now invalidated by one of those arbitrary acts of power, frequent in this country, but unjustifiable in any, the reduction of the interest of the public funds. This was another instance of the resolute spirit of the minister, and of the completion of his political principles. He knew that something must be done to balance the large demands on the finances for Corsica, and to continue Sweden and other subsidiary states firm in the French interests; and he remembered, that France had cancelled all her debts by a notorious breach of faith in the time of Louis XIV. and yet that her credit revived, and she was able, after such an act of cruel fraud, to borrow money for the service of Louis XV. in the early part of his reign, nearly on as good terms as the ministry of England, where the national honour, secured by the sanction of parliament, had never been violated. He therefore boldly ventured to reduce the interest on the public funds one half, and took away the benefit of survivorship from the Tontines; a darling object with the French, who, by out-living their friends and acquaintance, often became possessed of considerable life-annuities; and we may venture to affirm, that this measure has done incredible mischief to the finances of France; for the Tontines were always a sure, easy, expeditious resource for raising money in time of war. This event took place in the course of this year, and together with the bankruptcy of the East India company, and the stagnation of private credit in all the great commercial cities of France, threw the nation into a general ferment, and raised such a clamour against de Choiseul, that even the Bastile could not silence. His power now began to decline, and fearing that with the confidence of the people he should lose that of his royal master, he shifted the scenes, and endeavoured to regain the former by a very popular measure. On a sudden he became the zealous friend of the parliaments of France, and made it apparent that the influence of a minister over a weak king is capable of producing a desirable effect in one day, which volumes of remonstrances from his loving subjects could not accomplish in a course of years, perhaps in a whole reign.

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

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

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

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

The whole court was so clearly convinced of the duke’s guilt, that nothing
remained but to make an example of the noble culprit, when the king, of a
sudden, stepped in to rescue him from the hands of justice, and put a stop
to all further enquiries into his conduct; obliging letters patent to be regis-
tered for that purpose, in the presence of all the princes and peers, who
were thunderstruck at this manifest violation of the laws. The duke of
Orleons, first prince of the blood, sensibly affected, expostulated with the
chancellor upon this unprecedented step: but the king, apprehensive of the
consequences, if the parliament should meet, and summon the princes and
peers upon this subject, took the precaution, peremptorily to forbid their
attendance. He began with the duke of Orleans, and ordered him to com-
municate this prohibition to the other princes of the blood, but he excused
himself, saying, it would better become his majesty to deliver such unwel-
come commands. Soon after, to complete this act of despotism, the king
took the duke d’Aiguillon with him on a party of pleasure to Marli. The
public detestation of the protected favourite now became universal, and all
the parliaments of the kingdom loudly resented the insult offered to the
princes of the blood, to the peers, and to the parliament of Paris; the latter assembled, and published an arrest, depriving the duke of his seat in parliament, and of all the privileges of the peersage, till he submitted to a trial in obedience to the laws. The king in council, cancelled this arrest, and commanded the duke to resume his functions and his place in parliament. This was considered as a tyrannical act of power, which struck at the root of all the rights of the peersage and of the parliament. The whole summer was spent in fruitless attempts to induce the king to withdraw his letters patent, and to permit the trial to go on. The parliaments of Bourdeaux and Toulouse divested the duchy of Aiguillon of all the privileges of peersage, reducing it to the condition of a private estate, till the duke should be acquitted by his peers of the high crimes laid to his charge. The parliament of Brittany never ceased imploring the king for justice; and they entertained some hopes of success, when they were allowed to send a deputation to court to know the king's pleasure; but this was only the prelude to an act of unprecedented brutality: the deputies were admitted to audience only to be reprimanded in the severest terms, and to behold two of their members seized by the officers in waiting, and ordered to prison as an example to the rest, for having presumed to remonstrate against the king's letters patent, which, he said, should have been implicitly obeyed, without reply. This open violation of the right of humanity itself, which gives to every man authority to expostulate with his superior, provided decent respect is observed in the address, alarmed, but could not terrify the parliament of Paris, which continued sitting at the usual season of vacation, and sent deputation upon deputation to the king, from whom they could obtain no answer, for he would neither see nor hear his parliament. And, in order to put a stop to all further applications on this disagreeable subject, he once more had recourse to a lit de justice, which seems to have been the ultima ratio of Louis XV. as the mouth of the cannon was of Louis XIV. On the 3d of September, his majesty unexpectedly arrived at Paris, attended by an extraordinary corps of guards, who immediately surrounded the parliament house; the king entered soon after, and having severely reproached the members, in the bitterest terms, he ordered the two chambers of inquests and requests to withdraw, and then calling for all the papers relative to the proceedings against the duke d'Aiguillon, they were delivered up to him: these he carried away, and all the decrees passed in parliament against the duke he made the chancellor erase from their registers. This officer likewise informed them, that the king now imposed an absolute silence upon them; that he forbade all correspondence between them and his other parliaments, and if disobeyed, he should consider it as a confederacy against his person and authority; and the presidents of the parliament were enjoined, under pain of the royal displeasure, to break up all assemblies wherein any propositions should be stated, tending to revive debates upon subjects concerning which he had commanded silence.

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

PART III.

LETTER VII.

View of the Internal State of France, continued to the death of Louis XV.

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

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

The duchess of Grammont, sister to the duke de Choiseul, had conceived the hope of becoming mistress to the king; but her advances being neglected, and the young countess preferred, she became the victim of resentment and jealousy. The duke, her brother, considering his power to be too firmly established to be shaken by this new attachment, disdained to court the favourite, and opposed her growing influence by occasional insinuations in the ears of his sovereign. The countess de Barré was not long in giving intimations that she expected to be the dauphin and dauphiness. The former, after some warm altercations with the king found it expedient to comply; but the latter, with a noble greatness of soul, is said to have told the king: "Sire, if I had been born your subject, I must have obeyed, but as the daughter and sister of an emperor, your majesty must excuse me." The ladies of the court, however, could obtain no such indulgence; they were obliged to pay due homage to the new favourite, and one example of the
effects of resistance was sufficient to induce compliance. The duchess de Grammont, first lady of honour to the queen, being in a box at the opera, the countess de Barré came into it, and attempted to seat herself beside the duchess; but the latter requested the countess to retire, and on her refusal, the duchess rose, curtseying to the people who expressed universal applause, on which she left the box and retired to another. This being reported to the king, she was favoured with a lettre de cachet banishing her to her country seat, at a distance from Paris, during his majesty's pleasure.

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

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

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

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

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

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

But a very singular event, which engaged the attention of all Europe, (as
it threatened a new war between its three principal powers) at this time,
greatly embarrassed the French minister, and his conduct upon the occasion,
was made the ostensible cause of his dismissal. Intelligence arrived in
England, on the 24th of September, by the Favourite sloop of war, that the
Spaniards had forcibly taken possession of his Britannic majesty's settlement
at Fort Egmont, in Fulkland's Island; had made the garrison prisoners of
war, and disgraced the British flag, by unhanging the rudder of a king's ship.
Such a flagrant violation of the treaty of peace, at a time when the most
cordial unity seemed to subsist between the courts of Madrid, Versailles, and
London, could not well be accounted for upon any other supposition, but that
of some secret engagements entered into in consequence of the family-compact,
by which a war was to be commenced by surprise against Great Britain.

While the necessary preparations were making in England, to repel force by
force, in case a negotiation for satisfaction should prove unsuccessful, it is
confidently asserted, that the court of Spain actually intended to break with
England, if France had been ready to second her; and that the Spanish mi-
nistry applied to the court of Versailles to know her intentions, to which
de Choiseul returned for answer, "without the king's knowledge." "That
the king, his master, would be always ready to support the honour of the
house of Bourbon, and to fulfil the solemn engagements he had entered
into by the family-compact." A dispatch to this purport, which had been
forwarded to the French ambassador at Madrid, was copied by a secretary
in the interest of the duke d'Aiguillon and the chancellor, transmitted home,
and by the latter, put into the hands of the countess de Barré, with instruc-
tions to shew it to the king in one of his gloomy hours, and to point to him
in the strongest colours, all the horrors of a war, to be commenced at a time
when the finances were in great disorder, the whole kingdom in a ferment
concerning the parliaments, and the poor almost famished for want of bread.
At the same time, the duke d'Aiguillon circulated a general rumour without
doors, that de Choiseul was going to involve the nation in a war with Eng-
land, on account of a miserable island in South America. The people caught
the alarm, and, to testify their inclination to peace, the general cry at Paris
was, point de guerre! point de Choiseul! no war! no Choiseul! The dis-
mission of the minister was soon after resolved upon by the king, and took
place in the beginning of January, 1771.

His majesty, in the lettre de cachet, (which ordered him to resign his em-
ployments, and to retire to his seat at Chanteloux) expressed in strong
terms, his disapprobation of his conduct latterly; but he was scarce gone
into exile, when the eyes of all Paris were opened, and it was now plainly
discovered, that he was sacrificed to the resentment of the countess; to the
ambition of the duke d'Aiguillon, and to the deep laid scheme of the chancellor, to subvert the ancient constitution of the kingdom. It was publicly known likewise, that the dispatch which had raised such a clamour against him, contained instructions to the French ambassador, to dissuade the court of Madrid from breaking with England; though it was added, that France was bound in honour to support the interests of every branch of the house of Bourbon; but the former part of the letter was artfully suppressed.

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

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

On the 30th of February, the long meditated plan of the chancellor, the author of all the mischief in the kingdom, was carried into execution. The king held a bed of justice, at which an edict was published dividing the jurisdiction of the late parliament of Paris, which extended from Lyons to Arras in Flanders, into six parts, under the denomination of superior courts. Each court to have an equal, separate jurisdiction, and to be established at Arras, Blois, Clermont, Lyons, Poitiers, and Paris. Abuses arising from the two
extensive jurisdiction of the late parliament, were assigned as the reason for
this great alteration. The quality, and appointments of the officers of each
court were settled by the same edict, and the institutions of these tribunals
declared to be perpetual. But never did any measure meet with more gene-
ral disapprobation and resentment. The other parliaments remonstrated;
the provinces that were to be subjected to the new courts, represented, that
it was inconsistent with the edicts of his majesty’s predecessors; and that it
was calculated only to tyrannize over them and their posterity. In fine,
the princes of the blood, and great numbers of the other peers of France, sign-
ed a most animated protest against every step that had been taken to the
prejudice of the constitutional rights of the parliaments. This protest en-
raged the king to such a degree, that it was proposed in council, to banish
the princes and peers who had signed it; but the motion was overruled,
and the final resolution of the court was now taken. The chancellor had
prepared a new code of laws; it was approved by the council, and notwith-
standing the confusion into which the new institution had thrown the city
of Paris, where all law proceedings were at a stand, and the execution of
justice suspended, it was carried into execution, at a bed of justice, held on
the 13th of April. The princes of the blood were summoned to attend; but
as the intention of holding it was declared to be the permanent establish-
ment of the new tribunals, and of Maupau’s code of laws, they all (except the
count de la Marche) wrote letters to the king, purporting, that as they
could not give their votes in favour of the business proposed to be transacted,
they should not be present. The king, incensed to the last degree, forbade
the princes his court; and to shew his subjects that he was determined, at
all events to be master, the duke d’Aiguillon, the very criminal, against
whom justice had been in vain demanded, and on whose account, all the dis-
putes between him and his parliaments had arisen, was made prime minister.
Matters were now brought to a crisis, the rod was put into the hands of a
man equally resentful and ambitious, and instead of limiting his cruelty and
injustice to the province of Brittany, he had it in his power to extend it to
all parts of the kingdom. Accordingly, at Paris, forty-two members of the
criminal court, called the Chatelet, were banished to different places, having
only twenty-four hours allowed them to take leave of their families and
friends; and, in the course of the year, the parliaments of Besançon, Bour-
deau, Aix, Toulouse, and Brittany, were suppressed; but new parliaments,
disposed to acquiescence in the present system, were nominated soon after.
Thus was a revolution accomplished, which fixed a detested favourite in
the seat of government, and rendered the king more absolute than ever, by
a subdivision of the judicial powers immediately dependent on his royal will
and pleasure; but this innovation, sensibly felt by the subjects of France,
has been considered in too serious a light by most English writers. The
parliaments of France by no means resemble those of Great Britain; for, if
we except the power of granting aids to the king, and of registering edicts
for levying taxes, the principal part of their authority is judicial. The parlia-
ment of Paris was little more than a superior court of equity, and of crim-
nal justice; and that abuses were sometimes committed, owing to the too
extensive power and influence of this parliament, must not, for it cannot be
denied. The proceedings on the trial of Lally, are sufficient to justify this
remark. The incompetency of such judges, with respect to military conduct,
was apparent to the whole world. A court martial alone could properly de-
terminate the degrees of his criminality; but this is no plea for plucking up
root and branch; the parliament might have been reformed, but it was over-
turning the ancient seat of justice to suppress it entirely; and the establish-
ment of unlimited despotism was the result, as it had been the object, of this
violent measure.

During these transactions, the king of Sweden died suddenly in the 62d
year of his age, and the prince, who ascended the throne, was at Paris, when
he received the news of his accession. The just apprehension that the dis-
tracted state of the domestic affairs of France, of which this young monarch
had been an eye-witness, might induce him to withdraw his alliance, made
the French ministry, with their usual policy, instantly terminate a negotiation, which had been the chief cause of his journey, and of his long residence at Paris: this was, the payment of the arrears due from France on the subsiding treaty with Sweden; they amounted to six millions of livres. Upon the news of this event, the court of Versailles tendered one fourth of the whole sum in specie, promised payment of the remainder, in three successive annual payments, and renewed the treaty with the young king, who left Paris, thoroughly satisfied with the success of his secret expedition, which had been announced to the world, merely as a journey of amusement.

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

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

The high price of corn at this auspicious moment, occasioned numerous insurrections among the people in the provinces. At Tours they rose to such a height, that the lieutenant of police was thrown into the river by the populace, in the month of March. Twenty-seven villages in the Lower Auvergne, were soon after in arms on the same account; and these disturbances were not yet entirely quelled, when the sudden illness of the king took off the attention of the government from all other objects. His majesty was seized with shivering fits, sickness, and pains in his back, on the 27th of April, being then at Trianon; the next day he was removed, by his own desire, to Versailles, but it does not appear that the physicians of his court had the least suspicion of the small-pox at the commencement of his illness, for his disorder was treated contrary to all the established rules of modern practice in such cases. No wonder, therefore, that nature sunk under the operations of copious bleeding and blistering, which had been advised, on a supposition that the disease was a putrid fever. The eruption of the small-pox appeared on the 29th, in the evening, to the surprise of the whole court, and from this moment, little hopes were entertained of his recovery; every preparation, therefore, was made for the approaching awful change. The last rites of the Roman church were administered, in the presence of the princes of the blood and the great officers of state; and the heralds were summoned to approach the chamber of the dying monarch, two to announce
his decease, which happened on the 10th, and two to proclaim the accession of his successor.

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

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

LETTER VIII.

*View of the Spanish Monarchy—its government—and resources, A. D. 1763—1780.—Glance at Naples and Switzerland.*

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

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

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

(1) See Voltaire's age of Louis XV.—La vie privée de Louis XV.—and Dodgson's Annual Register.—Journal Historique, &c.
which is most immediately in contact with the mass of the people. The pope retained four hundred and fifty-two benefices in his own gift; and the court of Spain deposited one hundred and thirteen thousand scudi in the apostolic chamber, at the ratification of this concordat.

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

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

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

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

This court was always inclined to slow measures; which at least afforded ground to hope, that if it should at length adopt good maxims, it would retain them with proportionate tenacity. But the government was deprived of the guidance of public opinion; for the national voice was stifled by the terrific institutions which we have before described, and the convocation of the cortes was discontinued.

The supreme direction of affairs, under the king, was confided to the council of state: the high council of Castile, consisting of five chambers, resembled the great council in France, or a general directory. Every province was commanded to maintain a correspondence with one of the counsellors of the superior chamber: each province had a district commander, and Upper Navarre a viceroy; each of the commanders was assisted by a council, under which the municipal authorities exercised their powers. The chanceries of Grenada and Valladolid were supreme tribunals of appeal in judicial affairs, and their presidents were appointed by the king. Other supreme tribunals, called audiencias, were established at Oviedo, Seville, and Cordova, and in nine of the cities of the American dominions; one hundred and fifty-three places had municipal constitutions, in which the magistrates appointed the alcaides, or royal judges, as in Castile; or proposed them, as in Arragon. The municipalities ordinarily consisted of twenty-four regidores; but the constitution of the cities had so degenerated, that these offices had become family estates; some of which were considered hereditary, and descended by the rule of primogeniture; some were
THE HISTORY OF

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

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

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

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

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

All the commodities which go from Europe to America are subject to a duty of something more than ten reals for every span which they measure in circumference, provided that their value bears a certain proportion to their bulk; and it is estimated that the imports amount to eleven millions. Foreign goods are subject to a duty ad valorem of twenty-five pounds per cent; but this enormous impost only serves to encourage smuggling. The duty levied on all the goods which are exchanged between the ports of America and that
of Cadiz, is supposed to yield seven hundred thousand piastres; and the customs, together with the alcayvala collected on the continent of America, is valued at two millions and a half.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**NAPLES.**

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

**SWITZERLAND.**

After the states under the sway of the house of Bourbon, the Swiss confederates, who are the most ancient allies of that family, deserve to be next mentioned. The internal administration of the cantons was distinguished by intelligence, probity and vigilance; and their population and opulence increased without interruption. As they were equally destitute of a supreme head and of a permanent representation, they found it easy to avoid being
untangled in the affairs of more powerful states. They dwelt without apprehension in the midst of jealous and powerful rivals; they had no idea of grandezza; and their wishes were confined to the object of remaining in their present condition. Accordingly, they enjoyed a more undisturbed course of prosperity than their brethren: the Venetians and Hollanders had been able to obtain by their wars and negotiations; and preserved more successfully their primitive equality and the simplicity of their manners, which became refined as the national character developed itself.

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

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

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

LETTER IX.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Paraguay is an immense portion of South America, which extends from the capitanía of St. Vincent in Brazil, to the left bank of Rio de la Plata, runs up behind Chili and Peru to the unknown country of the Amazons, and has no fixed limits. This vast country is watered by noble rivers, whose banks were peopled by various savage nations, till the division of South America was made by Spain and Portugal, who alone have any settlements in it. The two courts of Madrid and Lisbon, after a long succession of disputes relative to the limits, not being able to come to any positive determination respecting this country, which no one hitherto had penetrated, and being alarmed with mutual fears respecting mutual encroachments, (the Spaniards fearing for Peru, and the Portuguese for Brazil) they united in
manifesting their confidence in those good fathers, whose indefatigable zeal in propagating the Gospel, appeared to merit such a remuneration. They mutually agreed, therefore, to concede this immense country to the society of Jesuits, with an exact demarcation only of its breadth, as its length has never been discovered.

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

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

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

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

A captain of Spanish dragoons, who was a native of France, the chevalier de Bonneval, found in a village of the mission of Parana, where he commanded after the conquest, the instructions of the order, addressed to the principal Jesuit of the district. They consisted of the three following articles.

1st. “If the bishop of Buenos Ayres, or any other ecclesiastical officer should come to make a pastoral visit, and to interfere in the affairs of the mission, he should be diverted from his purpose by presents, and particularly of the herb of Paraguay. But if it should not be possible to dissuade him from his errand, by such an application to his interest, any and every means must be employed to frustrate the object of it.”

2nd. If the commissary of finances, or any person employed by the king, should come into the country to impose taxes upon it, one half of the people must be sent into the mountains or forests, that he may not know the real population of the village.

3rd. If the governor of Buenos Ayres, or any general or commanding officer should come to visit the villages of the mission, he should be loaded with presents, in order to turn him aside from his design:
and if such means should not succeed, force itself must be employed to re-
sist his pretensions."

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

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

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

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

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

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

Benedict XIV. was one of the most universally beloved of all the popes:
he had obtained the respect of the world by his extraordinary acquirements,
his moderation, prudence, and mildness. During his pontificate, many abuses,
such as the privileges of the asylum, were either abolished, or at least circums-
cribed and undermined by reasonable stipulations, or with the pope's conni-
vance. During this period also, complaints were preferred from many places
of the secret conspiracies of the Romish congregation of the order of Jesuists; and even at that time many scandalous principles were discovered in their confessional precepts and in many of their books of morality, by which that society had thought proper to tranquilize the terrified consciences of sinners, in the practice of vicious pleasures. The holy father either dared not or did not choose to forbid the former; and disallowed the latter with that indifference which is usual to men of the world. It was, moreover, a principle with Benedict XIV. to avoid all contests, because he knew that the spirit of the age afforded no prospect of a successful result to the pontificate from such discussions.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

While he was calmly awaiting the result of these representations, he pursued his duties as a sovereign with the most scrupulous attention. The debt of the state had arisen to the sum of seventy-four millions of scudi: he
introduced a system of rigid economy, and endeavoured to re-animate the neglected arts of agriculture and commerce.

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

LETTER X.

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

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

The constitution of the greater part of the cities of Holland had for a long time been tending toward aristocracy. The council of Amsterdam was formerly chosen by the community of citizens, who afterward allowed the members of that body to usurp their elective privileges: a permanent college was thus established, which perpetuated a system of political maxims, and preserved freedom, peace, and order, by the temperate employment of its powers. The council of Amsterdam consisted of twenty six members, with twelve bargo masters at their head; four were continually in office, three of whom were annually changed, while the fourth remained two years in his post, in order to assist his colleagues, in cases of sudden emergency, by his experience in the current business of the state. The burgo-masters had the supreme direction of the financial department, and the disposal of certain offices; and the manner in which they discharged their offices qualified them in a greater or less degree for the higher dignities of the state. Next to them sat the nine syndics, seven of whom were chosen from among a number of fourteen annually proposed by the senate. This election belonged at different periods of the republic, sometimes to the stadtholder, and sometimes to the burgo-masters. The syndics exercised the office of judges; and, in civil affairs, an appeal lay from their decisions to the court of Holland, and from thence to the land-council. The court of Holland, which had formerly been the tribunal of the counts of that province, and which now consisted of eight deputies from Holland and three from Zealand, took cognizance of feudal causes, the law processes of the nobility, and appeals; and the great land-council of both these provinces, had succeeded to the post of the supreme tribunal, which, under the dukes of Burgundy, had held its sittings at Mecklin. In this country, as in the towns of Switzerland, appeals related only to petty disputes concerning property, and not to cases affecting the life of an accused person, which could only be forfeited under circumstances of great importance, and upon the clearest evidence. The states of Holland and West Friesland consisted of about ten deputies of the nobility; and of the representatives of eighteen towns, twelve of whom received their seats
and votes from the first William of Orange, who wished to attach those bodies by their interests to his cause, and to that of the revolution. The prevalent disposition among the nobility, was an attachment to the house of Orange; but they possessed conjointly only one vote: they were the least wealthy class; and hence the administration of the confiscated ecclesiastical estates, and other offices, were to them objects of desire. These states elected a pensionary councillor, who exercised the functions of president, and could prevent the execution of their resolutions by his veto. In the intervals of the annual assemblies of the states, a commission held two sessions; and in extraordinary contingencies its sittings were permanent. This body was divided into two chambers: that of South Holland consisted of a deputy of the nobility whose office was triennial, of eight triennial representatives of the great cities, and of one annual representative of the smaller towns: that of North Holland, of seven deputies from the cities. All matters were so arranged, that every district of the whole country was provided with a representative well instructed in its own interest.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The stadholder must be a Protestant of the reformed religion if that dignity should descend to a female, the choice of her husband shall be made
by the states-general; but shall in no case fall on a king, or an electoral prince, or on any other than a Protestant of the reformed church. A widow who should hold the office of regent during the minority of her son, was not allowed to marry a second time.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Germany.

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

The ancient body of the German empire continues to be held together, in appearance, by the formularies of the golden bull, the regulations of the
imperial elective compacts, the peace of Westphalia, the decrees of the diet, the ordinances of the imperial tribunals, and the relics of the feudal system.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The electorate of Mayence, comprising a surface of one hundred and twenty-five square miles, contains three hundred and twenty thousand in-
habitants, and possesses a revenue, arising from customs and from territorial imports, of one million five hundred thousand florins. It maintains some thousands of troops; and, as is usual in the armies of such states, a great number of generals.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The imperial cities enjoyed a high degree of prosperity, as long as the commerce between Venice and the North was carried on by way of Augsburg and Nuremberg, but the alteration which has taken place since Venice
and Egypt yielded to the maritime powers, in consequence of the discovery of the passage by the Cape of Good Hope; together with the oligarchal oppressions which have in many instances destroyed the spirit of the citizens, the injurious effects of Catholic and Protestant intolerance, and all the petty policy of the numerous municipal governments, have destroyed their importance. Those communities of citizens so proud of their independence; those vigilant and undaunted defenders of the municipal rights; those members of the empire who were so zealously engaged in efforts to ennoble their condition and to increase their opulence; are lost amid the crowd of powerful and warlike princes, and scarcely to be noticed in Frankfort, Hamburg, and other towns of inferior importance.

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

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

Denmark, a kingdom which formerly gave laws to all Scandinavia, and which, including Norway and Holstein, is superior in extent to the monarchy of Austria, has lost a great part of its power during a long period of peace, under the sway of a succession of weak though benevolent princes. The preservation of the national reputation and the foundation of its prosperity, are to be ascribed to the excellent administrations of the elder and younger counts Bernstorff. The former conferred a most essential benefit on his country; inasmuch as, after the death of the czar, Peter III., who as duke of Holstein had threatened the independence of Denmark, he managed, by negotiation, to extirpate this root of perpetual contention and destructive wars, just at the moment when the ducal family succeeded to the supreme power in the greatest monarchy of the earth: the whole of Holstein was transferred to the court of Denmark; which, in return, gave up Oldenburg and Delmenhorst. These last hereditary estates of the kings of Scandinavia and of the future czars, are inhabited by about seventy-five thousand individuals, and yield an annual produce of scarcely four hundred thousand florins: the court of Petersburg bestowed them on a younger branch of that family which resides at Ethin and administer the secularized bishopric of Lubeck.
But even including Holstein, the population of Denmark scarcely exceeds two millions, and its revenues nine millions of florins; and hence the forty thousand troops and the twenty ships of the line which constitute its military and naval force, cannot be kept in activity during a few campaigns without subsidiary aids.

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

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

LETTER XI.

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

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

From this period we may date a new era in the science of Agriculture in England. Of forty-two millions of acres, which the country is computed to contain, eight millions and a half yielded as much corn, in productive seasons, as would suffice for the maintenance of five millions of its population during five years. All the soil of the country became more productive, in proportion as greater attention was paid to accommodate the mode of culture to the circumstances of each particular district. The incredible increase of pastureage, in thirty years, doubled the exportation. The ordinary annual produce of wool was estimated at one million two hundred thousand pounds.
sterling; and the manufacture of this commodity quintupled its value, and gave employment to one million and a half of persons. In the year 1736, Ireland sent four hundred and fifty thousand ells of linen to the fairs, statelyly held in July and October, in the city of Chester; and in the year 1771, the quantity was doubled; and this was only half the quantity manufactured. The high price of the necessaries of life, and the unequal distribution of certain taxes, having diminished the manufacture of cloth in England, those of Scotland, which in the year 1720, amounted to only three millions of ells, in 1759, produced more than ten millions eight hundred thousand.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In the beginning of July, general Washington arrived at the camp before Boston, which, notwithstanding its deficiency of every kind of stores, the English had made no attempt to molest; but Washington contented himself with continuing the blockade, and accustoming his undisciplined troops
to the fatigues of a military life. The Americans threw up works on another hill on their own side of Charlestown-neck; and securing their posts with strong redoubts, whilst they extended their lines to the fortifications on Boston-neck, they held the British troops closely invested in the peninsula, and rendered their situation very uncomfortable. The troops suffered much from sickness and scarcity of provisions; which last could only be supplied from England, and that at a vast expense; for of the great quantities that were sent, only a small proportion arrived safe and fit for use. The blockade continued through the year, during which nothing more occurred in this quarter that is worthy of record. General Gage returned to England in the month of October, and the chief command of the army devolved on General Howe.

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

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

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

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

While the campaign opened thus auspiciously for Britain in the north, an attempt was made to re-establish her authority in the south. The governors of the several colonies, had represented, that in the middle and southern provinces there was a considerable spirit of loyalty, but that the friends of Britain were afraid to discover their sentiments; and that if a powerful
force were sent from the mother-country to co-operate with them, they would immediately attach themselves to her cause. In consequence of this information, an armament was provided, and placed under the command of Sir Henry Clinton and Sir Peter Parker, with instructions to proceed to North Carolina, from the loyalists of which the most sanguine expectations were entertained.

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

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

"When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature’s God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes that impel them to the separation. It then proceeds to state, that government being an institution for the happiness of the governed, whenever it becomes destructive of that end, it ought to be dissolved. Having laid down this general rule, it proceeds to enumerate the facts which, in the opinion of Congress, prove the British government of their colonies to have been destructive of its end. They allege, that, in every stage of their oppression, they had humbly petitioned the king for redress, but without effect. It is then declared, that "a prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people."—"We have applied, say they, also to our British brethren; we have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement: we have
appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and conjured them, by
the ties of our common kindred, to disavow those usurpations which would
inevitably interrupt our connexion and correspondence: they have been
dead to the voice of justice and of consanguinity; we must therefore acqui-
ence in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we
hold the rest of mankind—in war, enemies; in peace, friends.” The decla-
ration thus concludes:

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

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

On the 22d of August, 1776, the British army landed on Long Island, op-
posite to a large body of Americans which lay encamped near the village of
Brookline. Between the two armies was a ridge of hills intersecting the
island from east to west, through which lay three passes, each of which had
been seized by the Americans, who placed strong detachments to guard them.
In the evening of the 26th the main body of the British army, under gen-
erals Clinton, Percy, and Cornwallis, marched forward to gain the eastern
pass, which they effected without difficulty. At nine the next morning the
action commenced by a cannonade on the right wing of the Americans, and
Clinton, by a successful manœuvre, having turned the left wing, took the
right in the rear, and immediately threw it into confusion. In their retreat
to Brookline, general Sullivan and ten other American officers were taken
prisoners. Their whole loss on this occasion was estimated at three thousand
men, including one thousand prisoners, while not more than three hundred and fifty were lost by the British and Hessians.

During the night of the 20th the Americans withdrew unperceived, and crossed the channel which separates the island from New York, carrying with them their stores and part of their artillery. The British commanders, however, resolved to push their success, and on the 15th of September the troops were landed on the island in which New York is situated, taking up a position about three miles from the town. Washington, finding his troops dispirited by their late defeat, thought proper to abandon the town; and, in his hasty retreat, left behind him both artillery and military stores. The British troops then took possession of the city, which was soon after set on fire by some incendiaries, and nearly a third part of it was reduced to ashes.

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

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

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

But in the midst of these disasters and discouragements, Congress preserved a firm countenance, and retained an unvaried appearance of dignity. On the 4th of October they signed a treaty of perpetual union and confederacy between the thirteen colonies. They also set themselves assiduously to devise means for levying a new army, and providing pecuniary resources for
its support. On the 10th of December they published an address to the people in general, for the purpose of animating them to resistance, exasperating on the relentless and inhuman manner in which, they affirmed, war was carried on by their enemies. The ill success of the American arms began, however, to produce internal effects as much to be dreaded as those of external force. Timidity and discord generally prevailed among them. After the taking of New York, a petition signed by a great number of the inhabitants, was presented to general Howe, declaring their acknowledgment of the supremacy of Great Britain, and requesting to be received into the king's peace and protection; and it was followed by another of a similar tendency from the people of Long Island: several of the leading men in Pennsylvania and the Jerseys also went over to the commissioners at New York. These proceedings induced general Washington to detach three regiments to the place, a measure which gave a check to the movements of the disaffected.

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

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

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

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

Letter XII.

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

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

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

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

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

The British parliament resumed its sittings in the month of November, when the debates turned chiefly on American affairs. The unfortunate result of the Canadian expedition, the plan of which is said to have originated with the officer to whom its execution was intrusted, had not then reached England, or at least was not generally known on this side the Atlantic; but it could not long be concealed, and the development of it subjected the ministry to the most bitter sarcasms and taunting invectives. The lofty style of the British manifesto issued by general Burgoyne on his taking the command of the army, became a fit subject for ridicule. It warned the colonists of the dangers impending over them should they resist his majesty's arms, and rhetorically amplified the terrors of a savage foe let loose upon them. Lord North was styled the political Sangrado, who prescribed bleeding for ills of every description; and who, if mortal symptoms appeared to attend his practice, would still persist in drawing more blood, because his reputation was staked on this effectual remedy. The ministry deprecated the pelting
of this merciless storm, and endeavoured to allay it by apparent dejection, and an acknowledgment that they had been unfortunate. This, however, afforded no reparation for the disgrace which the British arms had sustained; and as the means of investigating whether it ought to be attributed to the ignorance or incapacity of the ministry, lord Chatham moved, that there be laid before the House copies of all orders and instructions given to general Burgoyne relating to the expedition: the motion, however, was negatived.

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

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

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

In the debates which these bills give rise to, the members of opposition inveighed strenuously on their inefficiency at the present moment. They contended, that they were substantially the same that were proposed by the duke of Grafton in 1776, and which, had they been suffered to pass at that time, might have put a stop to farther hostilities; but matters were since that time greatly altered, and much to our disadvantage. There was, however, something like a chance, and they would not impede the execution of a plan which had conciliation for its object. Mr. Fox, in particular, was very severe upon the minister, whose arguments, said he, "might be collected into one point, his excuses comprised in one apology, in one word—ignorance; a palpable and total ignorance of America. He had expected much, and had been disappointed in every thing. Necessity alone had compelled him now to speak out." Mr. Fox then assured the house he had it from unquestionable authority, that a treaty had been signed at Paris, ten days before, between France and the American colonies, whereby the former acknowledged and entered into an alliance with the latter, as an independent state; and he called upon the minister to give the house satisfaction on that interesting point. Lord North reluctantly acknowledged that it was too probable such a treaty was in agitation, though he had no authority to pronounce absolutely that it was concluded. The duke of Grafton, in the house of peers, put the same question to ministers, when lord Weymouth, the secretary of state, answered, "that he knew nothing of any such treaty, nor
had he received any authentic information of its being either in existence or
in contemplation." Yet, a few days afterwards, lord North delivered a
message from his sovereign to the commons, and lord Weymouth to the up-
per house, informing them that "a rescript had been delivered by the am-
basador of his most Christian Majesty, containing a direct avowal of a treaty
of amity, commerce, and alliance, recently concluded with America; in con-
sequence of which offensive communication, his majesty had sent orders to
his ambassador to withdraw from that court; and relying on the zealous
support of his people, he was prepared to exert all the force and resources of
his kingdom to repel so unprovoked and so unjust an aggression." Ad-
dresses were carried through both houses, containing the strongest assurances
of support.

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

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

The grand armies passed the winter near to each other, in a state of total
inaction. The British troops had taken up their quarters at Philadelphia; the
Americans were in huts at Valley Forge. Some predatory expeditions
under taken from Philadelphia in the spring, and others from Rhode Island,
succeeded in the pillage and destruction of American property in the Jer-
seys, and on the banks of the Delaware, to a large amount. The Americans
complained of some of these things as being acts of cruelty and wanton aggression.

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

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

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

The attention of the British government was now directed to the maritime preparations of France; and intelligence was obtained that thirty-two sail of the line, with ten or twelve frigates, were lying in Brest harbour. Great efforts were consequently made to collect a naval force, able to cope with that of the French. Admiral Keppel, who was destined to the command of them, met with no difficulties, and on the 13th of June, having only six sail of the line fit for immediate service, he proceeded to the Bay of Biscay, two French frigates, with two smaller vessels, were descried taking a survey of the fleet. As war had not yet been declared between England and France, it became a matter of delicacy to determine how to act on the occasion: the British admiral, however, thought it his duty to stop the frigates. One of these, the Licorne, having been brought into our fleet, a shot was fired across her way as a signal to her to keep her course, which she returned by firing a whole broadside into a seventy-four gun.
ship, and then struck her colours. Notwithstanding this provocation, not a shot was returned. The other frigate, the Belle Poule, being overtaken by an English frigate, a desperate engagement ensued, in which the English ship was so much disabled in her masts and rigging, that she was unable to prevent her antagonist from escaping to the French coast. Another frigate was detained by admiral Keppel, though he allowed several French merchant ships to pass through the fleet unmolested. Having ascertained the decided superiority of the French fleet in point of numbers, the British admiral, wishing to avoid so unequal a contest, returned to Portsmouth. The seasonable arrival of the West India and Levant fleets produced a supply of seamen, which enabled the admiral to put to sea again, on the 9th of July, with twenty-four ships of the line, and on his way he was joined by six more. The French fleet, about the same time, sailed from Brest in three divisions, under the count D’Orvillieres, commander-in-chief, the count Duchaffault, and the duke de Chartres, afterwards duke of Orleans. The English fleet was also disposed in three divisions: the van commanded by sir Robert Harland, vice-admiral of the red; the rear by sir Hugh Palliser, vice-admiral of the blue; and the centre by admiral Keppel. The two fleets, the English of thirty, and the French of thirty-two ships of the line, and the latter much superior in the number of frigates, came in sight of each other on the 22d of July. After manœuvring several days, during which two of the French line-of-battle ships had been separated from the fleet, an action was brought on upon the 27th, which proved wholly undecided, not a ship being taken on either side, though both fleets were much shattered; of men, the loss was the greatest on the part of the enemy. With so unproductive a result, it can hardly be expected that the country should be satisfied; it gave rise to considerable discussions both in and out of parliament, and the nation seemed not a little disappointed and dissatisfied. The French, on the contrary, considered it as a triumph that they came off on equal terms from a contest with the British navy. The latter, however, soon afterwards, displayed its usual superiority. Admiral Keppel, after refitting, put to sea again, and rode triumphant in the Channel for the remainder of the season, effectually protecting the English commerce, whilst that of the French suffered much from captures by the British cruisers.

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

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

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

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

The occurrences of the war, in 1779, were not so important as to require
any particular detail. The commander of the British forces in North Ame-
rica did not undertake any memorable expedition; but he prevented general
Washington from profiting by the inactivity of the British army. He dis-
patched a small force to Virginia, which succeeded in capturing or destroy-
ing many of the American vessels, and considerable military stores; he dis-
possessed them of some forts on the river Hudson; and the province of
Connecticut was furiously ravaged, without bringing Washington to its re-
 lief. To punish the savages for the cruelty which they had perpetrated
either by the direction or with the connivance of the English, Washington
dispatched general Sullivan toward the Susquehanna, and eighteen villages
were destroyed in this incursion. In the north, the American marine suffered
considerably. A British detachment, from Halifax, having established a
post on the river Penobscot, the Americans equipped a force, consisting of
ninety-seven armed vessels, which sailed from Boston, and arriving in the
river on the 25th of July, began to batter the fort. The attacks were con-
tinued for a fortnight, when Sir George Collier, with a squadron from New York, coming in sight, the Americans instantly left their works, and their vessels ran up the river. They were, however, pursued, and finding escape impracticable, they set fire to their vessels, all of which were destroyed, except one of twenty guns and another of eighteen both of which were captured by the English.

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

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

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

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

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

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

LETTER XIII.

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

You have already been apprised of the tumultuous proceedings that took place in Scotland, A. D. 1780, in consequence of the intimation that had been given of a repeal of the penal laws against the Catholics. An association was formed in that country, having for its object to guard against any relaxation of the penal statutes against the adherents to the church of Rome, at the head of which was lord George Gordon, brother of the duke of Gordon, a man of singular character, compounded of enthusiasm, artifice, and folly. Mainly through his exertions a spirit was excited in the British metropolis, as hostile to the repeal of those laws as that which had appeared in the mobs of Edinburgh and Glasgow. As early as January 4th, a deputa-
tion from a body calling itself the Protestant Association, of which lord George was the patron or president, waited on lord North, to request him to present a petition to parliament against the law which had passed in favour of the English Catholics; but with that request his lordship absolutely refused to comply. During the subsequent session of parliament, lord George Gordon, who was a member of the house of commons, frequently interrupted its business by the introduction of topics relative to religion and the danger from popery, and by dividing the house on questions in which he stood entirely or almost alone. His dress and manner were equally singular with his language; but he was regarded by the house rather as an object of amusement than of any serious apprehension. The association in London, however, appears to have been secretly increasing in numbers; and on May 29th a meeting called by public advertisement having been held at Coachmaker's-hall, lord George Gordon took the chair, and made a vehement and inflammatory harangue, in which he endeavoured to persuade his auditors of the alarming progress of popery in the kingdom; and concluded by moving a resolution, that the whole body of the Protestant association should, on the following Friday, accompany him to the house of commons for the delivery of their petition. He declared that he would not present it if attended by fewer than twenty thousand men; and moved that they should be arranged in four divisions, one of them composed of the Scotch residents in London, and all distinguished by wearing blue cockades. These motions were all carried with great applause; and in addition to this public procedure, lord George gave notice to the house of commons of his intention to deliver the petition, with the day and manner in which it would be done.

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

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

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

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

On the return of the English fleet into port, admiral Geary resigned the command into the hands of admiral Darby, it having been previously refused by admiral Barrington. In the month of September the Channel fleet put to sea again, and in November fell in with a French squadron, much superior in number, but in so wretched a condition, that neither party seem-
ed disposed to engage; and after exchanging a few shots, the fleets separated without injuring each other.

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

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

On the 21st of September, André was landed by night from a British sloop of war, and was received by Arnold, who conducted him to his camp, where he remained during that night and the following day. The British uniform, which he wore under his sюртук, was now exchanged for a common dress; and Arnold not having it in his power to convey him back by the way in which he came, he was sent on the second night through a remote part of the camp, provided with a horse and passport, and under the name of Anderson, to explore his way back to New York. He passed the outpost of the army in safety; but on the following morning, he was stopped by three young volunteers, who examined his passport. At first they appeared satisfied, but suspicions occurring to the mind of one of them, he was more strictly examined, and, unaccustomed to deception, he disclosed himself by attempting to bribe his captors with a large sum of money, which, though in a humble rank of life, they honourably refused. André was consequently led to head-quarters, where papers were found upon him in Arnold's hand-writing, containing exact returns of the troops and ordinance at West-point, with a variety of information of what had passed at a council of war; but nothing could be obtained from him respecting the writer, till Arnold was apprised of his danger, and had time to escape. The commanders of the British forces, finding that André was detected and in custody, demanded his release on various grounds;
but general Washington summoned a council of officers to determine on the case. André's own confession was sufficient to fix upon him the character of a spy; and the dangerous extent of the attempted treachery, in their opinion, prohibited any relaxation of the punishment attached to it by the laws of war. The unfortunate officer only deprecated the ignominious mode in which he was doomed to forfeit his life; but, though he was treated in every other respect with humane sympathy, his sentence was rigorously executed, and not the smallest remission of it could be obtained. He met his unhappy fate with the bravery of a man and a soldier, and his memory was honoured with a monument in Westminster Abbey. Arnold, who had made good his escape to the British army, was made a brigadier-general, and now declared the most violent hostility to the American cause.

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

An affair happened in the month of September which proved of considerable political importance, in as much as it developed the hostile views of the States of Holland towards Great Britain. The Mercury, an American packet, having been captured by the Vestal frigate, Mr. Laurens, late president of the American Congress, was found on board; and his papers, which had been thrown overboard and dexterously fished up again, disclosed the sketch of a treaty of amity and commerce between the States-general and the American provinces. Mr. Laurens was brought to England on the 5th of October, and committed to close confinement in the Tower, under a charge of high-treason as a British subject. On his examination he declined answering questions, but his papers furnished sufficient information of the projected treaty, which he was bringing to a conclusion with M. Van Berkel, the grand pensionary, who was the ostensible party on the side of Holland. Sir Joseph Yorke, the British ambassador at the Hague, was instructed to lay those papers before the States-general, with a strong memorial, in the way of complaint, respecting such a correspondence carried on with his majesty's rebellious subjects, at the same time demanding a formal disavowal on the part of the States, and the punishment of Van Berkel, as well as the other persons engaged in it. No immediate answer was given to this memorial, but a counter remonstrance was made by the Dutch minister in London, respecting some violence said to have been committed at the Dutch West India Island of St. Martin, in seizing some American vessels under the cannon of the fort. A second memorial was presented to the States by sir Joseph Yorke in December, requiring a categorical answer; and no other being given than that the States had taken the matter ad referendum, the English ambassador was ordered to withdraw from the Hague, and war was declared against Holland on the 20th of December. Thus way Great Britain engaged with a fourth enemy, without a single ally.
The country had now been engaged in a war with the colonists between five and six years; and so far were we from attaining the object in pursuit of which we set out, that, at the end of each succeeding year, the cause became less and less hopeful. It has frequently been contended, that the war was a popular one, both at the commencement and during the progress of the contest; but the assertion wants proof; and when referred to the general sense of the country, may reasonably be doubted. That many individuals besides the court lent their sanction to the measure, is unquestionably true; but the opponents of the war, both among the middle and lower classes, appear to have been more numerous, though the minister was very successful in securing his confiding majorities in both houses of parliament. But the warmth with which the enterprise had been undertaken, had now, in many minds, given place to more sober reflection; and the want of success, connected with the enormous expenditure to which the country was necessarily subjected in carrying it on, to say nothing of the defeat and disaster that it entailed upon England, began at this juncture to open the eyes of many, both in and out of parliament, who had hitherto blindly lent their support to the measures of the cabinet; and they resolved to exert their influence in putting an end to the contest.

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

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

Of the military occurrences, the first that claims our notice was a renewed attempt of the French on the island of Jersey. The baron de Rullecourt landed about eight hundred men on the 6th of January, and leaving a part of them in a redoubt in Gronville-bay, which he had surprised, proceeded with the rest, before day-break, to the town of St. Helier, which he entered without opposition, and took possession of the market-place. Having made prisoners of the lieutenant-governor, the magistrates and principal inhabitants, he dictated a capitulation to the whole island, threatening instant destruction to the town should his proposition be refused. The capitulation
was accordingly signed by the lieutenant-governor, who appears to have been panic-stricken, and to have lost all presence of mind on the occasion. Elizabeth Castle was then summoned by the French commandant, but the officers in the garrison refused to pay any regard to a surrender made under such circumstances, and fired on the French troops as they advanced. In the mean time, the militia and other force which the neighbourhood supplied was collected by major Pierson, a spirited young officer, who disposed them advantageously on the heights above the town; and to a message from Rullecourt, requiring him to comply with the terms of the capitulation, he replied by saying, that if he and his troops did not surrender themselves prisoners of war within twenty minutes, they should be attacked. This event followed: the French were driven from street to street to the marketplace, where their commanding officer, who had obliged the lieutenant-governor to stand close by his side, fell under several mortal wounds. Major Pierson, too, in the moment of victory, received a shot through the heart, and his death was a circumstance which threw a damp upon a success that was rendered complete by the capture or destruction of the whole of the invading party.

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

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

Though the town itself must necessarily have suffered severely by the cannonading that was so furiously kept up upon it during the whole summer months, the damage was thought too trifling to give any concern to the de-
fenders; but the duty and fatigue of the garrison were extremely great. The inhabitants about three thousand in number, consisting of two thousand Catholics and one thousand Jews, took the earliest opportunity of retiring from a situation so full of danger, and removed either to England or the adjacent countries. And the Spaniards began to find, that though they might destroy the lives and property of individuals, they could not secure their object by all their efforts, which were consequently suspended towards the close of the summer.

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

Though the spirit of loyalty, which the victory obtained at Camden had revived in the Carolinas, received a check by the defeat and death of major Ferguson; lord Cornwallis was nevertheless so considerably reinforced by the accession of two thousand six hundred men from England, under the command of general Leslie, that he still cherished the hope of penetrating from the South into North Carolina. He also relied upon obtaining consi-
considerable support, and succours from the army of the North. The reduction of Charlestown, and the submission of South Carolina, were considered by ministers as a happy presage of the success which was to crown the British arms with glory during this campaign, and of the desire of the colonists to return to their connexion with the mother-country. Unhappily, the exaggerated statements of deserters were received by them as the most authentic testimony. The defection of general Arnold, too, was another circumstance which tended to strengthen their hopes of recovering the colonies. They considered his manifesto, which described both the weakness and discontent of the American army, as unquestionable evidence. On such superficial views and feeble reasoning were their expectations and plans founded. It was thought that general Clinton, in consequence of the reported weakness and disaffection of Washington's army, would not only be able to afford that body full employment in the vicinity of New York, but also to co-operate powerfully with the army of the South, subdue such of the Americans as were still refractory, and enable the well-affected to declare their sentiments, and assert their loyalty. Such was the theory on which the plan of the campaign was constructed. Its prominent object was, that lord Cornwallis should traverse the intervening provinces, unite his force with Arnold, and penetrating into Virginia, attack the marquis de la Fayette, an active partisan of the Americans, while sir Henry Clinton should, in the North, oppose general Washington and count Rochambeau, commander of the French troops in that quarter.

Lord Cornwallis, who had been making preparations even before the close of the former year, began to put his army in motion as early as the month of January, and advanced towards the borders between the Broad and the Catawba rivers, whilst general Greene, an officer of high reputation, who had succeeded general Gates on the resignation of the latter, made a diversion on Fort Ninety-six at the same time. Colonel Morgan, who had acquired distinction as a partisan in the northern war, advanced with a force of Virginian regulars and militia upon the Pacolot river. General Tarleton, who was on that side with his legion of cavalry and light infantry, with some other troops, was directed to attack Morgan's detachment. He accordingly advanced upon the latter, who retreated, till finding himself unable, without great danger, to cross the Broad river, which, owing to the swelling of the waters, had overflowed its bounds, he on the 18th of January took his ground for an engagement. Posting his men with great judgement, he received the impetuous attack of Tarleton in such a manner, that the forces of the latter, by an unexpected charge, were thrown into irretrievable disorder, and totally defeated with great loss. Tarleton rallied a part of his cavalry, and repelling an attack of that of the enemy, succeeded in bringing them away. On hearing of his defeat, lord Cornwallis dispatched a part of his army to intercept Morgan, but without success. Afterwards, divesting himself of every incumbrance, he pursued general Greene, who retreated before him. A long and fatiguing march ensued, in which hardships of every kind were experienced by the British army, and sustained with the greatest courage and perseverance, whilst in all the skirmishes to which they became exposed from hostile parties on their march, they proved victorious. At length, on the 16th of March, lord Cornwallis came in view of Greene's army, drawn up in line of battle, near Guilford Court-house, in number much exceeding his own. An engagement accordingly took place: the action was long, greatly diversified, and ably contested. It ended in the rout and retreat of the Americans, whom, however, the British army was not in a condition to pursue; and Cornwallis found it necessary to draw back his fatigued troops to the vicinity of Wilmington, in North Carolina, which town had previously been reduced by an expedition from Charlestown, and where they arrived on the 7th of April. The victory proved to be a dear bought one on the part of the British; their loss amounted to nearly a third of their whole strength; and indeed the whole fruits of the victory were insignificant, though the price was high, as the victorious general, instead of advancing, was obliged to leave a number of his wounded to the care of the enemy, and to proceed
for safety, and the bare necessaries of life, on a dreary march of six hundred miles, through woods, creeks, and morasses, in a wild, inhospitable, and hostile country, in which he had to encounter the severest hardships.

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

After the battle of Guilford, Lord Cornwallis had marched to Wilmington, in North Carolina, from whence he proceeded in his intended expedition into Virginia. His progress was for some time unresisted, and signalized by the destruction of all the stores and military resources by which the enemy had organized their resistance in that province. At Halifax he defeated some of the enemy's troops, and in less than a month he made good his march from Wilmington to Petersburg. On the 20th of May he formed a junction with the army which Phillips had commanded, and had the further
The gratification of finding it reinforced by one thousand eight hundred men, from the headquarters of General Clinton. The only force which his lordship had to encounter in Virginia, was that under the command of La Fayette—a force so indifferently appointed, that in writing his military dispatches, his lordship expressed the most unqualified assurance of being able to overtake and subdue them. The marquis, however, not only eluded pursuit, but contrived incessantly to harass the outposts of the British, till the accumulating misfortunes of the British cause enabled him to change his desultory warfare into a more effective plan of hostilities.

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

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

Conceiving it impossible that sir Henry Clinton could be so completely
outwitted as he evidently was, lord Cornwallis expected speedy succours, and
made the most vigorous dispositions for defending himself till they should
arrive: he contracted his posts, and concentrated his means of defence, while
the enemy instantaneously occupied those positions which the British gene-
ral had abandoned. The trenches were opened by both armies in the night
between the 6th and 7th of October; the batteries were covered with little
less than one hundred pieces of heavy ordnance; and their attacks were
carried on with the utmost energy. In a few days most of the British guns
were silenced, and the defence rendered hopeless. An express, however,
having arrived from New York, informing lord Cornwallis that he might
rely on receiving immediate succours, he strenuously persevered in his re-
sistance. Two redoubts on the left of the British greatly impeded the pro-
gress of the siege. The second parallel of the enemy being now finished,
they resolved to open their batteries on those works on the 14th of October.
The British forces employed every effort to defend the fortifications, but
were overborne by the immense superiority of number. Lord Cornwallis
saw that it would be impossible to withstand a general assault, for which the
enemy was now prepared. Finding no succours likely to arrive, and himself
surrounded on every side, he conceived a design of forcing his way through
a part of the enemy, and making his escape; but on mature deliberation, he
found it would be impossible to effect it. Thus hemmed in by a very supe-
rior army, through no rashness of his own, but in the skilful and vigorous
execution of his part of a concerted plan, this brave general had no alterna-
tive, but either to sacrifice his gallant army without answering any purpose,
or to surrender. On the latter of these he at last resolved; and on the 19th
of October surrendered by an honourable capitulation. The army, consisting
of between five thousand and six thousand men, capitulated to general
Washington; but such was the number of sick and wounded, that there were
only three thousand eight hundred capable of bearing arms: the vessels in
the harbour surrendered to count de Grasse. At length sir Henry Clinton
set out from New York to attempt the relief of lord Cornwallis, two months
after the departure of Washington and Rochambeau had left him at liberty
to proceed to the relief of the distressed army. He brought with him seven
thousand land forces, with a fleet which was now reinforced by admiral
Digby, consisting of twenty-five ships of the line. He had previously in-
formed lord Cornwallis, that the fleet might be expected to sail from New
York on or about the 5th of October; and afterwards, from the assurances
given him by the admiral, that it might pass the bar by the 13th of October,
wind and weather permitting. Yet the fleet did not finally leave Sandy-
Hook till the 19th, the day on which lord Cornwallis surrendered! The
troops were embarked, and the fleet put to sea; but it was with extreme
mortification that, when it arrived off the Capes of Virginia on the 24th
of the month, they received such accounts as led them to believe that the fate
of the unfortunate army was already decided. They, however, lingered off
the mouth of the Chesapeake until the fact was placed beyond all dispute;
and as the relief of lord Cornwallis and his army had been the sole object of
the expedition, the admiral determined to return to New York. The last
letter written by lord Cornwallis to the commander-in-chief, acquainting
him with the surrender of the posts of York and Gloucester, and relating the
cause that led to that event, with the motives which had influenced his own
conduct, produced a difference between them, which terminated in an appeal
to the public.

Such was the fate of the gallant southern army and its brave commander,
from whose skilful enterprises, and well-earned reputation, the most sanguine
hopes were entertained, that the most valuable of the colonies would
be recovered, and that the war with them would be brought to a successful
termination. The experience which he had derived during his residence
there, fully satisfied him, that the information on which the minister and his adherents relied, respecting the friendly disposition of the Americans towards his country, was utterly unfounded; that every attempt to recover the country through the Americans themselves was chimerical, as much as every idea of reducing it by force. He was now convinced, that the plan had been concerted upon mistaken principles; and he had himself fatally learned, that though he, and the troops under his command, had done their utmost, there was almost an equal deficiency of support and co-operation for its execution. The surrender at York Town was the concluding scene of offensive war with America. All the profuse expenditure of British wealth, all the mighty efforts of British power, all the splendid achievements of British valour, though guided by British talents and skill, proved ineffectual: the momentous exertions of a war so wasteful of blood and treasure, were for ever lost.

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

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

While the English fleet lay in Torbay waiting reinforcements, the French admiral conceived the project of attacking them in that station, but was overruled by his Spanish colleague. The latter represented the state both of the ships and men, of whom, and of the Spaniards in particular, great numbers were sick, as depriving them in reality of that superiority which they possessed in appearance. They therefore directed their attention solely to the interception of British merchandise, an object which the vigilance of admiral Darby, as soon as he began his cruise upon the coast, suf-
iciently prevented; and the equinoctial gales coming on soon afterwards, the combined fleets were glad to separate, the French returning to Brest, and the Spaniards to their own coast. The British fleet returned to Plymouth in November, having safely conducted our homeward-bound convoy from the Atlantic.

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

The war, though by this time very adverse to Holland in other quarters, had not produced in Europe any decisive engagement with that power. To watch their motions, and annoy their commerce in the north, admiral Parker was dispatched from Portsmouth with four ships of the line, and one of fifty guns. After sailing, he was further joined by several other ships, which augmented his force to six sail of the line, viz. one of eighty guns, two of seventy-four, one sixty-four, one sixty, one fifty, and a frigate of forty-four guns, which the admiral was obliged through necessity, to admit as a ship of the line. The Dutch admiral, Zoutman, with a valuable convoy for the north, had sailed from the Texel with eight ships of the line, mounting from seventy-four to fifty-four guns, and ten frigates. He was also joined by a large American frigate, carrying on one deck thirty-six forty-two pounders, and as large in length as a ship of the line. Early in the morning of the 5th of August 1781, the hostile fleets came in sight of each other on the Dogger-bank, and, without any manoeuvring or delay, approximated within pistol-shot to one of the bloodiest actions that ever was fought between the same number of ships. After a cannonade of three hours and forty minutes, both fleets lay like logs in the water, incapable of action or mutual annoyance; and it could only be determined which of them had the preferable claim to victory, by comparing the destruction of ships and havock of men on either side. The English counted one hundred and four killed, and three hundred and fifty-nine wounded. The Dutch did not acknowledge their
full loss, but it appeared by authentic private intelligence, that it exceeded eleven hundred men, in killed, wounded, and drowned. One of their sixty-eight gun ships sunk in the night after the engagement; and by the circumstance of the English having brought off her colours, it appears that the action off the Dogger-bank was, on the whole, in favour of the English arms. The other large ships belonging to the Dutch squadron were rendered almost unfit for repair. Admiral Zoutman returned to the Texel; but neither himself nor his convoy presumed afterwards to proceed on their destination. Though in this, as in Kempenfeldt’s affair, the public applauded the valour of their seamen, yet they were extremely dissatisfied with the conduct of the admiralty, in allotting to admiral Parker so small a force, when the object was so important, and the acquisition might have been rendered so secure and easy. The admiral himself justly complained of this circumstance, and, openly censuring the admiralty, resigned his command.

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