THE

HISTORY

OF

MODERN EUROPE.

PART IV.

FROM THE TREATY OF AMIENS, IN 1802, TO THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER, THE RUSSIAN EMPEROR, IN 1825.

LETTER I.

Sketch of the Politics of Europe, from the general pacification in 1802, to the renewal of hostilities between England and France, in June 1803.—Napoleon created consul for ten years—afterwards for life.—Expedition to St. Domingo—Its total failure.—Reflections on this event.—Renewal of war.

The war which had now so long raged between France and the nations of Europe, had unfortunately terminated in an enormous aggrandizement of the former, sufficient to render her an object of alarm and dread to her neighbours; nevertheless, the continental states, harassed and impoverished by a long and disastrous contest, eagerly grasped at the blessings of peace. The measures of the first consul, however, were not much calculated to authorize a hope of its long continuance. For, scarcely had the preliminaries been signed, when he procured the office of president of the Italian republic to be vested in his own hands, and a new constitution was formed, which conferred upon him the whole executive and nearly the whole legislative authority, though the independence of that republic was one of the stipulations of the treaty of Lunéville. He had subverted the independence of Switzerland, and annexed the Pays de Vaud to the dominions of France; and early in February, 1802, he sent general Thureau into the adjacent state of the Valais, who suppressed all the constituted authorities, and possessed himself of the public treasury and the archives of government. A communication of the most menacing nature was at the same time sent from the first consul to the canton of Berne, and all Switzerland began to apprehend either her speedy reduction by force of arms, or the imposition of a constitution which would eventually degrade her into a province of France.

During the interval from the battle of Marengo to the general pacification. Buonaparte was principally occupied in settling the people, in diminishing the number of the discontented, and in restoring to the state the displaced factions. He was very complaisant to the parties who renounced their systems, and very prodigal of his favours to the leaders who renounced their parties. Numbers of the proscribed were recalled, and the war of La Vendée
was finally terminated. Some of the Chouans, however, who had taken
refuge in England, and who despaired of ever being able to resume their sta-
tion and property, while he, in whom was obviously concentrated the powers
of the revolution, survived, projected his assassination. A party of these
wretched beings having landed on the coast of France, made their way pri-
vately to Paris; but finding it impossible to obtain access to the first consul,
they devised a scheme which was truly horrible! The original design of the
conspirators, seems to have been to poison him when he visited the opera;
but this being discovered by one of the number, a new project of greater in-
genius and deeper contrivance was formed. This was the construction of
what has been denominated the internal machine, consisting of a barrel filled
with gunpowder, into which was inserted a match, so as to cause an explo-
sion at the appointed moment. This machine was placed in a cart, and drawn
into the street called the Rue Nicaise. On the evening of the 24th of De-
cember, a celebrated piece was to be performed at the opera, at which it was
expected that Napoleon would be present. You shall have the account of
this singular affair in his own words, as furnished by Mr. Barry O'Meara, in
his *Voice from St. Helena."

"It was about Christmas time, and great festivities were going on. I had
been greatly occupied with business all the day, and in the evening found
myself sleepy and tired. Josephine came down some time after, and in-
sisted that I should go to the theatre. I got up much against my inclina-
tion, and went in my carriage accompanied by Lannes and Bessières. I
was so drowsy that I fell asleep in the coach. I was asleep when the ex-
losion took place, and I recollect, when I awoke, experiencing a sensation
as if the vehicle had been raised up, and was passing through a great body
of water. The contriver of this plot was a man of the name of St. Regent
Imolan, a religious man, who has since gone to America and turned priest,
and some others. They procured a cart and a barrel, resembling those
with which water is supplied through the streets of Paris, with this excep-
tion, that the barrel was placed crossways. This was filled with gunpow-
der, and placed nearly in the turning of the street through which I was to
pass. That which saved me was, my wife's carriage being the same in
appearance as my own, and there being a guard of fifteen men to each.
Imolan did not know which of the carriages I was in, nor was he certain
that I should be in either of them. In order to ascertain this he stopped
forward to look into the carriage, and assure himself of my presence. One
of my guards, a great tall strong fellow, impatient and angry at seeing a
man stopping up the way and staring into the carriage, rode up and gave
him a kick with his great boot, which knocked him down. Before he could
get up, the carriage had passed a little on. Imolan, probably thrown into
confusion by his fall and by his intentions, not perceiving that the car-
riage had passed, ran to the cart, and exploded his machine between the
two carriages. It killed the horse of one of my guards, and wounded the
 rider, knocked down several houses, and killed and wounded about forty
or fifty gaping people (badauds) who were gazing to see me pass. The
police collected together all the fragments of the cart and the machine, and
invited all the workmen in Paris to come and look at them. The pieces
were recognized by several: one said, I made this, another that, and all
agreed that they had sold them to two men who were Ins Brétons, but
nothing more could be ascertained. Shortly after, the hackney coachmen
and others of that description, gave a great dinner in the Champs Elysées
to Caesar, my coachman, thinking that he had saved my life by his skill and
activity at the moment of the explosion, which was not the case, for he was
drunk at the time; it was the guardman who saved it by knocking the
fellow down. At this dinner they all took their bottle freely and drank
to Caesar's health. One of them, when he was drunk said, 'Cesar, I know
the man who attempted to blow the first consul up the other day. In
such a street, in such a house, (naming them) I saw on that day a cart,
like a water cart, coming out of a passage, which attracted my attention,
as I had never seen one there before. I observed the man and the horse,
"'and should know them again.' The minister of the police was accordingly "sent for; the man was interrogated, and brought them to the house which "he had mentioned, where they found the measure with which the conspir- "ators had put the powder into the barrel, with some of the powder still "adhering to it. The master of the house, on being questioned, said, that "there had been people there for some time, whom he took to be smugg- "lers; that on the day in question they had gone out with the cart, which "he supposed to contain a loading of smuggled goods. He added that they "were Bas Bretons, and that one of them had the appearance of being master "over the other two. Having now obtained a description of their persons, "every search was made for them, and St. Regent and Carbon were taken, "tried, and executed."

It was more especially after the peace of Amiens that Buonaparte laid the foundation of his future power. In the memoirs published under his own name, he tells us that "the ideas of Napoleon were fixed, but to realize them "he required the assistance of time, and of events. The organization of the "consulate was perfectly consistent with these; it produced unity, and this "was a first step. This step gained, Napoleon was entirely indifferent to "the forms and denominations of the different constituted bodies. He was "a stranger to the revolution—his wisdom was to march on his way, without "deviating from a fixed point, the polar star by which Napoleon was taking "his direction, in order to conduct the revolution to the harbour where he "wished it to repose."(1) At the commencement of 1802 he was advancing simultaneously three grand projects, all of which tended to the same object. The first of these was the re-establishment of the Catholic religion in France. The national convention, which had abolished public worship, had subsequently restored it; but France still remained in a state of schism from the communion of the Romish church. The first consul, seeing the necessity of a national religion, now wished to constitute the clergy, which had as yet only a religious existence; he therefore applied himself to the reformation and re-establishment of the church, and a plan for that purpose was concerted with the pope. On the 6th of April 1802, Buonaparte, no longer dreading opposition, submitted the concordat for the acceptance of the assemblies, which he had thus prepared for obedience, and it was adopted by a very great majority. The observance of the sabbath and of the four grand festivals was restored, and from this moment the government ceased to follow the decen- nary system. This was the first abandonment of the republican calendar. The object of the first consul in this was to attach to himself the clergy of France, the office most disposed for passive obedience, and thus to balance the clergy against the royalist opposition, and the pope against the interests of the coalition. The principal articles of the concordat were the re-estab- lishment of the free exercise of the Roman-catholic religion in France—a new division of the dioceses by the pope, in concert with the French govern- ment—the first consul to nominate the archbishops, and bishoprics of the new division; and the prelates, previous to an entrance on their functions, to take an oath of fidelity to the French republic—the bishops to appoint the curés, subject, however, to the confirmation of the government—the pope in no manner to disturb the possessors of alienated ecclesiastical effects—catholic permitted to make endowments of churches. Articles were at the same time drawn up for the regulation of the Protestant worship in France. Such is an outline of this curious document, the concordat, which was inaugurated with great pomp, in the church of Notre-Dame. The senate, the legis- lative body, the tribune, the principal functionaries, assi-ted at this new ceremony. Napoleon proceeded there in the carriages of the ancient court, with all the circumstances of etiquette pertaining to the ancient monarchy; discharges of artillery announced this return of privilege and this essay of royalty. A pontifical mass was celebrated by the cardinal legate, Caprara, who, in a complimentary address to the first consul, was pleased to say that

(1) Memoirs for a History of France, under Napoleon, written at St. Helena, tom. i. p. 248.
"the same hand which gained battles, and which signed peace with all nations, restores splendour to the temples of the true God, re-edifies his altars, and re-establishes his worship." A proclamation was addressed to the people couched in language to which they had lately been strangers. "It was to the sovereign pontiff," they were now told, "that reason, and the example of ages, taught them to recur, for the purpose of reconciling their animosities, and producing union in their sentiments. The head of the church had weighed, in his wisdom, and in the interests of the church, the propositions which the interest of the state had dictated!" In the evening there was an illumination and concert in the garden of the Tuileries. The military presented themselves very reluctantly at the ceremony of the inauguration, and somewhat haughtily manifested their disapprobation. On the return to the palace, Napoleon enquired of general Delmas, how he liked the ceremony? "It was a beautiful piece of devotion," replied Delmas: "there was nothing missing but the million of men who have lost their lives in order to destroy that which you are restoring." Thus, to the civil and military honours of the fortunate adventurer, was now added that of being a champion of the Christian church.

The concordat being signed and ratified, it was next presented to the legislative assembly, and Portalis, who acted as minister for ecclesiastical affairs, delivered a speech adapted to the occasion. In this politico-religious harangue, he took an extensive review of the state of the republic in reference to religion for some time prior to the new establishment. He insisted on the necessity of morals to the welfare of a nation, and thence deduced the propriety of national instruction. He demonstrated, that it was the interest of the government to protect religious institutions, arguing that he conceived an establishment to be the best means of preventing superstition and fanaticism, and absolutely necessary to the civilisation of the human race. He shewed that the Christian religion had produced a most salutary effect on the manners of Europe; and that if the mariner's compass had laid open the world, Christianity had civilized it. In regard to the re-establishment of the Catholic worship in preference to any other, he contended that it was more prudent to establish a religion which was sanctioned by time and the respect of the people, than to adopt any other or to invent a new system. When the concordat was ratified by the legislature and formally promulgated, it was received with universal acclamation. The churches were crowded and the restoration of the ceremonies seemed to proclaim the re-establishment of the principles of religion. But the shock which the hierarchy had received, was productive of effects that were not easily removed. The rulers of France had assumed the power of modifying the state of religious worship at their pleasure. They had formerly declared it to be an imposition on popular credulity, and they now ordered it to be re-established. The obvious conclusion was, that they regarded it merely in the light of an engine of state policy; and that the people were authorized to form their own estimate of its importance. Such a politico-religious drama, so long carried on, had an evident tendency to render infidelity prevalent in France.

On the 15th of May, 1802, a month after the ratification of the concordat, Buonaparte caused to be presented a law relative to the creation of a legion of honour; a permanent military order in the army. This legion was to be composed of fifteen cohorts of dignitaries for life, arranged hierarchically, having a centre, an organization, and revenues. The first consul was the chief of the legion: each cohort was composed of seven grand officers, twenty commanders, thirty officers, and three hundred and fifty legionnaires. Thus he sought to establish a new aristocracy; and for that purpose he addressed himself to the sentiment of inequality, which had been but imperfectly extinguished. In discussing this project of law in the council of state, he fearlessly made known his aristocratical intentions. Berlier, a councillor of state, having expressed his opposition to an institution so contrary to the spirit of the republic, his disapprobation of an institution so contrary to the spirit of the republic, his disapprobation of an institution so contrary to the spirit of the republic, his disapprobation of an institution so contrary to the spirit of the republic, his disapprobation of an institution so contrary to the spirit of the republic, said that "distinctions were the baubles of monarchy." "I defy you," rejoined Napoleon, "to shew me a republic, ancient or modern, in which there were no distinctions. You spoke of baubles. Well! it is by baubles that we..."
delude mankind. I should not say this to a tribune; but in a council of sages and statesmen we ought to say every thing. I do not believe that the French people love liberty and equality. The French are not changed by ten years of revolution—they have only one sentiment, namely, honneur. We must therefore nourish this sentiment; we must create distinctions. Do you see how the people prostrate themselves before the ribbons and stars of foreigners? They have been surprised by these baubles—nor do they fail to wear them. We have destroyed every thing; we must now rebuild. We have a government—nor are we destitute of authorities; but the rest of the nation—what is it? Grains of sand. We have in the midst of us ancient privileges, organized from principles and interests. I can enumerate our enemies; but, for ourselves, we are scattered without a system, without union, without contact. So long as I live, I can answer for the welfare of the republic; but we must provide for the future. Do you think that the republic is finally settled? If so, you will find yourselves greatly mistaken. We can do it; but we must throw upon the soil of France some masses of granite." In these declarations Napoleon announced a new system of government, very opposite to that which the leaders in the revolution had proposed to establish, and which the new state of society demanded.

The French government was now making rapid advances towards a confirmed despotism in the person of the first consul. Buonaparte had commenced a career of greatness, which, to one of his ambitious mind, would not admit of a pause. He now wished to consolidate his power by the establishment of privilege, and to strengthen privilege by the permanency of his power. On the proposition of Chabot, the tribunate declared its wish "that there should be conferred on general Buonaparte a brilliant pledge of the national gratitude;" and on the 6th of May, an organic senatus-consultum nominated Buonaparte, consul for ten years! But this extension of the consulate was not enough for Napoleon; and two months afterwards, on the 2nd of August, 1802, the senate, on the decision of the tribunate and the legislative body, sanctioned indeed by the assent of the people which was ascertained by the public registers, decreed—first, that the French people nominate, and the senate proclaim Napoleon first consul for life—secondly, that a statue of peace, holding in one hand the laurel of victory, and in the other the decree of the senate, shall attest to posterity the gratitude of the nation—and thirdly, that the senate shall convey to the first consul, the expression of the confidence, the affection, and the admiration of the French people. Thus before the close of the year 1802, every thing was in the hands of the consul for life, with the privilege of appointing a successor—he had a class devoted to him in the clergy—a military order in the legion of honour—a body of administrators in the council of state—a machine for decrees in the legislative assembly—and a manufactory of constitutions in the senate.

During the maritime war with England, the navy of France was almost entirely ruined. Three hundred and forty vessels had been taken or destroyed, and almost all her colonies had fallen into the hands of the English. That of St. Domingo, the most important of them all, having shaken off the yoke of their white masters, had continued the American revolution, which commencing with the colonies of England, was to terminate by those of Spain, and render the new world independent of the old. At this epoch, the blacks of St. Domingo wished to maintain, with respect to the mother-country, their freedom, which they had conquered from the colonists, and had defended against the English. They had at their head the famous Touissant L’Ouverture. This man was born in slavery, near Cape François; but exhibiting early indications of a strong and comprehensive mind, and always conducting himself with propriety, he was not treated with the rigour to which slaves are usually subjected, and he was even highly favoured by his master. When, at the breaking out of the French revolution, the national assembly decreed in 1789, that "all men are born and continue free and equal as to their rights," these rash politicians little dreamed that they were promulgating a principle which was destined, not only to convulse Eu-
rope, but to subvert all the prejudices that Europeans entertained concerning the Africans, whom they hitherto regarded as a race linking man with the brute creation:—they little thought that the barbarous excesses, the unrestrained ferocity of the most civilized of nations, were to become directly instrumental, in raising the most lowly savages upon the face of the globe, to the dignity of social beings; and that the same principles which led to the execution of a Christian king upon an ignominious scaffold, were actually preparing to invest a negro with a sceptre, in one of the fairest islands of the western world:—a negro, be it remembered, who, with his tribe, had often been whipped to the course of daily labour, and condemned to crawl like a reptile upon the earth! yet such was literally the fact. The circumstances connected with the history of St. Domingo, from the period of its first revolt in 1791 down to the present period, are pregnant with lessons of the soundest philosophy—and they are all of them so interesting and instructive, that you cannot but be gratified by a sketch of them in this place; but to take up the subject in order, we must go back a little.

While the most violent measures were adopted in France to overthrow the established order of things, the planters of St. Domingo did not look on in silence; and the national assembly, in requiring a more equal representation of the people, tacitly acknowledged that the colonists ought to have a voice in the legislature, before the observance of its decrees could be enforced. The colonists themselves perceiving this, determined to seize the advantages which it offered. They elected deputies, formed their colonial assemblies, and proceeded to establish a new constitution for the internal government of the island. This constitution, when published, sufficiently showed that nothing short of their independence of the mother-country was the object at which they aimed; and the declaration of the rights of men, they interpreted as tacitly recommending the emancipation of the slaves. It is needless to detail the commotions which now commenced in the island—the opposition of the royalists and revolutionists to each other's plans,—the violent measures pursued by each party,—and the disgraceful transactions which followed. It may suffice to observe, that they created the greatest ferment throughout the colony, in which all classes, the slaves not excepted, largely partook.

A society had been formed in France, almost from the commencement of the revolution, under the title of amis des noirs (the negroes' friend) composed chiefly of those who afterwards took a leading part in the French revolution, among the members of which were general La Fayette, the able Gregoire, &c. &c. and the people of colour who were at that time resident at Paris. Their professed object was to effect the emancipation of the slaves, avowing that these unfortunate beings possessed a right to liberty as indisputable as their own: but whatever was their real design the measures they had recourse unto for its accomplishment were, in many instances, both injudicious and violent. They contended for immediate emancipation, forgetting in the heat of their zeal, the unfit state of the negroes at this period to value and improve the advantages of freedom. They were equally rash in the manner in which they caused their designs in favour of the slaves to be communicated to them. Inflammatory addresses respecting their rights were dispersed among them; and various other means were adopted in order to stimulate them to rise in their own defence. One of the first steps of this society was to recommend a mulatto of St. Domingo, whose name was Ogée, at that time residing at Paris, to return to the island, with the view of making preparations for carrying their purpose into effect. The mulattoes now began to urge their claims, and demanded an equal participation of the benefits and privileges of their white brethren. But the planters and the colonial assembly, fearing it would be dangerous, in the present state of their own affairs, to accede to this demand, endeavoured to evade it by promises of future benefits and privileges. Such was the state of things with regard to the planters, and the coloured population, when Ogée arrived at St. Domingo. On learning from him that steps were taking to effect their speedy emancipation, the negroes were very naturally induced to exert themselves
in their own behalf, to escape from the yoke under which they groaned, and to assert their right to liberty and independence.

Perceiving, however, that notwithstanding the decrees of the national assembly, and the promises of the colonists, their privileges were still withheld, the mulattoes determined at length to secure them by force of arms; the negroes also, having formed their plans, lost no time in commencing operations; and both parties united in attacking their common oppressors, and in asserting and maintaining their common rights. Accommodation soon became impossible. The French would offer no terms, nor comply with the most just demands. The negroes had risen, bent on obtaining their freedom, and the mulattoes on securing their privileges; these were crimes, in the estimation of the colonists, never to be forgiven. Slavery or destruction was the demand of the planters; liberty or death the determination of the insurgents. The disregard of the former to all their claims; the repeated refusal to grant them redress; with the violence of the measures pursued in order to subdue them, served only to render them more formidable and desperate. Animated by their numbers, and growing increasingly fierce by their ravages, the flame presently broke forth in all its fury. Then it was that St. Domingo became the scene of the most dreadful ravages, and of massacres as horrible as the world ever witnessed.

While these commotions were at their height, the English then at war with France, invaded St. Domingo. The French had now two enemies to oppose—the regular and well-disciplined troops of the British navy, and the revolted negroes. After several ineffectual attempts to withstand the former, the French commissioners, to whom the government of the island had been entrusted, issued a proclamation of freedom, with a view to secure the assistance of all the population against the British. The experiment succeeded; the negroes instantly joined the French forces, and united with them in endeavouring to expel what they considered to be a common enemy. The struggle was long and doubtful; it gave a fair opportunity to the negroes of ascertaining their strength, and called into exercise the distinguished talents of Toussaint L'Ouverture, of Christophe, and others whose skill and bravery were abundantly evinced, and contributed essentially to preserve that valuable colony from passing into the hands of the English. From the first arrival of the latter, to the time of their quitting the island, the relative state of the colony, with regard to both the French and the negroes, had undergone an important change. It remained in possession of France; but the manner in which it was to be governed, existing circumstances rendered totally different from any thing hitherto pursued. The civil and military chief was no longer chosen from among the natives of Europe, but selected from among the negroes; and Toussaint L'Ouverture, on account of his distinguished talents and integrity, was raised to the most important and dignified station in the colony. Slavery being abolished, the blacks were placed on an equality with the whites; many of the plantations remained in the hands of the original proprietors, and were to be cultivated in future, by the labours, not of slaves, but of free men. In this state matters remained from the year 1791 to the end of the century.

During the short interval of peace between England and France in 1802, an expedition was fitted out by the government of the latter country and sent to St. Domingo, for the avowed purpose of bringing the island once more under the dominion of the mother-country, and of again reducing the negroes to slavery; an absurd and iniquitous measure which the rulers of France lived to lament. France ought to have consented to the revolution which had taken place in St. Domingo, and which had already cost humanity enough. Napoleon, while a prisoner at St. Helena, frankly acknowledged his error, he might have said his crime, in sending out an expedition. He admitted that he ought to have guaranteed the new order of things which had taken place in the colony, and by drawing closer the commercial ties between it and the mother-country, he might have availed himself of all the advantages which Europe can draw from America. Instead of this prudent line of policy, he suffered himself to be persuaded by the merchants of France
and all those who were interested in the re-establishment of slavery, to try an expedition having for its ultimate object to reduce the island to submission. Forty thousand men were embarked for this disastrous enterprise, and transported across the Atlantic, under the command of general Le Clerc, brother-in-law of the first consul. Nothing could be more glaringly unjust than this attempt: for, independent of the natural right of the negroes to liberty, their freedom had been declared by the French commissioners and recognized and confirmed by the French government—yet that government now attempted to enslave them once more. But the negroes had now tasted the sweets of liberty, and it was not to be expected that they should allow themselves to be deprived of it without making an effort in its defence. Happily for the cause of liberty, before the French could make the necessary arrangements, the negro leaders, who from the first suspected their designs, discovered the real object of the expedition. Enraged at the injustice of those in whose honour they had placed the utmost confidence, they instantly flew to arms; and the negro soldiers with the planters, were once more compelled to unite in defending their rights, against the designs of men who had acknowledged their freedom and solemnly sworn to be its guardians. Finding that nothing could be effected by stratagem, and that the plans on which they had confidently relied for success were defeated, the French now determined to subdue and enslave the objects of their oppression by force of arms; assuring themselves confidently that the negroes, though superior to them in numerical force, could not long withstand the skill and bravery of their own troops.

Disappointed in this expectation also, and regarding the blacks as a species of brutes, they had immediate recourse to such methods of cruelty and death as would be selected only for the purpose of exterminating a dangerous and destructive race of animals;—to barbarities worse than ever before stained the annals of any people pretending to the character of civilization. All the male negroes and mulattoes, upon whom they could lay their hands, were murdered in the most shocking manner. Five hundred of these unfortunate beings were shot at one time near Cape François; and an equal number were, on another occasion, coolly massacred in view of the negro army. Thousands were carried on board the vessels in the harbour, and either suffocated in the holds, or thrown overboard in chains and drowned. Even these methods failed to accomplish the horrid purposes of these blood-thirsty tyrants, and they had recourse ultimately to the dreadful expedient of hunting and destroying the unhappy victims of their rage by means of blood-hounds. These animals, pursuing the negroes to the parts of the mountains inaccessible to their no less sanguineous employers, easily gained their retreats, and devoured all who were so unfortunate as to be discovered. Such of the black prisoners as had evinced the greatest zeal and activity in the cause of liberty, were selected from the rest, and, on Sundays, dragged to a spot chosen for the purpose, and in sight of thousands of spectators, were thrown to these terrible animals and torn to pieces.

After a doubtful and desperate struggle, however, success crowned the exertions of the black population. They expelled their foes, secured their rights, and regained possession of the island which their toils and sufferings had purchased. Scarcity of provisions, incessant and laborious duty, continual exposure to nightly dews, with other concurring causes,—all co-operating with the baneful effects of a tropical climate, produced a contagious fever which swept off thousands of the army, as with the besom of destruction. In the course of the conflict, Le Clerc fell a victim to the disease, and his troops were at a loss for a successor. In the mean time, the negroes descending by night from the mountains, continually harrassed the troops and frequently drove them from their post. Emboldened by these successes, as well as by the losses which the French sustained in consequence of the disease which raged among their troops, they resolved upon commencing an attack, in which they were successful, and became ultimately masters of the field. In this manner, the expedition, on which so much confidence had been placed, terminated, as it deserved, in defeat and disgrace.
While this sanguinary contest was in progress, Toussaint, in an evil hour, suffered himself to be decoyed by the specious professions of general Le Clerc, and incautiously threw himself into his power on receiving a promise of pardon. This promise was scandalously violated under the pretext that he had been detected in a conspiracy, and he was sent to France, where he was committed to prison, and being never more heard of, an opinion generally prevailed that he was privately put to death by order of the first consul. It is but justice, however, to the memory of the latter to add, that when this report was mentioned to him at St. Helena, he indignantly rejected it, declaring that it did not deserve an answer. "What possible interest could I have," said he, "in putting a negro to death, after he arrived in France? Had he "died in St. Domingo, then indeed something might have been suspected; "but after he had arrived safely in France, what object could have been in "view?" It is not indeed necessary to press home this atrocious charge on Buonaparte; for leaving the circumstance of his death out of the question, there remains enough in the general complexion of the expedition to fix the attention and manifest the justice of providence in inflicting upon the French ruler a punishment, in many points resembling that to which by his orders the amiable, the enlightened, and the unfortunate Toussaint L'Ouverture was condemned. The sable chieftain, after being deprived of his authority, was removed in a ship of war from his native island to France; where he was confined in the damp and gloomy dungeons of Besançon, separated from the wife and the children whom he loved with the truest and tenderest feelings; and there he expired wasted away by the miseries to which he was subjected. Could Napoleon have foreseen, upon Toussaint's death, that he himself was destined to be transported as a prisoner from the shores of France to a remote island, torn from the consort and the child of his affections, whom he was never more to see, and to languish in a prison which was a palace compared to the dungeons of Besançon, how he would have turned pale at his own despotism, and shrunken from the sword of justice, then suspended by a hair over his devoted head! We shudder at the recital of the atrocities committed by the French armies in St. Domingo; but here again we trace the hand of a superior being, tracking the steps of these monsters of cruelty. Most of them, with the general at their head, were carried off on the very stage of their inhuman deeds, by a contagious disease, and the expedition terminated in the disgrace of France and the triumph of the oppressed Haytians. But we must not indulge in reflections so fruitful a theme; and therefore let us resume the thread of history. During the summer of the year 1802, and throughout the greater part of the following year, "peace sat like dawn upon "the thistle's top." The rulers of France and England scowled at each other's conduct, and assumed a menacing aspect, which at length broke out into open hostilities. It will be proper, therefore, in this place, to develop the causes which produced a renewal of the war, and to relate the negotiations which for many months were employed to prevent it.

The universal joy which the return of peace had diffused over Europe, seemed to be a favourable omen of its permanency. The cessation of carnage and rapine, and the restoration of tranquillity, after fifteen years of such violent agitations, induced multitudes to imagine that the golden age was about to revisit the earth, and that the period was arrived when men should beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; when the rulers of the nations, laying aside their mad schemes of ambition and conquest, should sedulously cultivate the arts of peace. But the presage was fallacious, and the expectation illusory. The measures of the French government but too plainly indicated that the golden age of Saturn was not yet to return, and that no new race of men, of more limited ambition, or of more pacific inclinations, had succeeded the first revolutionists. From the moment of the conclusion of the treaty of Amiens, the politics of the cabinet of St. Cloud appeared suspicious. The restrictions imposed on British commerce, the encroachments of France on the continent, and, in short, the whole conduct of the first consul, plainly shewed that peace could not be of long continuance.
These hostile intimations, which could not well be mistaken, impressed upon Great Britain the necessity of looking well to her own safety. The British government had been sincerely desirous of terminating the war, and strenuous in its efforts to restore to the country the blessings of peace. In strict conformity to the treaty of Amiens, the British conquests had been restored, with the single exception of Malta. But during the short interval of peace, circumstances had arisen which had not only retarded the restoration of that island to the knights of St. John, but had deeply impressed on the mind of the British cabinet the propriety of retaining possession of it, as a measure of security to her Indian dominions, unless some previous explanations and agreements took place.

The emperor of Russia had declined his guarantee, except on the condition that the Maltese langue, or influence which the people of Malta were to have in the government, should be abolished. The court of Berlin appeared quite indifferent about the matter. The Spanish priories, apparently through French influence, were abolished, in contravention to that treaty; and the Portuguese government had issued a declaration of its intention to sequester the property of the Portuguese priory, unless that of the Spanish priories should be restored. These circumstances, in which Great Britain had no part, and which had not been under her control, had rendered the restoration of Malta, according to the spirit and meaning of the tenth article of the treaty of Amiens, impracticable. The greater part of the funds assigned for the support of the order, and indispensably necessary for its independence and the defence of the island, had been sequestered since the conclusion of the treaty, and in direct repugnance to its letter and spirit. Two of the principal powers who had been invited to guarantee the arrangement, had refused their concurrence, except on condition that the stipulations which had been deemed so material to the Maltese, should be entirely cancelled. In these circumstances, the restoration of Malta to the knights, or to any other power not capable of defending the island, was considered by the British government as in effect to throw it into the hands of the chief consul of France, who might seize upon it at his pleasure.

There were also various other concurring causes, which could not fail to operate in the way of exciting suspicions that the French government had not laid aside its designs on Egypt. The mission of general Sebastiani into that country, although it was said to be wholly of a commercial nature, tended to confirm that opinion. The delay of the English in evacuating Alexandria, though owing to accidental causes, gave great umbrage to the French government; but this ground of complaint was speedily removed. In these circumstances it was deemed expedient, that, to prevent the French from executing any designs which they might have formed against Egypt, Great Britain should retain possession of Malta, until it should be effectually guaranteed to the order, and placed in a state of independence.

Such was the state of matters in reference to Malta, when Napoleon began to insist peremptorily on the immediate evacuation of that island by the British troops. The demand was ushered in by a long series of complaints, against the permission granted to the French princes, and other emigrants, to reside in England. Another ground of complaint was the scurrilous language which several of the English newspapers, and more particularly some French newspapers published in London, had used respecting the first consul and government of France. These complaints were accompanied by a request, or rather a demand, that the French princes, the ci-devant bishops, and other emigrants of note, whose political principles must necessarily occasion great jealousy to the French government, should be obliged to quit the British dominions, and that a stop should be put to the calumnies daily issuing from the English press, but especially to those contained in the French publications printed in London.

To these complaints, and demands, the British government answered in a calm and dignified manner.—That, in regard to the expulsion of the French princes, the bishops and others, his majesty could not commit so flagrant a breach of hospitality, as to banish from his dominions persons who were not
convicted of any misconduct; that in regard to the ci-devant bishops of Ar-
ras, St. Pol, and others involved in the charges preferred against them by M.
Otto, if the facts alleged against them could be substantiated—if it could be
proved that they had distributed papers on the coast of France with the view
of disturbing the government of that country, his majesty should think him-
self justified in compelling them to leave his dominions; but that some proof
of the fact must be adduced, and that this proof must not be solely that of
their having published a justification of their own conduct, in refusing to con-
form to the new order of things as it respected the church establishment, a
proceeding in which they were justifiable on every principle of toleration and
equity; but it must be shewn, that they had availed themselves of their re-
sidence in England to excite the people of France against the authority of
that government, whether civil or ecclesiastical.

To the complaints of the first consul against the scurrilities contained in
the newspapers, lord Hawkesbury replied,—That it was impossible to read
the number of Peltier's Ambigu, to which M. Otto had alluded, without feeling
indignant, and anxiously wishing that the offender should be made amenable to the tribunal of justice; and that he had thought it his duty to refer the matter in question to his majesty's attorney-general. It was ac-
nowledged that very improper paragraphs had appeared in some of the Eng-
lish newspapers against the government of France; and that publications of
a still more improper and indecent nature had made their appearance in Eng-
land, with the names of foreigners affixed to them. Under these circum-
stances, the French government would have been warranted in expecting
every redress which the laws of this country could afford; but as, instead of
seeking it in the ordinary course, they had thought fit to resort to recri-
nation, or, at least, to authorize it in others, they could have no right to
complain, if their subsequent appeal to his majesty had failed to produce the
effect that would otherwise have attended it.

Before we proceed with the narrative, it may be proper to explain, that
the recrimination alluded to, in the former paragraph, relates to certain para-
graphs in the Moniteur, a paper avowedly official, of which the British go-

government had greater right to complain, than that of France could have of
such as were inserted in the unauthorized English newspapers, and other
publications to which M. Otto's note had a reference. But the British government considered it beneath its dignity to make any formal complaint
on such a subject. The final answer to the complaints of the first consul
against the English publications was, that his majesty would never, in con-
sequence of any representation or menace from a foreign power, make any
concession, which could in the smallest degree, be dangerous to the liberty
of the press, as secured by the constitution of this country.

At the same time that this spirited reply was made to Napoleon's demand
for restricting the liberty of the press in England, lord Hawkesbury inti-
mated, that although the British constitution admits of no previous restraints
on publications of any description, yet there are courts of judicature that
may take cognizance, not only of libels against the government and magis-
tracy of the country, but also of publications defamatory of those in whose
hands the administration of foreign governments is placed. His lordship
added, that the British government neither has, nor wants any other protec-
tion, than that which the laws of the country afford; and that, although it is
ready to give to every foreign government all the protection against offences
of this nature which the laws and constitution will admit, it never can con-
sent to new-model the laws, or to change the constitution, to gratify the
wishes of any foreign power. The British secretary of state then proceeded
to remind the first consul, that if the French government were dissatisfied
with the laws of England on the subject of libels, or if they entertained an
opinion that the administration of justice in the English courts was too tardy
and lenient, they had in their own power the means of redress, by punishing
the venders and distributors of such publications within their own territo-
ries, and by that means prevent their circulation; or, if they pleased, they
might exercise the right which they possessed, of prohibiting the importation
of any foreign newspapers, or periodical publications, into the dominions of the republic. His majesty would not complain of such a measure, as it was not his intention to interfere in the manner in which France should be governed; but he also expected, that the French government would not interfere in the manner in which the government of his dominions was to be conducted, or to call for a change in the laws with which his people were perfectly satisfied.

With respect to the distinction which M. Otto had drawn between the publications of British subjects and those of foreigners, and the power which his majesty was supposed to have, by virtue of the alien act, of sending the latter out of his dominions, it was remarked, that this act was intended for the preservation of the internal peace and security of the kingdom; and that its application to the case of those individuals of whom the French government complained was unnecessary, as they were, equally with the British subjects in similar cases, answerable to the law of the land, at the instance and on the complaint of foreign governments.

This firm and moderate answer to the complaints of the French government against the English press, was far from being satisfactory to the first consul; and though the discussions which subsequently arose related for the most part to points of a very different nature, this was never wholly forgotten. Lord Hawkesbury’s communication to Mr. Merry, relative to the line of conduct which his majesty was determined to pursue, was dated the 30th of August 1802; but the same complaints were renewed by M. Talleyrand towards the end of January, the following year, in a conversation with lord Whitworth, who had been appointed ambassador from the British court to Paris.

Two months afterwards general Andreossai, in the name of the first consul, addressed a letter to lord Hawkesbury, in which a proposition was submitted to the British government, that whatever of this kind should be permitted or prevented in England with regard to France, should be in like manner permitted or prevented in France with regard to England. This proposal, with the former complaints, are sufficient proof of the extreme anxiety of Napoleon on the subject in question. They might have been resolved into his want of acquaintance with the laws and constitution of England, which admit of no restraints on the liberty of the press, were it not that those had already been fully explained to him; and lord Whitworth had assured M. Talleyrand, that until the first consul could so far command his feelings as to be as indifferent to the scurrility of the English prints, as the British government was to that which daily appeared in the French papers, this state of irritation of which he complained was irremediable. But the anxiety of Napoleon in regard to these matters, may be accounted for from the circumstances of his situation. His authority was recent, and it was natural for him to suppose that his standing was precarious. It cannot, therefore, excite our surprise, that he should have been extremely jealous of whatever seemed calculated to disturb his government or diminish his influence.

Unable, however, to prevail on the British government to violate the laws of hospitality, or to shackle the British press, the first consul now turned the train of the negotiation principally on the subject of Malta. On the 17th of February 1805, he sent a message to lord Whitworth, intimating that he wished to converse with him. At the hour appointed, his lordship waited upon him at the Tuileries, and was received by the first consul in his cabinet, who told him that he found it necessary to make known his sentiments in the most clear and authentic manner, and that he conceived this might be done more effectually by himself than through any other medium.

In a speech, which was continued through a period of two hours, the first consul began with enumerating the various causes of complaint which he professed to have against England. In the foremost rank he placed the evacuation of Alexandria and Malta, declaring that he had rather see the English in possession of one of the suburbs of Paris than of Malta. He next advertised to the abuse thrown out against him in the English prints; but more particularly in the French papers published in London. He complained
of the encouragement given in England to Frenchmen who were inimical to his person and government, and avowed that his irritation against this country daily increased.

Adverting in the next place to Egypt, he said, that whatever might be his desire to have it as a colony, he did not think it worth the risk of a war, in which he might be considered as an aggressor, and by which he should lose more than he could gain, since, sooner or later, Egypt would belong to France, either by the falling to pieces of the Turkish empire, or by some arrangement with the Porte. Professing his desire to remain at peace, he said that he had nothing to gain by a war with England. An invasion of the country was the only means of offence that he had, and in the event of war he was determined to attempt it, by putting himself at the head of the expedition; but that it could not be supposed, after having gained the height on which he stood, that he would risk his life and reputation in such a hazardous undertaking, unless driven to it by necessity, when the chances were that he and the greatest part of the expedition would go to the bottom of the sea. He was candid enough to acknowledge, that the chances were a hundred to one against him; but still he was determined to attempt it, should war be the result of the pending discussions; and that such was the disposition of the French troops, that army after army would be found for the enterprise.

The first consul then expatiated on the natural force of the two countries. He observed, that France with an army of four hundred and eighty thousand men, and England with a fleet which made her mistress of the seas, and which he did not think that he should be able to equal in less than ten years, might, by a proper understanding, govern the world, but that by their quarrels they might overturn it. He added, that, to preserve peace, the treaty of Amiens must be fulfilled; the abuse in the public prints must, if not totally suppressed, be at least kept within bounds, and confined to the English papers; and the protection given to his most inveterate enemies must be withdrawn.

In conclusion, he took a review of the situation of the different European states, with a view of showing that there was no power with which England could coalesce in a war against France. He said, that his unwillingness to excite the jealousy of other powers, had prevented him from chastising the Algerines; but he hoped that England, France, and Russia, would one day feel that it was their interest to destroy such a nest of thieves, and oblige them to live by cultivating their lands rather than by plunder.

Such are the leading topics touched upon in this memorable philippic. The drift and design of the first consul were obviously to impress upon the British minister the fact, that on Malta the question of peace or war must depend; and at the same time to apprise him of the means which France possessed of annoying Great Britain. As the first consul talked almost incessantly during this long interview, lord Whitworth had few opportunities of reply; but his answers were appropriate to the different points of discussion. At parting, the chief consul rose from his chair, saying that he should give orders to general Andreetti, his ambassador at the court of Great Britain, to enter on a discussion of the business with his majesty's ministers. He then discoursed for a few minutes on different subjects, and retired in apparent good humour.

Soon after this interview, the preparations in the ports of France and Holland, which, although avowedly intended for colonial service, might, in the event of a rupture, be turned against the British dominions, induced his Britannic majesty, on the 8th of March, to send a message to both houses of parliament, signifying the expediency of adopting additional measures of precaution for the security of the kingdom; which was also notified to the British ambassador at Paris. His majesty, however, expressed his desire for the preservation of peace. M. Talleyrand, when informed of these particulars, assured lord Whitworth that the British government had no reason to be alarmed; that the disposition of the first consul was pacific; that he had no thoughts of attacking his majesty's dominions, but that he should always
consider the refusal to evacuate Malta as the commencement of hostilities; and that as England had hitherto hesitated on the subject, he was justified in adopting such measures as might eventually be necessary.

In the evening of the same day, the minister brought a note from the first consul, containing a declaration that the armament at Hulvoetsluys was destined for the colonies, remarking at the same time that it was on the point of sailing; but that in consequence of his Britannic majesty's message, its putting to sea was about to be countermanded. This note also signified, that if the French government did not receive a satisfactory explanation respecting the armaments in England, and if they actually took place, the first consul would march twenty thousand men into Holland, and order encampments to be formed on the frontier of Hanover, in the vicinity of Calais, and on different points of the coast; that he should keep up a French army in Switzerland, send a fresh force into Italy, and place the army of France on the war establishment—a step so important, it was added, that it could not fail to agitate all Europe. The prediction was afterwards too fatally verified.

The storm which had been for some months gathering, now thickened apace. Only two days after the above notification had been delivered, lord Whitworth had that memorable interview with the first consul of France, March 13th, which has been the topic of general conversation in every political circle since, and which will continue to interest and amuse for ages to come. It shall therefore be given in his lordship's own words, in his letter to lord Hawkesbury.

"The messenger, Mason, went on Saturday with my dispatches of that date, and until yesterday, Sunday, I found no one likely to give me any further information such as I could depend on, as to the effect which his majesty's message had produced on the first consul. At the court which was held at the Tuileries on that day, he accosted me, evidently under very considerable agitation. He began by asking me if I had any news from England? I told him that I had letters from your lordship two days ago. He immediately said, 'And so you are determined to go to war?'

'No, I replied, we are too sensible of the advantages of peace. 'We have,' said he, 'already waged war these fifteen years.' As he seemed to wait for an answer, I only observed—that is already too long. 'But,' said he, 'you wish to carry it on for fifteen years more; and you force me to it.'

'I told him that it was very far from his majesty's intention. He then proceeded to count Markoff and the chevalier Azarn, who were standing together at a little distance from me, and said to them, 'The English wish for war; but if they are the first to draw the sword, I shall be the last to sheathe it. They have no regard for treaties; we must henceforth cover them with shame.' He then went his round. In a few minutes he came back to me, and resumed the conversation, if such it can be called, by something personally civil to me. He began again: 'For what reason are these armaments? against whom are these measures of precaution? I have not a single ship of the line in the ports of France. But if you will arm, I will arm likewise; if you will go to war, I shall go to war also.

'You may perhaps be able to destroy France, but never to intimidate her.' 'We do not desire, said I, to do either one or the other. We wish to live in good understanding with her. 'It is requisite then to pay regard to treaties,' he replied.—'Woe to those who pay no regard to treaties; they will be responsible for it to all Europe.' He was too much agitated to make it advisable for me to prolong the conversation: I therefore made no answer; and he returned to his apartment repeating the last phrase.

'It is to be remarked, that all this passed loud enough to be overheard by two hundred people that were present; and I am persuaded that there was not a single person who did not feel the extreme impropriety of his conduct, and the total want of dignity, as well as of decency, on the occasion.'

It was now supposed that the negotiations would terminate in the renewal of war; but they were protracted until the month of May. Various arrangements were proposed by the British government for settling the grand point of dispute concerning Malta; but they were successively met by objections
which gave rise to fresh discussions. At length, when lord Whitworth was on the eve of quitting Paris, his departure was delayed at the particular instance of the first consul, who announced that he had a communication to make of the highest importance. He professed his readiness to agree that Malta should be placed in the hands of one of the three powers who had guaranteed its independence, Austria, Russia, or Prussia, provided that some minor arrangements respecting its guaranty were established. In the dispatch which contained a reply to this proposition, lord Whitworth was informed, that if his majesty could be disposed to waive his demand for a temporary occupation of the island, the emperor of Russia would be the only sovereign to whom, in the present state of Europe, he could consent that it should be assigned; and that his majesty had certain and authentic information, that the emperor of Russia would, on no account, consent to garrison Malta.

In these circumstances, his majesty adhered to the project already delivered as his ultimatum, stipulating for the occupation of Malta during a term of ten years, provided that his Sicilian majesty could be induced to cede the island of Lampedosa for a valuable consideration. At the end of that period, Malta was to be surrendered to the inhabitants, and declared an independent state; and an arrangement was to be made in the interim for the establishment of the order of St. John in some other part of Europe. To obviate, however, an objection on the part of France, it was now proposed, that the definite term of years might be inserted in a secret article, and the temporary occupation would thus be made to depend on the actual state of Lampedosa. This overture was met by the offer of a counter-project, which lord Whitworth, who was instructed to avoid every thing that would protract the negotiation, did not feel authorized to receive. Having obtained his passports, he quitted Paris, and arrived in London on the 19th of May. His majesty's declaration of war had been issued on the preceding day.(1)

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**LETTER II.**

History of Europe, from the re-commencement of hostilities.—Change of the English ministry and Mr. Pitt's return to power.—Insurrection in Ireland.—Affairs of France.—Conspiracy to assassinate the first consul.—Arrest of the duke d'Enghein.—Napoleon assumes the imperial dignity, and is crowned by the pope.—War between Great Britain and Spain, A.D. 1803—1804.

A renewal of hostilities being now determined on, the British parliament took into consideration the measures necessary for the defence of the country, and for prosecuting the war to a successful issue. On the 8th of December 1802, the secretary at war had submitted his estimates of the force which would be required for a peace establishment for the service of the year, namely, an army of one hundred and thirty thousand men, exclusive of fifty thousand already voted for the naval service. The proposition was supported by Mr. Canning and lord Temple, and by Mr. Sheridan also, who, in a speech delivered with great animation, and which was received with considerable applause from the whole house, took occasion to offer his opinion of the conduct and proceedings of the ruler of France. "I find," said this brilliant orator, "a disposition in some gentlemen to rebuke any man who shall freely declare his opinion respecting the first consul of France. He has discovered that we all belong to the western family;" (alluding to an expres-
tion which Napoleon was said to have made use of in a conversation with Mr. Fox, who had visited Paris during the peace, and dined with the first consul)—"I confess," said Mr. Sheridan, "I feel a sentiment of deep indignation, when I hear that this scrap of nonsense was uttered to one of the most enlightened of the human race. But to this family party I do not wish to belong. He may toss a sceptre to the king of Etruria to play with, and keep a rod to scourge him in the corner; but my humble apprehension is, that though in the tablet and volume of his mind there may be some marginal note about cashiering the king of Etruria, yet the whole text is occupied about the destruction of this country. This is the first vision that breaks upon him through the gleam of the morning; this is his last prayer at night to whatever deity he addresses it, whether to Jupiter or Mahomet, to the goddess of battles or the goddess of reason. Look at the map of Europe, from which France was said to be expelled, and now you see nothing but France. If the ambition of Buonaparte be immeasurable, there are abundant reasons why it should be progressive."

It was however soon found that the force which was adequate to a peace establishment was a matter of inferior consideration in the existing posture of affairs; for every day brought with it some additional indication of renewed hostilities. On the 22nd of February 1803, the annual expost or state of the French republic, was presented to the legislative body. In this declaration, it was said, "The government guarantees to the nation the peace of the continent; and it is permitted to entertain a hope of the continuance of maritime peace. For its preservation the government will do every thing compatible with national honour, connected with the strict execution of treaties. Five hundred thousand men will be ready to undertake the defence of France, and avenge its injuries. The government says, with conscious pride, that England, single-handed, cannot maintain a conflict against France. But we have better hopes. France and England, rendering their happiness reciprocal, will deserve the gratitude of the whole world." By such a speech as this, it was intended to practise upon the fears of the English government; and, to redeem their characters from the reproach of pusillanimity, the king's ministers were in danger of resorting to measures of rashness. In this temper of mind, the menaces thus thrown out could not fail to operate as fresh incentives to hostility; in addition to which, the national pride was piqued by the vain-glorious boast that England single-handed could not cope with France. Yet the first consul, in his recent conversation with lord Whitworth, had acknowledged that an invasion of the country was the only means of annoyance which he had, and that the chances were a hundred to one against his success. But England had her conscious pride as well as France; and the tide of popularity throughout the kingdom, from this moment, set in with irresistible force in favour of war. Accordingly, in a dispatch, dated the 28th of February, lord Hawkesbury plainly declared "that, sufficient as the considerations relative to the increased dominion, power, and influence of France might be in themselves to justify the line of conduct which his Britannic majesty had determined to adopt, they had received additional force from the views recently manifested by the French government; and that Malta will not be evacuated until substantial security has been provided for those objects, which might be endangered by the removal of the troops." Conformable to this resolution, sir Alexander Ball, then governor of the island, early in the month of March, refused to surrender it to the formal requisition of M. Thomasi, the new grand-master.

To enter into a minute detail of the various bickerings and mutual complaints which now ensued between the two governments, would be insufferably tedious, and communicate but little either for instruction or pleasure. On the 8th of March, a message from the king was brought down to parliament, informing them, that considerable military preparations were carrying on in the ports of Holland and France, and that therefore it would be expedient to have recourse to additional measures of precaution for the security of his dominions. It was indeed admitted that these preparations were
avowedly directed to colonial service; nevertheless, as discussions of great importance were then pending between his majesty and the French government, the result of which was as yet uncertain, his majesty was induced to make the communication to his faithful commons, in the full persuasion that he should be enabled to adopt such measures as circumstances may appear to require for supporting the honour of his crown and the essential interests of his people. This message was received in both houses, as well as by the country at large, not merely with approbation, but almost with acclamation. In the house of commons it was pronounced to be a war, not for Malta, but for Egypt; not for Egypt, but for India; not for India, but for England. In the upper house, the earl of Moira, in concert with lords Grenville and Spencer, supported the address, the former of them styling Napoleon “the new Hannibal, who had on the altar of his inordinate ambition sworn inextinguishable enmity to this country.” Two days afterwards a second message from the king, announced his intention of embodying the militia of the three kingdoms.

In this state matters proceeded until the 23rd of May, when an address was moved by lord Hawkesbury in the house of commons, the object of which was to vote an approval of the conduct of ministers; on this a debate ensued which occupied the house for two days. It was wound up by a speech from Mr. Fox, which took him three hours in the delivery; and it was one of those extraordinary effusions of political wisdom which have immortalized the memory of that illustrious statesman. He took a review of the actual state of affairs between France and England, examined the numerous and diversified grounds of complaint which Great Britain made against the conduct of the first consul—the annexation of Piedmont to France—his conduct towards Switzerland—the occupation of Holland by French troops—he adverted to the language used in the French exposé, that England alone could not contend with France, which he pronounced a folly highly to be condemned;—such odious comparisons, he said, were calculated to inflame and exasperate, though it would be wiser to treat them with contempt—the language of the first consul, in addressing lord Whitworth at the Tuileries, he pronounced indecorous and intemperate, but words are fleeting, liable to misconception and misrepresentation, and of little or no value unaccompanied by acts—to Egypt, Mr. Fox thought a degree of consequence had been attached which it did not in reality possess—it was the theatre on which British valour had most conspicuously signalized itself, and the recollection of our exploits in that country had impressed the public mind with ideas of romance—he deemed it to be the key of our possessions in India; but he asked whether France had not as much right to complain of our aggrandizement in India, since the treaty of Amiens, as we of hers in Europe?—he requested that the tenth article of the treaty of Amiens, namely, that which related to Malta, might be read, which was done, and he then proceeded to a critical examination of the mutual pleas respecting its surrender, concluding with a declaration that in refusing to carry that part of the treaty into effect, British faith was violated,—he adverted to the negotiation which had recently been carrying on between the English ambassador at Paris and the French minister, which he said was in a manner utterly incomprehensible to him, and gave a ludicrous exposition of it certainly—from this he proceeded to an examination of the arrogant and menacing language of the first consul in his conversation with lord Whitworth, on which so much stress had been laid, though in his opinion little meriting serious notice;—what, he asked, was the import of these expressions? Buonaparte tells us that he shall attempt to invade us; but he also says, that he knows the chances are an hundred to one against him, that he and the greatest part of his expedition would go to the bottom of the sea. Was this a proof of arrogance and presumption? In the anticipation of war, he states his intention, but it is hopeless of success; and ministers think no punishment too great for his harbouring such a thought!—In fine, the war on which the country was now entering was for Malta, and for Malta alone, and this he could think neither wise nor just. “Laying aside all considerations of danger,” said Mr. Fox,
had we already forgotten the grievous and intolerable weight under which we had suffered during the late war? We are now told that exertions will be necessary beyond any thing we have yet known—we are told [by Mr. Pitt] that we have a contest to sustain which will call for sacrifices new and extraordinary, such as had never before been heard of in this country.

Is Malta worth such a contest?” Mr. Fox concluded by giving notice that he should move an address to the king, at no distant period, advising our acceptance of the mediation of Russia. His strong sense of duty, and deep anxiety of mind, had impelled him to deliver his sentiments so much at length; and he exhorted the house to pause, and to satisfy themselves, as well as their constituents, and all Europe, that this tremendous conflict could not be avoided. This speech was listened to with profound attention and unavailing admiration; for when the sense of the house of commons was taken on the question, there appeared three hundred and ninety-eight voices for the war against sixty-seven dissentients!

On the 27th of May, Mr. Fox moved an address to the king, beseeching him, “that he would be graciously pleased to avail himself of the disposition expressed by the emperor of Russia, to interpose his good offices” between the two contending powers; and Mr. Pitt, strongly enforced the propriety of the measure, and also of cultivating by every possible means the friendship of Russia. He said that he himself had acted on the principle recommended by the honourable mover, and he was happy to find himself supported so far by his authority, and greater authority they could not have. He thought, however, the address now proposed was unnecessary, being convinced that ministers would lose no favourable opportunity of giving them effect. As the house in general seemed to concur in the principle, though not in the mode, Mr. Fox consented to withdraw his motion, and the mediation of Russia, thus left to the discretion of ministers, vanished into air.

A few days after his majesty’s message had been delivered to parliament, admiral Linois was dispatched from the port of Brest for the East Indies, with a strong squadron, having on board six thousand troops, destined to strengthen the French colonies in the east, and also to re-inforce the Dutch garrison at the Cape of Good Hope. Orders were issued by the French government to increase the armies of the republic to four hundred and eighty thousand men. The army of Italy was greatly augmented; large detachments were forwarded towards Tarentum, and all the strong ports in the kingdom of Naples which lay on the Adriatic. Reinforcements had also been ordered into Holland, and a powerful army was collected on the frontiers of Hanover. On the 25th of May, the French general Mortier, from his head-quarters at Coevorden, summoned the electorate to surrender, it being the determination of the first consul to occupy that country as a pledge for the restoration of Malta, conformably to the conditions of the treaty of Amiens. The Hanoverian army made dispositions for a brave resistance, though it proved ineffectual against so overwhelming a force, and the French troops took possession of the whole of the Hanoverian dominions, together with all the artillery, baggage, and ammunition. By this manœuvre they were enabled to control the navigation of the Elbe and Weser, and to levy considerable contributions, under the shape of loans, on the rich Hanse towns of Hamburg and Bremen.

As war was now no longer problematical between the two countries, the first step of hostility on the part of France was, to arrest as prisoners of war, all the English between the ages of eighteen and sixty, who were resident in France at that moment, detaining them as hostages for those French citizens who might have been made prisoners by British ships before the declaration of war was issued. They had previously received an assurance that they should enjoy the protection of the French government, as completely after as before the departure of the British ambassador, and were relying implicitly on the credit of those assurances, when they found themselves doomed to an indefinite captivity, because the British government refused to include them in any exchanges that were made between the two countries of prisoners of war.
During the summer of the year 1803, an insurrection broke out in Ireland, which, from its presumed connection with the projects of the enemy, created considerable alarm. Its instigators were a band of political enthusiasts, the director and principal mover of which was Mr. Robert Emmett, a young man of promising talents and fine imagination. They had formed the design of establishing an independent Irish republic, and hoped to accomplish it by striking a decisive blow at the capital, possessing themselves of the seat of government, and proclaiming the new constitution which they had prepared. On the 23rd of July an armed mob collected for this purpose, which marched through the principal streets of the city of Dublin, unresisted on their way to the castle. They, however, soon lost all sense of subordination to their leaders, and meeting a carriage in which were lord Kilwarden, and his nephew, Mr. Wolfe, they dragged them from it and butchered them on the spot. The daughter of the venerable and ill-fated nobleman was likewise in the carriage, and to his earnest appeal to their humanity, they replied that they would sacrifice him and his male companion, but they would spare the lady. The insurgents were dispersed by a few soldiers, and the whole insurrection was speedily extinguished. On the communication of this event to parliament, a bill was passed for trying the rebels by martial law, and another for suspending the Habeas Corpus act in Ireland. Several of the leaders of the insurrection, among whom was Emmett, were apprehended, tried for high treason by a special commission, and underwent the sentence of the law.

In consequence of the seizure of Hanover by the French armies and the interruption of the British commerce on the Elbe and Weser, a squadron of British ships was appointed to blockade the mouths of those rivers. This spirited measure, which was in some degree a retaliation on Germany for permitting the violation of its territory, occasioned such distress to the Hanse towns of Hamburg and Bremen, that they appealed to the king of Prussia, as protector of the neutrality of the northern part of the empire; he, however, declined to interfere, and the French were thus left to pursue their exactions with impunity. These exactions were not restricted to the minor states of the north of Germany; for, the French government having compelled the Batavian and Italian republics to become parties in the war, imposed on them the full share of its burdens. They also drew pecuniary assistance from Spain and Portugal in so open and extensive a manner, that it rested entirely with England whether they should not be considered as involved in acts of direct hostility. The supplies of the French treasury were also augmented by the sale of Louisians to the United States for three millions of dollars. Thus a territory obtained from Spain in exchange for the possessions of its neighbours, was transferred for a valuable consideration to a power from which it would have been unable to withhold it.

During the session of parliament in 1804, Mr. Pitt again resumed the reins of government. Mr. Addington, though receiving the general support of Mr. Fox and his friends was found inadequate to the arduous situation which he held, and not finding that he possessed the confidence of the house of commons, he determined on retiring from administration. On the 7th of May, Mr. Pitt was invited to an interview with the king, when he was requested to form an administration, and fill up the vacant offices; the only stipulations on the part of the monarch being, the non-revival of the Catholic question, and that Mr. Fox should not be introduced into the cabinet. The first condition was readily assented to; but with respect to the second, it was the wish of Mr. Pitt, under existing circumstances, to form a comprehensive administration, including the most distinguished persons of all parties; and the crisis was peculiarly favourable for that union of principle and talent, which in the zenith of his father's fame, had in a manner annihilated all party spirit. The monarch, however, remained inflexible, and Mr. Pitt at length undertook with some reluctance to form an administration, including neither Mr. Fox nor any of his friends. An unforeseen obstacle, however, occurred. Lord Grenville and his political associates, though no positive promise or engagement had taken place to that effect, refused, from
a high sense of honour, to form a part of the new arrangement: and a letter addressed by that nobleman to Mr. Pitt, which was universally circulated, placed his lordship’s character in a very advantageous point of view. “An opportunity now offers,” said the noble writer, towards the close of this celebrated letter “such as this country has seldom seen, for giving to its government, in a moment of peculiar difficulty, the full benefit of the services of all those who by the public voice and sentiment are judged most capable of contributing to its prosperity and safety. The wishes of the public on this subject are completely in unison with its interests; and the advantages which, not this country alone, but all Europe, and the whole civilized world might derive from the establishment of such an administra-
tion, at such a crisis, would probably have exceeded the most sanguine expectations. But when, in the very first instance, all trial of it is precluded, and when this denial is made the condition of all subsequent arrangements, we cannot but feel that there are no motives, of whatever description, which could justify our taking an active part in the establishment of a system so adverse to our deliberate and declared opinion.” On the 12th of May it was announced that Mr. Addington had resigned the office of chancellor of the exchequer, and that Mr. Pitt was nominated his successor. It was natural that the nation should conceive great hopes from the transfer of the helm of government into the hands of so able and experienced a statesman, at a crisis when the contest with France was likely to become more arduous in consequence of the change which was taking place in that country. These expectations, however, were not realized. Mr. Pitt undertook the arduous task under very gloomy auspices, and with the certain prospect of encountering an opposition equally powerful and popular, but composed in great part of the most zealous of his former friends and adherents. The partial changes which took place in the several offices of government, wholly disappointed the expectations of the public. Lord Hawkesbury was removed from the foreign to the home department, and the seals thus vacated were consigned to lord Harrowby. In the admiralty, the earl of St. Vincent was superseded by lord Melville. Lord Eldon remained in possession of the great seal; the earl of Westmorland of the privy seal; the duke of Portland continued president of the council; lord Castlereagh of the India board; Mr. Canning treasurer of the Navy, and the earl of Hardwicke lord lieutenant of Ireland. I must now direct your attention for a moment to the internal affairs of France.

In the month of February, 1804, a plot was detected at Paris, the object of which was the subversion of the consular government. The principal persons accused were general Pichegru, Georges, a Chouan leader, and Lajolais his confidant. Moreau was so far implicated in the conspiracy as to have had some secret interviews with Pichegru since his return to Paris. On the testimony of an agent of the parties, who had been apprehended near Calais, Moreau and Lajolais were arrested. Pichegru and Georges for a while eluded the vigilance of the police, but were afterwards discovered and committed to prison. The plot was attributed to the machinations of the English government, or rather of the Bourbons resident in England. The city of Paris was declared to be in a state of siege, and no person was allowed to quit it, unless by day, and through certain barriers, where persons were stationed to whom the conspirators were well known. According to Napoleon’s own account of this matter, which there seems no good reason for discrediting. Pichegru did not deny having been employed by the Bourbons, and finding his case desperate he strangled himself in prison. The rest of the conspirators were publicly tried in the month of May, before the tribunal of the department of the Seine, and in the presence of all the foreign ambassadors then at Paris. Georges, Polignac, Rivière, Coster, and sixteen or seventeen others, were found guilty of having conspired against the life of the chief magistrate of the French nation, and condemned to death. About ten of them were executed. Rivière was pardoned at the suit of Murat. Moreau was sentenced to two years imprisonment, which was afterwards commuted into banishment to the United States.
In the course of this examination it was elicited, by the confession of some of the conspirators, that the duke D'Enghien eldest son of the duke of Bourbon, was an accomplice in this atrocious plot, and that he was only waiting on the frontiers of France to receive the news of the assassination of the first consul, in order to enter France as the king's lieutenant. Orders were accordingly issued to have him seized, which was done by a party of the French cavalry, on the 15th of March, who had passed the Rhine on the preceding night, and carried him off from the castle of Ettenheim, in the grand duchy of Baden, within a short distance of the Rhine. He was first conveyed to the castle of Strasburg, and, on the 17th, sent forward to Paris, in consequence of orders received by telegraph, and after an uninterupted journey of four hundred miles, was securely lodged in the prison of the Temple. He was afterwards removed to the castle in Vincennes, and tried by a military commission formed of all the colonels of the regiments then in garrison at Paris. He was accused of bearing arms against the republic, which he did not deny. His behaviour before the tribunal was bold and undaunted. After a trial of two hours the court pronounced him guilty and passed on him the sentence of death, and he was shot in the moat of the castle. While in the prison of Strasburg, the duke wrote a letter to the first consul, in which he offered to disclose every thing he knew, provided a pardon was granted him. The letter was delivered to Talleyrand, who concealed it from the first consul till after the execution, otherwise it is not improbable that it would have operated in his favour. According to Napoleon's own confession, "he was the best of the family: he behaved with great bravery and much dignity before the court martial, and denied nothing. But it seemed necessary to make an example of one of the family, and it was most convenient to make the duke D'Enghien its victim." 

The war with great Britain, and the conspiracy of Georges and Pichegru, served as a ladder for Napoleon to mount from the consulate to the Imperial dignity. On the 27th of March, 1804, the senate, on receiving a communication of the conspiracy, sent a deputation to the first consul. The president, François de Neufchâteau, expressed himself as follows: "Citizen first consul; you are founding a new era, but you ought to make it eternal: splendour which does not endure is but a shadow. We cannot doubt that this great idea has occupied your mind, for your creating genius embraces everything and forgets nothing. Do not delay; you are urged by the time, by events, by conspirators, by the ambitious; you are urged on, in another point of view, by the restlessness which agitates Frenchmen. You may bind down time, command events, disarm ambition, tranquillize France, by giving it institutions which will cement your edifice, and which may prolong for the children that which you have done for their fathers. Citizen first consul, be well assured, the senate speaks here in the name of all the citizens."

On the 23rd of April, Napoleon returned the following answer to the address of the senate: "Your address has not ceased to be present to my thoughts; it has been the object of my constant meditations. You have judged the hereditary descent of the supreme magistracy necessary to protect the people from the conspiracies of our enemies, and the agitations which spring from ambitious rivalries. Many of our institutions have appeared to you to want improvement, in order to assign, without the possibility of vices of authority, the triumph of equality and public liberty, and offer to the nation and the government the double guarantee which they require. In proportion as I have concentrated my attention on these great objects, I have felt more and more that, in a case as novel as it is important, the counsels of your wisdom and experience were necessary to enable me to fix all my ideas. I invite you, therefore, to make known to me all your thoughts." The senate replied on the 3d of May—"The senate thinks that it is of the last importance to the French people to confide the government of the republic to NAPOLeON BuONaPArTE, hereditary Emperor." Such was the dénouement of this farcical transaction between the first consul and his obsequious senate! But waving reflections let us proceed.
The tribune Curée opened the discussion in the tribunate by a motion of order—and his motion was received with eagerness. Carnot alone had the courage to resist the proposition for converting the republic into an empire. "I am far," said he, "from wishing to lessen the praises due to the first consul; but whatever services a citizen may have rendered to his country, there are limits which honour as well as reason impose on the national gratitude. If this citizen has restored the public liberty, if he has accomplished the deliverance of his country, will it be a recompense to offer him only the sacrifice of this same liberty, and will it not be to annihilate his own work to offer him his country as his private patrimony? From the moment that it was proposed to the French people to vote upon the question of the consulate for life, any one might readily perceive that there existed an ulterior design. We saw in succession a multitude of institutions evidently monarchical. This day we see the termination of all these preliminary measures. We are summoned to pronounce upon the formal proposition of re-establishing the monarchical system, and of conferring upon the first consul the imperial dignity and its inheritance! Was liberty shown to man only that he might never enjoy it? No, I cannot consent to regard as a delusion this good, so universally preferred to all others, and without which all others are nothing. My heart tells me that liberty is attainable, and that a free government is easy and more stable than an arbitrary government. I voted against the consulate for life: I now vote against the re-establishment of monarchy, because I think that my office of tribune compels me so to do."

This was noble in Carnot, but he stood alone in his sentiments; his colleagues rose up with envy and amazement against the opinion of this one man who had escaped the contagion of slavery. One is forcibly struck in the harangues of this period of time, with the prodigious change which had taken place in the sentiments and language of these men since the death of Mirabeau. The revolution had now retrograded to the verge of the ancient régime. There was the same extravagance of flattery and the same fanaticism of slavery. The French threw themselves into the imperial government just as they precipitated themselves into the revolution. They had referred everything to the deliverance of the people in "the age of reason;" they now spoke only of the greatness of one man, and of the age of Buonaparte—they now fought for the establishment of kings as they had recently done for the creation of republics.

The tribunate, the legislative body, and the senate were equally eager to vote the empire, which was proclaimed at St. Cloud on the 18th of May, 1804. On the same day a senatus-consultum modified the constitution, adapting it to the new order of things. The pomp of attendance was still wanting to the imperial government—they therefore bestowed upon it French princes, grand dignitaries, marshals, chamberlains, and pages. All publicity was destroyed; the liberty of the press had been already subjected to a censorship; there remained only one tribune open to spectators, and this was now abolished. The sittings of the tribunate were partial and secret, as were those also of the council of state, and from this date for a period of ten years, France was governed with closed doors. Joseph and Louis Buonaparte were recognized French princes. Berthier, Murat, Moncey, Jourdan, Massena, Augereau, Bernadotte, Soult, Briune, Lannes, Mortier, Ney, Davoust, Besières, Kellermann, Lefebre, Perignon, Serrurier, were nominated marshals of the empire. Addresses poured in from the departments in abundance, and the clergy compared Napoleon to a second Moses, a new Matthias, a modern Cyrus &c. They saw in his elevation "the finger of God," and they said, "that submission was due to him as governor over all: to his ministers as sent by him; because such was the order of providence."

That nothing might be wanting to finish off this piece of pageantry and render it as solemn and imposing as possible, application was made to his holiness, pope Pius VII. the sovereign pontiff, to take a journey to Paris, for the purpose of placing the crown upon the head of Napoleon. The coronation took place on Sunday, December 2nd, in the church of Notre Dame. Previous
to his leaving Rome on this extraordinary occasion, his holiness made an address to the consistory, in which he told them, "Our dearest son in Christ, Napoleon, emperor of the French, who has so well deserved of the Catholic religion for what he has done, has signified to us his strong desire to be anointed with the holy unction, and to receive the imperial crown from us, to the end that the solemn rights, which are to place him in the highest rank, shall be strongly impressed with the character of religion, and call down more effectually the benediction of heaven.—We have also formed great hopes, that, having undertaken it by his invitation, when we shall speak with him face to face, such things may be effected by his wisdom for the good of the Catholic church, that we may be able to congratulate ourselves on having perfected the work of our holy religion."

This solemnity was in preparation long before-hand, and the whole ceremonial was regulated according to ancient usage. The emperor went to the metropolitan church, escorted by his guard. Marshal Kellermann carried the crown, the marshal Perignon the sceptre of Charlemagne. The empress Josephine, in a carriage surmounted by a crown, and drawn by eight white horses, formed part of the procession. The pope, the cardinals, the archbishops, the bishops, and all the high officers of the state, awaited him in the cathedral, which had been magnificently ornamented for this extraordinary occasion. He was harangued at the gate; and then, clothed in the imperial mantle, the crown on his head and the sceptre in his hand, he ascended the throne, which was raised at the bottom of the church. The grand almoner, a cardinal, and a bishop came to conduct him to the foot of the altar, to be there consecrated. The pope, having anointed him with a triple unction upon the head and hands, then pronounced the following prayer:—

"Almighty God, who didst establish Hazael for the government of Syria, and Jehu, king of Israel, in manifesting to them thy will by means of the prophet Elijah; thou who didst also spread the holy unction of kings upon the heads of Saul and David by the ministry of the prophet Samuel, spread also by my hands the treasures of thy grace and benediction upon thy servant Napoleon, whom, notwithstanding our personal unworthiness, we this day consecrate emperor in thy name."

The pope led him back with great solemnity to the throne, and after he had taken the oath prescribed by the new constitution, the principal herald at arms cried with a loud voice, "The most glorious and most august emperor of the French is crowned and enrowned! Long live the emperor!" The church now rang with the same cry; there was a discharge of artillery, and the pope chanted Te Deum. For many days the festivals were multiplied; but these forced festivals, these festivals of absolute power, breathed little of the vivid, frank, popular, unanimous joy of the first federation of the 14th of July; and however the nation might be pressed down, it did not welcome the advent of despotism, as it welcomed that of liberty!

After the arrest and execution of the duke d'Engheim, the emperor of Russia caused a strong remonstrance to be presented to the French government, and called on the princes of the German empire to demand satisfaction for that flagrant violation of its neutrality. The French government replied by remarking that the emperor of Germany and the king of Prussia, who were most concerned in the fate of Germany, had understood that the French government were authorized in arresting, at two leagues from the frontier, French rebels, who by their conduct had placed themselves out of the protection of the law of nations. The first consul of France had no account to render to the emperor of Russia, on a point which in no respects concerned his interests; and he was asked, what need there could be of empty pretences, if the intentions of his imperial majesty were to form a new coalition? He accused Russia of protecting French emigrants who were forming plots against him; and in avowing his repugnance to a war with that power, declared that he should prefer it to a state of things derogatory to the station which France held in Europe. A recriminative correspondence ensued on various points of dispute, until at length the Russian chargé d'affaires at the court of France demanded his passports.
The appeal of the emperor of Russia to the diet of Ratisbon, failed to
provoke the spirit of the Germanic body. The king of Prussia, whose
influence in the north of the empire was paramount, evinced no disposition to
resist the aggressions of Buonaparte, and his minister in conjunction with
that of Baden, merely expressed a hope that the first consul would, of him-
self, give such a full and satisfactory explanation respecting the seizure of
the duke d'Enghein as might entirely correspond with the views of the
emperor of Russia. The great majority of the other states, fearful of the re-
newal of a contest in which they might risk more than they could hope to
gain, maintained an inflexible silence. The king of Great Britain reminded
the diet that a still greater violation of the treaty of Lunéville, and of the
independence of Germany, had been committed by France in her unjustifi-
able seizure of the electorate of Hanover. The king of Sweden, as duke of
Pomerania, expressed in still stronger terms his abhorrence of the conduct
of France, which he considered as doubly injurious to himself, in his quality
of a member of the Germanic body; and in his sovereign capacity of guaran-
tee for the treaty of Westphalia.

These spirited remonstrances, from sovereigns who might safely defy the
resentment of France, could scarcely expect to be imitated by princes whose
territories lay at her mercy. Accordingly, the few who declared themselves
on this occasion, adopted the cautious policy of Brandenburg and Baden.
But though the influence of France seemed to be thus paramount in Ger-
many, it was not so absolute as to leave her at full liberty to direct her
whole force against England. In protesting against the outrage committed
against the law of nations, the emperor of Russia had pressed for the execu-
tion of a treaty, of which the objects were, a guarantee of the independence
of Naples, and an indemnity to the king of Sardinia; and these demands
provoked the first consul to remove into Italy some of the battalions des-
tined for the invasion of England. Austria, in the mean while, had been
employed in repairing the losses which her armies had sustained in the late
war, and in placing her military establishments on the best possible footing.
She had been involved in a dispute with the elector of Bavaria, who, either
stimulated by France, or calculating on her support, had oppressed the
equestrian order in his newly acquired territories of Franconia. On the ap-
pearance of that body, the emperor sent a dignified and energetic remonstra-
tion to the court of Munich, and at the same time assured the complainants
of his support. This mark of decision served to convince the government of
France, that there was a line beyond which their aggression must not pass,
so long as they deemed it expedient to remain at peace with Austria. France
therefore expressed her displeasure at the conduct of the elector of Bavaria,
and thus the affair terminated.

While the current of events in one part of the continent took a direction
favourable to England, a change was operating in another quarter, which
threatened to involve her in extended hostilities. Since the renewal of war,
Spain had maintained an ostensible neutrality, while she continued to serve
as the secret ally and vassal of France. By the treaty of St. Ildefonso, con-
cluded in 1796, she had covenanted to furnish a stated contingent of naval
and military force, for the prosecution of any war in which France might
think proper to engage, specifically renouncing her right to enquire into the
nature, origin, or justice of the war. For prudential reasons, and from mo-
tives of forbearance, Great Britain conformed at this conduct, and abstained
from exercising the right which she possessed of compelling Spain to re-
nounce this treaty. It does not appear that any express demand of assist-
ance had been made by France previous to July 1803; and on the first no-
tification of the war, the British minister at Madrid, was led to believe that
his Catholic majesty did not think himself necessarily bound by the mere
fact of a war between England and France, to fulfil the stipulations of the
treaty of Ildefonso. In the month of October following, a convention was
signed, by which Spain agreed to pay to France a certain sum monthly, in
lieu of naval and military succours, but of the amount of that sum no official
information was given.
The British ambassador made known to the Spanish government, that a subsidy amounting to the sum which they were supposed to pay to France, far exceeded the bounds of forbearance, and could only be connived at by England as a temporary expedient. He was afterwards instructed to protest against the convention itself as a violation of neutrality, and a justifiable cause of war; and further to declare, that if persevered in, it would be considered in that light; that the entrance of any French troops into Spain must be refused; that any naval preparations would be regarded as a just cause of jealousy, and any attempts to give naval assistance to France would be an immediate cause of war: that the Spanish ports must remain open to British commerce; and that British ships must have equal treatment with those of France. Mr. Frere was further instructed by his government, that if any French troops entered Spain, or should he receive authentic information of any naval armaments preparing for the assistance of France, he was instantly to quit Madrid, and give immediate notice to the British naval commanders, that they might proceed to hostilities without the delay that would be occasioned by a reference to the British government at home.

In the month of July the Spanish government gave assurances of faithful and settled neutrality, and disavowed any orders to arm in their ports; but in the month following it was ascertained by the British admiral commanding the squadron off Ferrol, that re-inforcements of soldiers and sailors had arrived through Spain for the French fleets at that port and Toulon. On receiving this intelligence, Mr. Frere presented two notes to the Spanish minister, remonstrating on this procedure, but no answer was returned to either of them. Towards the end of September it was discovered, that very considerable armaments were preparing in the principal ports of Spain; that three first-rate ships of the line had received orders to sail from Cadiz; and that instructions had been issued to arm the packets as in time of war.

To the inquiries and representations grounded on this intelligence, no satisfactory explanations were given, and strong measures of precaution were consequently adopted. In particular, the British admiral off Ferrol was instructed to prevent any ships of war from quitting that port, or any additional ships of war from entering it. Orders were at the same time issued to all the British admirals and commanders to exercise a scrupulous indulgence and forbearance towards the Spaniards, and to avoid, by every means consistent with the attainment of their object, any act of violence or hostility. Official notice was given to the court of Madrid of these precautions, with an assurance that England still felt an earnest desire to maintain a good understanding with Spain; but that this could only be on the condition that she abstained from all hostile preparations, and that she made a full and explicit disclosure of the nature and extent of her engagements with France, which had hitherto been so frequently and so fruitlessly demanded.

These remonstrances, however, failed in rousing the court of Madrid from the abject state of vassalage to which that power had been reduced by an imbecile and corrupt administration, and the British government issued orders for the detention of such Spanish ships of war homeward bound as contained bullion or treasure. Pursuant to these orders, captain Graham Moore was detached from the channel fleet to cruise off Cadiz, with the Indefatigable and three other frigates. On the 5th of October he fell in with four large Spanish frigates steering for that port. At his approach they formed the line of battle a-head, and held on their course without regarding his summons to shorten sail, which he gave on placing each of his ships along side of theirs. Captain Moore then fired a shot across the fore-poop of the second of the Spanish ships, which bore a rear-admiral's flag, and this had the desired effect of bringing them to parley. He then sent an officer to inform the admiral that his orders were to detain the squadron, and that it was his earnest wish to execute those orders without bloodshed; but that the determination on the part of the Spaniards must be instantly made. An unsatisfactory answer having been returned, a close fight ensued, and in less than ten minutes the admiral's second astern, the Las Mercedes, blew up with a
tremendous explosion. The remaining three frigates struck in succession after a considerable loss in killed and wounded.

A truly affecting incident attended the loss of the Mercedes. A gentleman of rank, who was returning to Spain in that ship with his whole family, which consisted of his lady, four daughters, and five sons, had passed with one of the latter on board another frigate before the action commenced, and they had there the horror of witnessing the dreadful catastrophe which, in an instant severed them from their dearest relatives, and deprived them of a fortune which had been saved during five and twenty years of foreign service! Captain Moore, on their passage to England, did all in his power to mitigate the anguish of the surviving father and son, and their strong claims on the humanity of the British government were not disregarded. The cargoes of the captured ships were of immense value, consisting of gold and silver bullion and rich merchandize; but Mr. Pitt, and his associates in the ministry were severely censured for not having preceded this terrible blow by a declaration of war, and also for not sending such a superior force as would have precluded all hope of successful resistance.

It is remarkable that this event did not occasion any interruption of the pending negotiations at Madrid. On the 26th of October, the British minister presented to that of Spain, a note, in which three points were insisted on as preliminary to the settlement of other matters then under discussion. He demanded that the orders given at Ferrol, Cadiz, and Carthagena should be countermanded, as well for the equipment of ships of war in those ports as for their removal from one port to the other; that the armament should be discontinued, and the establishment of ships of war replaced on its former footing when hostilities commenced between England and France; and, lastly, that a full disclosure should be made of the existing engagements, and future intentions of Spain with respect to France. From this time till the 2nd of November, the discussions continued with little variation in their tenor—of urgent demand of satisfaction on one side, and of evasive replies on the other. On the 14th of December, however, the British chargé d'affaires, quitted Madrid, his Catholic majesty having declared war against England two days before. During the whole negotiation no mention whatever had been made of the captured treasure-ships, and the rupture ultimately took place on grounds distinct from and totally unconnected with that measure. It was a necessary consequence of the arbitrary conduct of France, in compelling Spain to violate conditions on which, according to distinct and repeated notices from England, the continuance of peace depended.

France had now at her disposal the fleets of her tributary ally, and was thus enabled to cope, on less unequal terms than formerly, with the navy of Great Britain. In the interim she had neglected no means of improving and augmenting her own marine. By a convention, concluded on the 20th of October, she obtained from the Ligurian republic, in exchange for some commercial advantages of a very equivocal nature, the services of six thousand men during the war, and the use of their harbours, arsenals and dock-yards. Thus the port of Genoa was virtually ceded to her, under an engagement that the Ligurian republic should, at its own expense, enlarge the basin for the reception of ten sail of the line, which were to be immediately constructed.

The rising hostility of Russia and Sweden at this moment, increased the jealousy of the French government against the influence of England on the continent; and under the pretext of frustrating a conspiracy, another insult was committed on the rights of neutral states. On the 25th of October, 1804, sir George Rumbold, the British chargé d'affaires in the circle of Lower Saxony, was seized at his country house near Hamburg, by a party of French troops who had crossed the Elbe for that purpose. He was conveyed to Paris, imprisoned in the Temple, and released only on signing a parole not to return to Hamburg, or reside within a certain distance of the French territories. On the subject of this outrage, an application was made, by the British minister for foreign affairs, to the cabinet of Berlin; but a remonstrance from his Prussian majesty had already been made with success for the
liberation of the envoy. After in vain applying for the restitution of his papers, he was conveyed to Cherbourg, and sent by a flag of truce on board the Niobe frigate, which conveyed him to Portsmouth.

The threat of invasion was kept up against England during the whole of the year 1804, and to counteract it, several operations were at different time, undertaken against the enemy's armaments on the coasts of France and Holland, but they were seldom crowned with success. On the 16th of May, an attempt was made by the gallant sir Sidney Smith, in the Antelope frigate, with some sloops of war, to prevent the junction of the flotilla which lay in the harbour of Flushing from joining that of Ostend. The failure of success was attributed to the want of gun-boats. Fifty-nine sail of the Flushing division reached their destination in safety; and the English force, after the ebbing of the tide, were obliged to haul off into deep water, with the loss of about fifty men killed and wounded. In August an attack was made by captain Owen on the flotilla anchored in the road of Boulogne, but with little success; and those of captain Oliver, made about the same period at Havre, failed of their object, and produced no other result than some damage occasioned by the explosion of shells in the town. In the beginning of October, so great a proportion of the enemy's flotilla had collected at Boulogne, that the alarm of invasion became universal throughout England; and ministers were induced to sanction a project, which had been submitted to them, for destroying the whole armament by means of copper vessels of an oblong form filled with combustibles, and so constructed as to explode by clock-work in a given time. These vessels which obtained the name of Catamarans, were to be towed and fastened under the bottoms of the enemy's gun-boats by a man in a small raft, who, being seated up to the chin in water, might possibly elude detection in a dark night. Fire-ships of various constructions were also to co-operate in the attack. The experiment was to be made under the direction of lord Keith, who was to cover the smaller force with his powerful squadron; and the appearance of a hundred and fifty sail of the enemy's flotilla, in the outer road of Boulogne, presented a favourable opportunity for executing an enterprise respecting which the public curiosity had been strongly excited.

On the 2nd of October, lord Keith anchored at about a league and a half from the north to the west of the harbour, and the requisite preparations were made for commencing the attack at night. So strongly were the English ministers interested in its success, that Mr. Pitt and several other members of the cabinet were induced to witness the scene from Walmer castle. At a quarter past nine, the first detachment of the fire-ships was launched under a heavy fire from the advanced force, which was answered by a tremendous one from the hostile batteries. The vessels of the flotilla opened a passage for them as they approached, and so completely avoided them that they passed into the rear of the line without doing any damage. At half past ten the first explosion ship blew up, producing an immense column of fire, but no mischief either to the ships or the batteries. A second, and a third, and a fourth, succeeded no better; and at length when twelve had been exploded, the engagement ceased about four in the morning, and the English smaller vessels drew off without the loss of a man. No perceptible destruction had been effected except of two brigs and some small craft which seemed to be missing in the morning. Thus terminated to the confusion of the projectors, and the disappointment of the public, an expedition prepared at a greater expense than the merits of the plan, on mature examination, might have warranted.
Continuation of the History of Europe, from the commencement of the war with Spain to the battle of Trafalgar, 1805.—Liberal supplies granted to Mr. Pitt.—Impeachment of Lord Melville.—Change of the continental republics into kingdoms.—Napoleon made King of Italy.—Third coalition formed against France.—Battle of Austerlitz, and capture of Vienna.—Peace of Presburg—Naval victory of Trafalgar.—Death of Lord Nelson; and honours paid to his memory.—Death and character of Mr. Pitt.

The commencement of the year 1805 was distinguished by an overture for peace, comprised in a letter from the newly appointed emperor of France, dated January 2nd, to his majesty George III. Some little elation of mind arising from his recent exaltation was obvious in his present, as it had also been in his former epistle, which announced his advancement to the consular dignity; it, nevertheless, contained sentiments of which the greatest monarch could have no reason to be ashamed. "My first wish," said he, "is for peace. I consider it as no disgrace to make the first advance; and certainly there never was a moment more favourable to silence all the passions, and listen only to the sentiments of reason and humanity. The world is large enough for our two nations to live in it; and reason is sufficiently powerful to discover means of reconciling, when the wish for reconciliation exists on both sides. I have fulfilled a sacred duty in making this overture, and trust your majesty will believe in the sincerity of my sentiments, and my wish to give you every proof of it." The reply of the English government, dated on the 14th of January, was decorous in its language, but wholly evasive; and not the slightest wish was expressed for further explanation. After acknowledging the receipt of Napoleon's letter, and professing an ardent desire for peace, the answer concluded with coldly declaring that "his majesty feels it impossible for him to reply more particularly to the overture that has been made him, till he has had time to communicate with the powers on the continent, with whom he is engaged in confidential connexions and relations, and particularly the emperor of Russia."

Mr. Pitt, who was now re-instated in office, began to exert himself, by all possible means, to strengthen his administration, which he was in some measure enabled to effect by means of a re-conciliation with the minister whom he had so lately supplanted. On the 12th of January, Mr. Addington was created viscount Sidmouth, and appointed president of the council, on the resignation of the duke of Portland; lord Mulgrave was made foreign secretary; and Mr Vansittart, with other friends of lord Sidmouth were sworn of the privy council. When the subject of the war with Spain came under parliamentary investigation, the attack on the Spanish frigates was severely censured by several speakers, and by none more pointedly than by lord Grenville, who reprobed the proceeding as at once barbarous and unjust. "The laws of civilized war," said his lordship, "allow no such act of violence as that which has been committed in assaulting the Spanish ships on the high seas. It has been assimilated to an embargo; but was there no difference between delaying merchant vessels, which might be delivered back, and destroying ships navigating the ocean in supposed security? Who can restore the innocent blood that has been spilt? No capture of treasure could wash away the stain thus brought upon our arms."

The supplies for the year amounted to about four and forty millions, of which sum twenty millions were raised by a loan. A considerable addition was made to the war taxes, and the property tax was raised to six and a quarter per cent. The new taxes imposed in perpetuity were estimated at one million six hundred thousand pounds; and the minister, while in the act of thus
heavily adding to the weight of the public burdens, concluded an eloquent speech by congratulating the house on the increasing prosperity of the country!

At this time proceedings were instituted against a member of the administration, which for a considerable time strongly engaged the public attention. In the month of April 1805, a charge was exhibited against lord Melville, first lord of the admiralty, founded on the tenth report of the commissioners of naval enquiry. It was brought before the house of commons by Mr. Whitbread, who, after referring to the act passed in 1785, for regulating the department of the treasurer of the navy, of which lord Melville, then occupying that post, was himself the supporter, and which act advanced the salary of the place from two thousand to four thousand pounds per annum, in lieu of all emoluments which might have previously been derived from the public money in the treasurer's hands, stated three heads of charge bearing upon him. These were—his applying the money of the public to other uses than those of the naval department; his conniving at a system of peculation in an individual, Mr. Trotter, for whose conduct he was responsible; and his having been a participator in that peculation. He concluded a speech, in which the particular circumstances of the case were laid open, by moving a series of resolutions founded thereupon. Mr. Pitt, after observing that there was nothing in the report of the commissioners which implied that any mischief had arisen to the public from the circumstances complained of, objected to the method of proceeding now proposed, and thought the best course that could be pursued would be, to refer the report to a select committee. He therefore moved an amendment to that purpose, which he afterwards changed, on the suggestion of Mr. Fox, for a motion for the previous question. The debate was now continued, and on a division of the house, there appeared for Mr. Whitbread's motion two hundred and sixteen, against it two hundred and sixteen, when the speaker gave his casting vote in its favour. Mr. Whitbread then moved an address to the king, requesting him to remove lord Melville for ever from his presence and councils; but, at the desire of Mr. Pitt, he agreed to postpone the motion to a future day. When that day arrived, the house was informed that lord Melville had resigned his office of first lord of the admiralty, and also that Mr. Trotter had been dismissed from that of paymaster to the navy. It being suggested by some member of the house, that there was at least a possibility of lord Melville's return to office, Mr. Pitt said he had no hesitation in declaring that all idea of his lordship's resumption of office at a future period was completely annihilated. It was afterwards announced, that lord Melville's name had been erased from the list of the privy council.

When various proceedings had taken place, his lordship requested permission to be heard at the bar of the house of commons, respecting the matter contained in the report of the commissioners, which was granted him. On this occasion he acknowledged having appropriated the public money entrusted to him to other public purposes, but solemnly denied having derived any benefit therefrom, or that he had participated in the profits made by Mr. Trotter. He nevertheless confessed that he had applied the sum of ten thousand pounds, in a way which he could not reveal, consistently with private honour and public duty. When his lordship had withdrawn, Mr. Whitbread moved for his impeachment which was negatived by a majority of two hundred and seventy-two to one hundred and ninety-five; and an amendment moved by Mr. Bond, for a criminal prosecution passed by the small majority of two hundred and thirty-eight to two hundred and twenty-nine. His lordship's friends, however, soon after finding reason to prefer an impeachment, a motion for that purpose was made by Mr. Leicester and carried without a division. Mr. Whitbread, accordingly, accompanied by a great number of members of the lower house, on the 26th of June, impeached lord Melville at the bar of the house of lords, in the name of the commons of Great Britain. A bill of a very problematical nature subsequently passed, to indemnify Alexander Trotter and all others called upon to give evidence on the trial of lord Melville, from civil actions. The trial
itself, on account of the lateness of the session, was postponed to the following year. It then commenced in Westminster-hall, on the 29th of April, before the lords, the members of the house of commons being present in a committee of the whole house. The trial was conducted with unusual dispatch for a proceeding of that nature; the evidence and arguments on both sides being closed on the 17th of May, and sentence pronounced on the 12th of June. The result was, that, by a majority, his lordship was pronounced not guilty. His lordship was succeeded in the admiralty by sir Charles Middleton, on whom was conferred the title of lord Barham. But the loss of so able a colleague as lord Melville, from a cause so unexpected, occasioned deep and lasting chagrin to Mr. Pitt, upon whom almost the whole weight of business now devolved; and his health, previously infirm, from this time suffered a manifest depression.

The public events of the year 1805, both political and military, place it among the most interesting in the history of the war; let me direct your attention, my son, for a moment, to the affairs of the continent.

The French directory, during the term of its continuance, had moulded all the surrounding states into republics: Napoleon now wished to constitute them on the model of the empire—they were to be raised to the dignity of kingdoms, and he began with that of Italy. An order in council of the Cisalpine republic decided that hereditary monarchy should be re-established in favour of Napoleon Buonaparte. Its vice-president, M. Melzy, accordingly proceeded to Paris to make known to the emperor this decision. On the 17th of March, 1805, he was received at the Tuileries in solemn audience. Napoleon was upon his throne, surrounded by his court and all the brilliancy of sovereign power, of which he was passionately fond. M. Melzy offered him the crown, in the name of his fellow citizens. "Sire," said he to him in conclusion, "deign to realize the wishes of the assembly over which I have the honour to preside. Interpreter of the sentiments which animate all Italian hearts, it brings to you their most sincere homage. It will gladly inform them that, in accepting their prayer, you have redoubled the force of the bonds which attach you to the preservation, the defence, the prosperity of the Italian nation. Yes, Sire, you willed that the Italian republic should exist, and it has existed. Will that the Italian monarchy should be happy, and it will be so."

In the month of May, the emperor left his own capital to take possession of this realm, and on the 26th he received the iron crown of the Lombards. He nominated prince Eugene de Beauharnois, his adopted son, viceroy of Italy. From thence he proceeded to Genoa, which also abandoned itself to his sovereignty. On the 4th of June, its territory was re-united to the empire, and formed the three departments of Genoa, of Montenotte, and of the Appenines. The small republic of Lucca was also comprised in this monarchical revolution. Upon the demand of its chief magistrate, it was bestowed as an appendage on the prince and princess of Piombino, one of the sisters of Napoleon. He himself, after his royal progress repassed the Alps, and returned to the capital of his empire, from whence he shortly after set out for the camp of Boulogne, where he was preparing a maritime expedition against England. This project of invasion, which the directory had entertained after the peace of Campo Formio, and the first consul after the peace of Lunéville, had been resumed with much zeal since the re-commencement of hostilities between the two countries. At the opening of the year 1805, a flotilla of two thousand small vessels, manned by sixteen thousand sailors, capable of carrying an army of a hundred and sixty thousand men, nine thousand horse, and a numerous artillery, was assembled in the ports of Boulogne, Etables, Vimereux, Ambleteuse, and Calais. The emperor was accelerating by his presence the completion of this maritime expedition, which was placed under the commands of some of the ablest generals in the French service. Squadrons of French ships, which had hitherto been cautiously kept in port, were now hazarded out to sea, in order to divide the British naval force; while greater enterprises were projected by the junction of the Spanish and French fleets. On the other hand, nothing was wanting on this
side the channel to provide adequate means of resistance. The southern coast of England was fortified on the most exposed parts by a range of Martello towers, and every effort was made for increasing the forces by sea and land.

At this portentous moment, when the vulture was ready to pounce upon his prey, Napoleon was roused from his reverie by learning that all the forces of the Austrian monarchy were in motion. Ninety thousand men under the command of the archduke Ferdinand and general Mack, had passed the Inn, invaded Munich, and expelled the elector of Bavaria, the ally of France; thirty thousand under the archduke John, had occupied the Tyrol; and the archduke Charles with a hundred thousand men had advanced upon the Adige. A treaty had also been signed on the 11th of April, between Russia and England in which the parties reciprocally bound themselves to use their utmost exertions for forming a general league of the states of Europe, for the purpose of putting a stop to the encroachments of the French government, and securing the independence of the different states. Two Russian armies were also now preparing to join the Austrians, the consequence of the third coalition which England had organized. In fact, the establishment of the kingdom of Italy; the re-union of Genoa and Piedmont to France; the open influence which the emperor Napoleon exercised over Holland and Switzerland, had once more roused the energies of all Europe, which now dreaded the ambition of Buonaparte, as it had in former times been terrified by the principles of the revolution.

Napoleon now found other matters to engage his attention and employ his troops than the invasion of England; and, therefore, instantly quitting Boulogne he returned to Paris, presented himself to the senate on the 23rd of September, obtained a levy of eighty thousand men, and on the following day set out to commence the campaign. He passed the Rhine on the 1st of October, and entered Bavaria on the 6th with an army of a hundred and sixty thousand men. On joining the army, he addressed them in a proclamation drawn up in his usual vaunting style, in which he told them:—"You are but the vanguard of the great nation; if it be necessary, it will in a "moment rise at my voice, to dissolve this new league which British gold "and hatred hath woven." Unfortunately these were not vain words.

The French army marched in six divisions under the command of marshals Bernadotte, Marmont, Davoust, Soult, Ney, and Lannes. The Bavarians having formed a junction with two of these divisions at Wurtz burg, they advanced towards the Danube on the north, while the other divisions were proceeding in different directions, the main object being to cut off the communication between the Austrian army under general Mack, consisting of eighty or ninety thousand men, which had advanced to the defiles of the Black Forest, and the territories of Austria. By a series of bold manoeuvres, and successful actions, this was so completely effected by the middle of October, that Mack was entirely surrounded in Ulm with thirty thousand men, who remained to him after the loss of several detached portions of his army, and the retreat of a part to Bohemia under the archduke Ferdinand. Preparations were instantly made for storming Ulm; but a summons being sent to Mack to capitulate, he thought it most advisable to comply with it. On the 20th of October, the whole of the Austrian troops in that city laid down their arms before the emperor of France, surrendering themselves prisoners of war, with all their artillery, magazines, &c. Thus was nearly annihilated the force with which the Austrians commenced the campaign, about sixty thousand of them having been taken prisoners, with comparatively a small loss on the part of the French.

Vienna was now the object in the view of Napoleon, and he pursued it with unabated ardour. Proceeding to Munich, he advanced at the head of the main body of his army, having before him a corps of Austrians which had been re-inforced by the first column of the Russians. The French crossed the Inn in the face of these allies, who, not being strong enough to resist them, retreated step by step on the road to Vienna. In the first week of November, Napoleon had his head-quarters at Linz, where he received pro-
posals from the allies for an armistice, to which he replied by stating such conditions as a conqueror only could dictate; and in the mean time he continued his operations. The alarm at Vienna was now extreme. The emperor Francis retired with all his court to Brunn in Moravia, while the greater part of the nobility sought an asylum in Hungary. The inhabitants in general patiently awaited the conqueror, and only appointed a guard to aid the police in keeping the city tranquil. On the 11th the main body of the French army arrived and took up their quarters in the suburbs. They entered Vienna on the 13th, the advanced guard passing through by the bridge over the Danube without halting. On the 15th, Napoleon joined the army which was advancing into Moravia to meet the Russians.

While these events were passing in Germany, active operations were pursued in Italy, where Masséna was opposed to the archduke Charles. The archduke John occupied the passes of the Tyrol, in order to keep up a communication between the forces in Germany and those in the Venetian territory. On the 18th of October, the French forced the passage of the Adige, and took a position near Caldero, where the archduke Charles was strongly posted. Masséna having thus received intelligence of the surrender of Mack, and the advance of Napoleon, made a general attack on the archduke’s lines, which, after a severe conflict, he entirely broke inflicting great loss. After this disaster, the archduke began his retreat, pursued by the French, who on the 3rd of December obtained possession of Vicenza. Both armies passed the Brenta, and the Tagliamento; and the Austrians continued their retrograde motion, perpetually harassed by the pursuers, till they reached Laybach in Carniola. Masséna then halted to ascertain what was passing in the Tyrol, where the archduke John was closely pressed by different French divisions, until at length Ney having forced his way to Innsbruck, and pushed his head-quarters to Bolzano, the archduke, finding himself unable to defend the Tyrol, formed a junction with his brother at Laybach. They then hastened their march towards Vienna, while the French, who had recaptured the Tyrol, proceeded to join the main army, Masséna holding the archduke’s in check.

The main body of the allies now consisted of about fifty thousand Russians with the emperor Alexander at their head, and twenty-five thousand Austrians, chiefly of new levies. The French when joined by the divisions of Beradotte and Davoust, amounted to between seventy and eighty thousand men, in the highest state of discipline, and full of confidence from past successes. On the 2nd of December, the anniversary of the coronation, the two armies engaged on the plain of Austerlitz, on the direct road from Vienna to Olmutz. This memorable battle, distinguished by the name of the place where it was fought, was further signalized by the presence of the three emperors—Russia, France, and Austria. Napoleon was his own general-in-chief: the Russians were commanded by general Kutusoff; and the Austrians by prince John of Lichtenstein. The battle commenced at sun-rise; then these enormous masses were put in motion; and it continued till evening, full of variety and sanguinary in the extreme. The Russian infantry were unable to withstand the impetuosity of the French troops and the manoeuvres of their general. The left wing of the allies was broken, and the imperial Russian guard endeavoured to re-establish the communication, but was entirely crushed. The centre experienced the same fate; and the contest terminated with the retreat of the allies in good order, but with the loss of many prisoners and the greatest part of their artillery and baggage. On the following day the French advanced; and an armistice proposed by the emperor Francis took place on the 4th. By its terms the French army was to remain in possession of all its conquests till the conclusion of a definitive peace, or till the rupture of the negotiations for it; in the latter case, hostilities were not to recommence till fourteen days after notice formally given. It was further stipulated that the Russian army should evacuate Moravia and Bohemia within fifteen days, and Hungary within a month, and to retire by prescribed routes; moreover, that there should be no extraordinary levy of troops in the Austrian dominions during this period. To these sumi-
listing terms, the emperor of Russia refused to become a party, and he commenced a retreat in his own manner on the 6th of December. On the day after the battle of Austerlitz, Napoleon issued a proclamation on the field of battle, in which he congratulated his army in the following terms. "Soldiers! "Your conduct is most satisfactory; you have covered your eagles with immortal glory. An army of a hundred thousand men, commanded by the emperors of Russia and Austria, has been in less than four hours cut to pieces or dispersed, they who have escaped your swords have perished in the lakes. Forty stand of colours; the standards of the imperial Russian guard; a hundred and twenty pieces of cannon; twenty generals; and more than thirty thousand prisoners are the result of this for ever glorious day. Their infantry, so vaunted and so superior in numbers, has been unable to resist your onset; and henceforth you have no rivals to dread. "Thus, in two months, this third coalition has been vanquished and dispersed."

The peace of Presburg followed the victories of Ulm and Austerlitz; it was signed on the 28th of December. The house of Austria, which had lost its foreign possessions, Belgium and the Milanese, was now further curtailed of some of its German territories. It ceded the provinces of Dalmatia and Albania to the kingdom of Italy; the district of Tyrol, the town of Augsburg, the principality of Eichstadt, a part of the territory of Passau, and all its possessions in Swabia, Brisgau, and Ortenau, to the electorates of Bavaria and Wurtemberg, which were transformed into kingdoms. The grand duchy of Baden was also enriched by its spoils. The treaty of Presburg completed the humiliation of Austria—an abasement begun by the treaty of Campo-Formio, and continued by that of Luneville. The emperor, on his return to Paris, crowned with glory, became the object of such universal admiration, that he was himself stunned by the general enthusiasm and intoxicated by his fortunes. He was now Napoleon "the Great," and the senate decreed him a triumphal monument.

Elated, as he well might be, by his success upon the continent, we cannot wonder that Napoleon should determine to realize his haughty menace, that the sea should no longer belong to England; but, happy for mankind, he was not so great a favourite with Neptune as he was with Mars, the truth of which will presently appear. Early in year 1805, a squadron of six sail of the line and two frigates, which had been blockaded for more than two years in Rochefort, had found means to elude the British force stationed off that port, and put to sea. Soon after the sailing of that squadron, an armament of far greater magnitude sailed from the harbour of Toulon. This fleet, commanded by admiral Villeneuve, consisted of eleven sail of the line, and a number of frigates and corvettes, on board of which about ten thousand land forces were embarked. On the 15th of March they quitted the harbour, without being perceived by lord Nelson’s squadron, who, preferring active warfare to a rigorous blockade, was then cruising at some distance, in the hope of inviting the enemy to an open engagement. After touching at Cartagena, where there were six Spanish ships of the line, but not in a state of readiness for sea, the French admiral proceeded to Cadiz. That port was blockaded by sir John Orde, with a British squadron of only five sail of the line, which being too weak to prevent the junction of the enemy, the Toulon fleet was re-inforced by that of the Spanish admiral Gravina on the 9th of April, consisting of six ships of the line and a number of frigates. The combined fleets immediately stood out to sea, and before night a strong easterly wind carried them out of sight of Cadiz.

Lord Nelson, who was then cruising in the Mediterranean, was no sooner informed of the French fleet having sailed, than he commenced his memorable pursuit. From the re-commencement of the war, the ruler of France had been supposed to have his eye steadily fixed on the conquest of Egypt, and that country was supposed to be the destination of the Toulon armament. Under this impression the British admiral directed his course towards the coast of Egypt. Having touched at Sicily and Malta, he arrived at the mouth of the Nile, the celebrated scene of his former glory. Here he was surprised at
not being able to obtain any intelligence of the enemy's fleet. As his mind was still impressed with the idea of its being on the way towards Egypt, he formed the design of intercepting it in some part of the Mediterranean. In this view he retraced his course toward Sicily, and continued cruising off that island, in the most anxious expectation, till the middle of April, when, to his great mortification and astonishment, he found that he had been totally deceived in his conjectures. The British admiral now became satisfied that the enemy had proceeded for the West Indies, and therefore resolved to direct his pursuit towards that quarter.

Leaving the Sicilian seas, and having passed the Straits of Gibraltar, he repaired to the Bay of Lagos. Here he received certain information of the course which the enemy had taken. His doubts were now removed, and his hopes re-animated. Inspired with fresh ardour, he weighed from the Bay of Lagos with ten ships of the line and three frigates, and steered with a crowded sail for Barbadoes. In his passage he spoke two vessels bound for England, from which he learned that the combined fleets had, ten days before, passed Barbadoes; and on his arrival at that island, he received information that they were gone to attack Trinidad. On the following day his lordship sailed for that island, where he found himself once more disappointed. No probability of meeting with the object of his pursuit was now left, except in steering to the northward, and successively visiting all the islands.

The British admiral having adopted this measure, first proceeded to Grenada, where he received intelligence that the enemy had only the preceding morning left Martinique, and was steering a northerly course. After so long and so tedious a chase, to find himself within three days' sail of the hostile fleets, was a circumstance which flattered his views and inspired him with fresh hopes, being confident that, in the event of their making an attack on Antigua, or any other island, he could not fail of coming up with them, and frustrating their designs. But the French admiral, having received intelligence of the arrival of the British fleet in those seas, put into Martinique, and having watered his ships and refreshed his men, on the 7th of June he set sail, and bent his course towards Europe.

Lord Nelson, in the mean time, proceeded to Antigua, where, on his arrival, he found that the combined fleets had a few days before passed that island to the northward. Being now persuaded that they were on their return to Europe, he steered with a full press of sail in that direction, in the hope of overtaking them before they could reach any of their ports. But this expectation, like the rest, proved fallacious. His lordship, however, had too much experience of the uncertainty of naval operations, to calculate fully on the probability of coming up with the enemy. He no sooner found reason to suspect that the combined fleets had shaped their course back to Europe, than he instantly dispatched a fast-sailing vessel to communicate advice to government, in order that proper measures might be taken to intercept them on their return.

In consequence of this information the fleets were met off Ferrol by Sir Robert Calder, who was cruising for that purpose with fifteen sail of the line. The enemy's fleet consisted of not less than twenty sail of the line; but notwithstanding the superiority of their force, the British commander did not hesitate a moment in bringing them to action. On the 22nd of July the encounter took place, three days after Lord Nelson had reached Gibraltar on his return from the West Indies. The unequal contest terminated with the capture of two Spanish ships of the line, the San Raphael and the Firma, the former of eighty-four, and the latter seventy-four guns. But the enemy being a great way to the windward, and the weather foggy and unfavourable, the admiral found it impossible to renew the action, without separating the fleet from the prizes and from his own crippled ships, as well as risking the masts and yards of several others, which were in so disabled a state as to be incapable of bearing such a press of sail as would have been required in chasing an enemy so far to the windward. Had these obstacles not intervened, the victory would doubtless have been more complete.
From the havoc made on board the captured ships, the loss of the enemy appeared to have been considerable; that of the English was only eleven men killed, and one hundred and fifty-eight wounded. The admiral's dispatches held out some expectation of a second engagement, and a more decisive victory; but his hopes and those of the public were in this respect disappointed. On the fourth day after the action the enemy's fleet disappeared, and got into Vigo.

This result greatly disappointed the public mind, and the murmurs of disapproval were so loud and general, that the British admiral returned to England and demanded a court-martial. The consequence of this investigation was, that he was reprimanded, not for having betrayed either fear or cowardice, but for an error in judgment, in not having made the most of the opportunity afforded him of destroying or capturing every ship of the enemy which it was his duty to engage. The hostile fleets having reached Ferrol in safety, and there augmented their force to twenty-seven sail of the line, next proceeded to Cadiz, and entered that port on the 27th of August, the small squadron under admiral Collingwood not offering any opposition, which indeed would have been equally rash and ineffectual against so overwhelming a force.

Lord Nelson, after his return from the West Indies, proceeded to London, where on his arrival he was received with those honours which he had so justly merited by his intrepid exertions. He now received an appointment to the command of a fleet of sufficient force to cope with the enemy, in any quarter of the world to which they might be destined. On the 11th of September he hoisted his flag on board the Victory at Portsmouth, and put to sea on the following day, without waiting for five ships of the line which were preparing to sail with him. Having taken command of the fleet under lord Collingwood on the coast of Spain, he resumed his former tactics, and instead of blockading the port of Cadiz, he stationed his main force near Cape St. Mary's, establishing a line of frigates to observe and communicate the movements of the enemy. In the middle of October, on being apprised that a re-inforcement of seven sail of the line would speedily join him from England, he detached admiral Louis with six ships of the line on a particular service; and this bold manœuvre was performed in so open a manner, that it had the desired effect of inducing the enemy to put to sea.

On the 19th of October admiral Villeneuve, with thirty-two sail of the line, seven frigates, and eight corvettes, got under weigh, and sailed with a light breeze to the westward. Intelligence of this movement was conveyed to lord Nelson by the frigates which were appointed to watch their motions. His lordship, concluding their destination to be for the Mediterranean, now bore away with a crowded sail for the entrance of the Straits, where, on his arrival, he was informed by captain Blackwood that the hostile fleet had not yet made its appearance. At length, however, the glorious but fatal day arrived, which was to complete the triumphs and close the career of the hero. On the morning of Monday, October 21st, about day-break, Cape Trafalgar bearing east by south, distant about seven leagues, wind nearly west, the combined fleets were discovered six or seven miles to the eastward.

Lord Nelson now beheld within his reach the enemy of whom he had so long been in search. The fleet under his command, which had now received the expected re-inforcement, consisted of twenty-seven sail of the line, and bore up in two columns as they formed in the order of sailing, conformably to instructions issued by the admiral in prospect of an engagement. In these instructions he directed the captains to look to their particular line as their rallying point; but if the signals should not be clearly understood, no captain could do amiss in placing his ship alongside one of the enemy. The admiral himself, who headed the weather column, was to attack the hostile line near the centre, while lord Collingwood, who conducted the leeward column, was to break it, if possible, at a considerable distance from the extreme rear; and thus, it was hoped, the victory would be decided ere the van could be brought to succour the ships engaged. The last telegraphic
signal issued by this great commander, at the moment of going into action, was, "ENGLAND EXPECTS EVERY MAN TO DO HIS DUTY."

Admiral Villeneuve supposed that the English fleet consisted of only twenty-one sail, and he originally intended to attack them with an equal number of vessels, while twelve of his select ships, acting as a body of reserve, were to bear down and double upon the British line after the action had commenced. On perceiving, however, the real force with which he had to contend, he arranged his ships in one line, forming a crescent convexing to leeward. The conflict began about noon, when admiral Collingwood, in the Royal Sovereign, gallantly entered into action about the twelfth ship from the enemy's rear, leaving his van unoccupied. The succeeding ships broke through in all parts, astern of their leader, and engaged their antagonists at the muzzles of their guns.

Lord Nelson, on board the Victory, directed his attack on the enemy's line, between the tenth and eleventh ships in the van; but finding it so close that there was not room to pass, he ordered his ship to be run on board the Redoubtable, opposed to him; his second, the Temeraire, engaged the next ship in the enemy's line; and the others singled out their adversaries in succession, according to the order of battle. For the space of four hours the conflict was tremendous; particularly in that part of the line where the commander-in-chief had commenced the onset. The guns of his ship repeatedly set fire to the Redoubtable, and the British seamen were employed at intervals during the heat of the battle in throwing buckets of water on the spreading flames, which might otherwise have involved both ships in destruction.

Both the French and Spaniards fought with a degree of bravery and skill highly honourable to their officers and men; but the attack was irresistible. About three in the afternoon, the Spanish admiral, with ten sail of the line, joining the frigates to leeward, bore away for Cadiz. Ten minutes afterwards, five of the headmost ships of the enemy's van, under admiral Durnanoir, tacked, and stood to the windward of the British line; the sternmost was taken, but the others escaped. The heroic exertions of the British were rewarded by the capture of nineteen ships of the line, with the commander-in-chief, Villeneuve, and two Spanish admirals. The tempestuous weather which came on after the action, rendered it necessary to destroy most of these prizes, of which only four were carried into Gibraltar. The fugitive ships, under Dumanoir, were captured off Ferrol on the 4th of November, by a squadron under the command of sir Richard Strachan.

The loss of the British in the battle of Trafalgar was estimated at one thousand five hundred and eighty-seven men, killed and wounded; but great as the victory was, and in importance and brilliancy it yields to none in the annals of naval warfare, it was purchased at an immense expense to the country. About the middle of the action, as lord Nelson was walking the quarter-deck, attentive to its progress, and anxiously expecting its issue, he received a shot in the left breast from a musket ball, which wounded him mortally, and he instantly fell. He was immediately carried to the cockpit, where he lived about an hour, and employed the short space of time now allotted him in giving orders, receiving reports, and making inquiries concerning the state of the action. The closing scene of his glorious career was not unworthy of his former exploits. In the hour of death he displayed the same magnanimity that had marked his character and conduct through life. Conscious of his approaching dissolution, he sent for admiral Collingwood. "The second in command, to whom he communicated the particulars of his situation, and then gave the necessary orders to the officers by whom he was surrounded. Nelson replied, "God be praised!" and almostinstantly expired. Thus fell the hero of the Nile, of Copenhagen, and of
Trafalgar, after a victory which utterly blasted the hopes of Napoleon for the subjugation and ruin of England. His contemporaries mourn his loss; posterity will revere his talents and courage; the pages of history will record his fame and immortalize his name, while his example will long be held up to the imitation of future commanders. The mortal remains of the British admiral were conveyed to England, and interred with the highest public honours. Having left no son, the title of earl Nelson, with a permanent revenue annexed, was, by an act of national and enthusiastic gratitude, conferred upon his brother, a private clergyman, all parties on this occasion vying in their expressions of grief and admiration.

In consequence of the death of lord Nelson, admiral Collingwood succeeded to the command of the fleet, and completed the victory. In clearing the ships of prisoners, however, he found such a number of wounded, that, in order to alleviate as much as possible this scene of human misery, he transmitted to the marquis de Soluna, governor-general of Andalusia, a proposal, offering to commit the wounded to the care of their country; the officers to be liberated on their parole, and the privates on receipts being given that they should not serve by sea or land till regularly exchanged. This proposal was embraced with avidity, not only by the governor, but by the whole country, which resounded with expressions of applause and gratitude. The Spanish governor, in return for this trait of British generosity, delivered up the English who had been wrecked on board several of the ships, and made an offer of the hospitals to the wounded on board the fleet, pledging the honour of the Spanish nation for their good treatment.

On the news of this important victory, one general sentiment seemed to pervade the whole nation. The munificence of the country was lavished on the family; and his companions in arms, the partners of his dangers and his triumphs, shared also in the tokens of national gratitude. Admiral Collingwood was raised to the peerage with a pension of two thousand pounds per annum. The earl of Northesk was honoured with the order of the Bath, and a pension. A liberal subscription was set on foot for the relief of those who suffered in the cause of their country; and hundreds of thousands of pounds were readily and cheerfully raised for the relief of the officers, seamen, and marines, who were wounded, and the widows, orphans, and relatives of such as were killed in this memorable action.

Since the return of Mr. Pitt to office, scarcely any thing had occurred, the great victory of Trafalgar excepted, but disaster and disappointment. The total failure of the continental coalition greatly augmented the gloom and disquietude which had begun to prevail in England, in consequence of the alarming illness of Mr. Pitt. At the close of the former session of parliament, this distinguished statesman had been compelled, by the decline of a constitution originally delicate, to relinquish all active share in public business, and retire to Bath; from whence he returned in the commencement of the year, in a state of debility and exhaustion, no doubt augmented by anxiety and disappointment. It has been supposed, that the fatal intelligence of the battle of Austerlitz produced an agitation of spirits which powerfully increased his disorder; for on return to his villa at Putney, near London, he breathed his last on the 23d of January 1806, in the 47th year of his age, having directed the affairs of his country for a longer period than any other minister.

Under his auspices the maritime supremacy of England was confirmed by a series of most splendid victories; her colonial acquisitions were greatly extended; but her public burdens were also enormously augmented. He laboured successfully to preserve his country from the contagion of the revolutionary principles that desolated France; and exerted himself with equal zeal, but with less success, in resisting the military despotism by which that power threatened to subjugate the continent. As a financier, he displayed great ability in the accumulation of public resources; but it may be fairly questioned, whether he displayed equal political wisdom in the distribution of them. In forming continental alliances, he relied too implicitly on the influence of money for ensuring to Great Britain that ascendancy in foreign
courts, to which, by her generous aid, she was entitled. His character has been portrayed in very different colours, and exhibited in very different points of view, by those who condemn and those who approve the principles on which he acted.

Those who considered the revolutionary war as unnecessary, regarded him as one of the principal authors of the tremendous evils which that contest brought upon Europe. While others, reflecting on the extensive spread and dangerous tendency of the principles of the French revolution, and on the extreme hazard to which Great Britain was exposed, by standing an indifferent spectator till France had subdued the continent, and increased her marine in proportion to her military strength, regard him as the saviour of his country. Every impartial person, indeed, must confess, that Mr. Pitt stood in a situation wholly unprecedented, and difficult beyond example—a situation in which he could derive no information from the measures of preceding ministers, or the policy of former times. The grand question which presented itself to his consideration, was of a nature entirely new. History furnished no facts that could serve as a guide to his conduct: in an unexplored path he seems to have taken the surest direction. By the measures adopted, his country was saved; by pursuing a different course, the result might have been otherwise. The consequences of these measures are visible in all their extent: those arising from an opposite system of politics, however brilliant the colours in which imagination may paint them, are wholly theoretic, and not having been verified by experiment, they are merely speculative.

The unprejudiced historian will not deny to Mr. Pitt the praise of being a man of firm purpose, of honourable pride, and of disinterested principle. Ambition is universally allowed to have been a prominent trait in his character; but it was the ambition of a great mind. His political views were grand and extensive: but it must be confessed, that his most favourite plans proved unsuccessful; and his most promising scheme, the last continental coalition, contributed only to the gigantic power and prodigious aggrandizement of France. The failure, however, is not to be ascribed to the plan, but to the mistakes in the execution, which it was not in his power either to prevent or to rectify. Subsequent events have afforded proof, that he had made a just estimate of the effects which the union of all the powers of Europe, acting in perfect concert, might be able to produce. But he was not permitted to witness the justness of his calculations, and the fulfilment of his wishes.

Disinterestedness in regard to pecuniary matters, was one of his distinguishing characteristics. In this respect, to his memory might be justly applied the motto, "non sibi sed patrie viri." After an administration of two and twenty years he was so far from having enriched himself, that he left behind him very considerable debts, which he was unable to liquidate.—Whatever errors his opponents might discover, or fancy they discovered, in his political views, he was certainly a great man. On the public theatre of the world he long acted a very conspicuous part. As a statesman, his name will be celebrated in the annals of Europe, and his conduct will long be the theme of both censure and applause. As an orator, he stands almost unrivalled: he was the Tully of Britain, and the glory of her senate. His country showed its respect for his memory by taking on itself the payment of his debts: and an address to the king was presented by parliament, praying his majesty to direct that the remains of the minister should be interred at the public expense, and that a monument should be erected to his memory in Westminster Abbey.
LETTER IV.

History of the affairs of Europe during the year 1806.—Consolidation of the power of Napoleon.—Administration of Mr. Fox and Lord Grenville.—Progress of the war.—Abolition of the Slave Trade.—Expedition to South America.—Naples erected into a kingdom under Joseph Buonaparte.—Battle of Maida.—New constitution formed for Holland, and Louis Buonaparte created King.—Negotiations for peace.—Death and character of Mr. Fox.—Rupture between France and Prussia.—Battles of Saalfeld, Jena, and Auerstadt.—Capture of Berlin.—Conquest of Silesia.—Berlin decrees.—Renewal of war between Russia and France.—Battles of Pultusk and Eylau.—Capture of Danzig, Friedland and Königsberg.—Peace of Tilsit.

The events which had taken place on the continent of Europe, during the campaign of 1805, tended much to strengthen the system which Napoleon had recently adopted. The victory of Marengo and the peace of Luneville had given a sanction to the consular government: the victory of Austerlitz and the peace of Presburg consecrated the empire—the last remains of the revolution were now abandoned. On the 1st of January, 1806, the republican calendar, after an existence of fourteen years, was definitively replaced by the common one. The Pantheon was restored to religion, and the tribunate even ceased to exist. But the efforts of Napoleon were primarily directed to extend his dominions over the continent of Europe. Ferdinand, the king of Naples, having in his late war violated the treaty of peace with France, his states were invaded, and on the 30th of March, Joseph Buonaparte was declared king of the Two Sicilies. Shortly after, on the 5th of June, Holland, or the United Provinces, was changed into a kingdom, and received for its monarch Louis Buonaparte, another brother of the emperor. There existed no longer any of the republics, created by the convention or the directory. Napoleon, who nominated the secondary kings, re-established the hierarchical military régime, adopting the exploded titles of the middle ages. He constituted Dalmatia, Istria, Friuli, Cadore, Belluno, &c. &c. duchies, or grand fiefs of the empire. Berthier was invested with the principality of Neufchâteau—Talleyrand with that of Benevento—the prince Borghese and his wife with that of Guastalla—Murat with the grand duchy of Clèves and Berg. Napoleon, who had not dared to destroy the Swiss republic, now declared himself its mediator; and he finished the organization of his military empire, by placing the Germanic body dependent on himself. On the 12th of July, 1806, fourteen princes on the south and west of Germany were united in the "confederation of the Rhine," and Buonaparte was recognized as their protector. On the 1st of August, they notified to the diet of Ratisbon their separation from the Germanic body; the German empire itself ceased to exist, and Francis II. abdicating the title, now adopted that of "Emperor of Austria."

Buonaparte had now grasped under his dominion all the western part of the continent of Europe. As emperor and king he was absolute master of France and Italy; and he controlled Spain by the subordination of its court; Naples and Holland by his two brothers; Switzerland by the act of mediation; and he disposed of the kings of Bavaria, Wurtemburg, and the confederation of the Rhine, against Austria and Prussia. He might, after the peace of Amiens, by maintaining a liberal conduct and paying a decent regard to the rights and liberties of mankind, have made himself the protector of France, and the moderator of Europe. But war was his element; he sought his glory in domination, and his enjoyment in conquest; and by this he condemned himself to a long struggle, which, ultimately, could only terminate in laying the whole continent prostrate at his feet, or ensuring his own ruin. This march of encroachment gave rise to a fourth coalition, the particulars of which now claim your attention.
While Austria and Russia were engaged in confronting the power of France, Prussia maintained a cautious neutrality. She was indeed upon the point of joining the confederates during the campaign of 1805, but the rapidity of the victories of Napoleon had prevented her from putting her designs into execution. Alarm now by the increase of the French empire, and encouraged by the fine condition of her troops, Prussia joined in a league with Russia to expel the French from Germany. A violation of her territory by a march of the French armies through a part of it, without asking permission, had elicited some marks of resentment, which the English ministry endeavoured to kindle into a flame; but the capture of Mack’s army caused the affront to be passed over in an accommodation. A scheme for the recovery of Hanover by Swedish troops in British pay, and commanded by their sovereign, in conjunction with English and Russian troops, was also frustrated by the fatal results of the battle of Austerlitz.

To pacify the king of Prussia, and if possible embroil him in a war with England, Napoleon, by his own confession, had promised to cede the electorate of Hanover to the former power, and thereby exclude Great Britain from the continent of Europe. He had indeed been promised a considerable subsidy from the latter court, but he was easily persuaded to agree to a secret treaty with France, by which, as an exchange for Hanover, he agreed to resign the duchy of Cleves and other territories, and to confirm such arrangements as might be stipulated in the ensuing treaty between France and Austria; and thus by his vacillating conduct, his Prussian majesty, who might have turned the scale against Napoleon, meanly consented to be subservient to his interests, and permitted him to reduce the head of the empire to a state of comparative weakness.

The archduke Charles, who during the negotiation for a definitive treaty, arrived from Italy with a considerable army; and Ferdinand, who had defeated the Bavarian general Wrede on the borders of Bohemia, would gladly have co-operated with Russia in a renewal of hostilities, if the emperor Francis had not persisted in his pacific determination; but this prince was inflexibly bent upon an accommodation. By the treaty which was concluded at Pressburg, he was obliged to relinquish that valuable share of the territorial spoils of Venice which he had for some years enjoyed; he agreed to the arbitrary arrangements respecting the principalities of Lucca and Piombino; and acknowledged Napoleon, or his nominated successor, as king of Italy, with a proviso that this crown should be speedily and permanently separated from that of France. He also consented to the cession of the margraviate of Burgaw, the principality of Eichstadt, the country of Tyrol and other valuable districts, in favour of the elector, whom he considered as king of Bavaria. To the elector of Wurttemburg, whose claims to the royal title he likewise admitted, he reserved a part of the Brisgaw, with other portions of territory; while the elector of Baden was gratified with the rest of the Brisgaw, the Ortenaw, and the city of Constance. The two kings were farther gratified with the permission of seizing, respectively, the city and dependencies of Augsburg, and the county of Borndorf; but in return for those various grants, the king of Bavaria was required to surrender Wurtzburg, as the basis of an electorate, to the archduke Ferdinand, who engaged to resign Saltzburg to his imperial majesty. The defalcations ordained by this treaty, must, to a prince like Francis II. who, though not enterprisingly ambitious, was nevertheless fond of extended dominion, have been excessively mortifying, even if no sense of humiliation and disgrace had attended the loss; and when he reflected on that indiscretion which had not only precipitated the war, but had misconducted it in its progress, with the loss or at least the diminution of that high fame which his troops had formerly enjoyed, his feelings must have been poignant in the extreme. He is said to have blamed himself severely for yielding to the impulse of Great Britain, and for admitting too readily the delusions of hope. We now turn to England.

The death of Mr. Pitt, which I have already mentioned to you, occasioned a total change in the ministry. Lord Eldon resigned the seals, and the honourable Thomas Erskine was appointed lord chancellor, and constituted a
THE HISTORY OF  

Part IV.

peer of the realm by the title of lord Erskine. Lord Grenville whom the king had sent for, and empowered to form a new administration, including Mr. Fox, after his estrangement of twenty years from the royal councils, was appointed first lord of the treasury; and lord Henry Petty, since better known by the title of the marquis of Lansdown, chancellor of the exchequer—earl Fitzwilliam president of the council, and viscount Sidmouth lord privy-seal. Mr. Fox was made secretary of state for foreign affairs; lord Spencer home secretary, and Mr. Windham secretary at war; Mr. Grey first lord of the admiralty, and Mr. Sheridan treasurer of the navy: earl Moira master-general of the ordnance, and general Fitzpatrick secretary for the colonies. The duke of Bedford was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland, and Mr Elliot, his principal secretary. Lord Ellenborough was made lord chief justice of the court of king’s bench, with a seat in the cabinet. Sir Arthur Pigot and sir Samuel Romilly were nominated attorney and solicitor generals.

The country had the misfortune to see the number of its enemies increase. The politics of Prussia, which had long been vacillating, now assumed an aspect decidedly hostile to Great Britain. On the 30th of January, 1806, his Prussian majesty issued a proclamation, in which he signified his intention of taking possession of Hanover, agreeable to a convention entered into with the emperor of France. This was followed by a second proclamation, dated the 28th of March, ordering the Prussian ports to be shut against the ships and commerce of Great Britain. In consequence of these hostile proceedings, Mr. Fox, on the 21st of April, brought down a message from his majesty, informing the house of commons that he had thought it proper to adopt measures of just retaliation, by issuing orders for the blockade of the Elbe, the Weser, and the Ems, and for the capture of Prussian vessels, of which official notice was given to the ministers of neutral powers. After this declaration of hostilities, a great number of Prussian ships were brought into British ports; but, from the relative circumstances of England and Prussia, the former having no army on the continent, and the latter no ships of war on the seas, the war between the two powers could not be productive of any great or important events. It amounted to little more than a suspension of political and commercial intercourse, and circumstances rendered it of short duration. The British arms, indeed, at this time had little employment. The number of ships and vessels of war in commission was truly enormous—no less than seven hundred and twenty! of which one hundred and twenty-six were of the line; fourteen from fifty to forty-four guns; and one hundred and fifty-seven frigates; the rest were sloops, gun-brigs, &c. &c. But the marine of France was almost annihilated, and the shattered remains of their fleets were shut up in their harbours, not daring to venture beyond the protection of their batteries. The British navy was employed in blockading the hostile ports, and nothing of importance took place on the ocean.

The philanthropist, however, will always regard this season of inactivity as one of the most glorious periods in the annals of Great Britain. History will record an act of humanity and justice passed by her legislature, which redounds as much to the honour of the national character as her most brilliant victories. The traffic in human flesh, carried on with the coast of Africa, had long been regarded by the enlightened and humane as the opprobrium of Englishmen. Yet, infamous as the slave trade is, it had not, until towards the end of the last century, been considered with that attention which a practice so abhorrent to the benevolent principles of Christianity, and the refinement of modern manners, might have been expected to excite. The names of illustrious writers in our own country, who had taken every opportunity to repudiate the traffic in man, are too many to enumerate. In France they had been seconded by Raynal and Necker, besides many others who stood in the first ranks of genius and talent; and in almost every other country of Europe, persons of distinguished abilities and philanthropy had pleaded the cause of the injured Africans. Yet no individual who stood high in rank and power had vigorously exerted his influence to wipe off this stain by extirpating an evil of so horrible a nature. It had accumulated by almost imperceptible degrees to a gigantic size, until it became interwoven
with the system of European commerce, sanctioned by prescription and public authority in all maritime nations, and rendered familiar to the minds of men by constant and general practice. The finest feelings of the human heart became blunted by a continual repetition of enormities—man was considered as the property of man—natural feeling was outraged, and the God of nature insulted. Europeans had imbibed the false philosophy, that a difference of complexion implied a disparity of intellect, and that the unfortunate negroes were destined by the great Creator for a state of perpetual slavery.

Mr. Granville Sharp was the first individual in England who stood forward as the avowed advocate of the Africans; and with him the first movements towards the abolition of the traffic in human flesh originated. His name deservedly stands recorded in history as the foundation-stone on which is erected this noble monument to the honour of liberty and humanity. From the year 1765 to 1772, he laboured by all possible means to enlighten the public mind on the subject, and draw the public attention to this horrible traffic. In process of time, other philanthropists, inspired with the same Christian spirit, came forward to advocate the cause, and a small select society of private individuals was formed for the express purpose of overturning this monstrous colossus of evil, the African slave trade.

Mr. Clarkson, a gentleman of spirit and talents, undertook the tedious and irksome task of instituting inquiries, and collecting evidence on the subject, in consequence of whose investigations a scene of enormities was developed sufficient to make humanity shudder. The magnitude of the evil only required to be known to render it generally detested; and from this period the society found numerous coadjutors. Men in all ranks, and of all religious denominations united to attempt the removal of this national disgrace. Among these, the Quakers, both in England and America, who had uniformly expressed their disapprobation of slavery, distinguished themselves among the most strenuous advocates for its abolition; and a petition in favour of the oppressed Africans was presented from that benevolent body to the British parliament. The cause now began to become popular. Numerous pamphlets and tracts on the subject were published and generally circulated. Sermons were preached and published, petitions were presented to the legislature from the two universities, and from several of the most considerable towns and corporations of the kingdom; and the whole British nation at length came to interest itself in the affair. But the slave trade had been too long established, and too many individual interests were concentrated in it, to allow of its being put down without a struggle. It was regarded as the basis of colonial cultivation; the traffic was found to involve a great variety of interests, which consequently gave rise to numerous obstacles and strenuous opposition. Under these circumstances his majesty’s ministers thought proper to institute, before a committee of the privy council, an inquiry into the facts and allegations contained in the representations of both parties. The first public notice that was taken of the subject was in the year 1788, when Mr. Wilberforce, who afterwards so greatly distinguished himself in the cause of benevolence, communicated to parliament his intention of bringing forward a measure respecting the slave trade; and from that period to the death of Mr. Pitt, the subject was never lost sight of, but from time to time brought forward in parliament, with different measures of success. It, however, gradually gained ground, and on the 20th of February 1805, the bill for the abolition was lost in the house of commons by a majority of only seven voices.

The attainment of this great object was reserved for Mr. Fox and his colleagues in office, supported by Mr. Wilberforce and others, with a steady adherence to principles which he had constantly avowed, Mr. Fox, on the 11th of June, 1806, had the honour to carry a resolution in the house of commons for the entire abolition of the slave trade. This motion, so interesting to the cause of humanity, was couched in the following terms: “That this house, cautious the African slave trade to be contrary to the principles of justice, humanity, and sound policy, will, with all practical expedition, take effec-
"Tual measures for abolishing the said trade, in such manner, and at such "period, as may be deemed most desirable." The bill met with only a feeble opposition. It was strenuously supported by Mr. Wilberforce and all the members of administration, and carried by a majority of one hundred and fifteen votes, against only fifteen dissenting voices. In the course of the debate the solicitor-general, sir Samuel Romilly, stated from the documents before the house, that, since the year 1796, that is, during the last ten years, upwards of three hundred and sixty thousand of the natives of Africa, torn from their country by Europeans, had either been sold into slavery, or had miserably perished in their passage to the West Indies. The crimes perpetrated in this traffic, had equalled, if they had not exceeded in horror and enormity, those of the French revolution, and had been constantly repeated during three centuries. An age that could tolerate such barbarities scarcely deserves to be called enlightened; accordingly the British ministry resolved to wipe off this stain from the national character, and their philanthropic determination will ever hold a place in the hearts and memory of all who revere the principles of justice, humanity and religion. The abolition of African slavery forms a glorious epoch in the reign of George III. and millions yet unborn will commemorate that happy period in which the rights of human nature were restored in spite of interest, prescription, and prejudice.

Of the foreign military and political events of the year 1806, those that relate to Naples occupy the first place. On the 9th of February, a French army under the command of Joseph Buonaparte, assisted by Massena and other generals, marched for Naples, and on the 15th entered the capital, the garrison in the city and the forts having previously capitulated. The king and queen had retired to Palermo in January, with a part of the Neapolitan army, accompanied also by several of the nobility. The heir apparent to the throne, who was duke of Calabria, remained in Naples until the approach of the French, when he retired with some troops to Calabria, where general Dumas, a French emigrant, was endeavouring to organize a legion-en-masse. General Regnier marched in pursuit of the fugitives, and after several skirmishes, in which the Neapolitans displayed very little martial spirit, the war in Calabria was brought to a close and the whole kingdom of Naples submitted to the French, except Gaeta and another fortress. Most of the principal families in the country, having lost all esteem for their legitimate sovereign, readily attached themselves to the French interest; so that Napoleon did not hesitate to issue a decree conferring the crown of Naples upon his brother Joseph, and his heirs-male, with the proviso, that the crowns of that country and of France should never be united in the same individual. Accordingly Joseph caused himself to be proclaimed king, on the 30th of March, and exacted an oath of fidelity from all the constituted authorities, the nobles testifying the greatest satisfaction at the change of dynasty. The queen of Naples, however, and the duke of Calabria, for the king himself was a mere cypher, resolved to make an attempt to recover the crown. They, accordingly, by means of their emissaries, excited an insurrection against the French in Abruzzo and Calabria, which, for a time, delivered these provinces from French influence. While these disturbances were still subsisting, sir Sydney Smith arrived at Palermo, about the middle of April, and took the command of the English squadron lying there, consisting of five sail of the line, with some frigates and smaller vessels.

He began his operations by throwing succours into Gaeta, and afterwards taking possession of the isle of Capri; he then proceeded along the coast, exciting a general alarm, and keeping up a connection with the discontented Calabrians. At length, at the urgent solicitation of the court of Palermo, sir John Stewart, who commanded the British troops in Sicily, embarked a body of about five thousand men, with which, on the 1st of July, he effected a landing in the gulf of Euphemia, near the northern frontier of Lower Calabria. General Regnier, with his troops, being encamped at Maida, some miles distant, sir John Stewart determined upon attacking him before he could be joined by his expected re-inforcements, and accordingly, on the 4th of July he advanced to the place. The junction, however, had been made
the night before; and the enemy, to the number of about seven thousand, descended from the heights, and marched into the plain to meet the assailants. After keeping up a fire for some time, both armies rushed on with the bayonet, when the superior firmness of the British soldiers speedily decided the contest. No sooner had the weapons crossed than the French gave way, and were pursued with terrible carnage. An attempt to retrieve the honour of the day proved ineffectual, and a complete victory remained to the British, whose loss was inconsiderable compared with that of their opponents. The immediate consequence of this brilliant action was a general insurrection of the Calabrian peasantry, and the expulsion of the French from the province.

But efforts of this kind, though highly honourable to the British arms, were totally inadequate to the effecting of any permanent change in the state of the Neapolitan kingdom; and Sir John Stewart, sensible that he could not long maintain his ground in Calabria, prepared for returning to Sicily. Having, by one of his officers, obtained possession of the strong fort of Scylla, opposite to Messina, he re-crossed the Straits, leaving the Calabrian insurgents to contend with an exasperated foe, who treated them as rebels, and every kind of cruelty was practised on both sides in a protracted and desultory warfare. The French, soon after the battle of Maida, reduced the fortress of Gaeta, which had long employed a considerable portion of their force; and General Fox, who took the command of the British troops in Sicily, refusing to concur in the hopeless plans of the court of Palermo for recovering Naples, the new government in that kingdom remained undisturbed, except by some intestine disorders.

About this time an important acquisition was made by the British arms in a distant quarter of the globe. After reducing the cape of Good Hope, Sir Home Popham and General Beresford, who had been sent out in the autumn of the year 1805, with a force of about five thousand men, judging it expedient to make an attack on some of the Spanish settlements in South America, embarked a part of the land forces; and after a passage long and tedious beyond what they had expected, arrived, on the 6th of June, at the mouth of the Rio de la Plata. In order to make himself acquainted with the navigation of the river, Sir Home Popham proceeded in the Narcissus to reconnoitre, as far as circumstances would permit, the different situations on the bank, and to collect as much information as possible relative to the strength of the enemy. The progress of the ships up the river was greatly retarded by the shoals, the adverse winds and currents, the foggy weather and the inaccuracy of the charts. The laborious and unremitting exertions, however, of the officers and men enabled him to surmount these obstacles; and the squadron, after having occupied nine days in proceeding about eighty miles, came to an anchor off the point of Quilmay, about twelve miles from Buenos Ayres, which the British commanders resolved to attack in preference to Monte Video.

On the 25th of June, in the course of the afternoon and night, a landing was effected without opposition, though a body of the enemy consisting of about two thousand men, chiefly cavalry, with eight field pieces, were posted at the village of Redaction, on a height, about two miles distant from the place where the troops disembarked, and directly in their front. The whole intermediate space, as well as to the right and left, was an entire plain, impassable in winter, but represented by the guide as practicable at that time to the march of artillery. It was eleven o'clock next morning before the troops could march off their ground. The Spanish troops were drawn up along the brow of the hill, on which was situated the village of Redaction, covering their right flank. The nature of the ground was such, that the British forces were obliged to march directly to the enemy's front, and to form a line as equal as possible to theirs in length. In this order they advanced, with two six-pounders on each flank, and two howitzers in the centre of their first line. Having approached within range of the enemy's guns, a tongue of swampy ground crossing their front, obliged them to halt till their artillery took a circuitous route. But scarcely had they crossed the swamp,
when the Spaniards opened a fire from their field-pieces, which at first was well directed; but as the English advanced at a quick pace, in spite of the boggy ground, which obliged them to leave their artillery behind, they received but little injury. A part of the troops having gained the heights in a tolerably good line, the enemy retired from the brow of the hill. The British troops then gained that position, and commencing a fire of small arms, the Spaniards fled with precipitation, leaving behind them four field-pieces and a tumbril. After a halt of two hours, the British advanced in the hope of preventing the destruction of the bridge over the river Chuelo, which lay between them and Buenos Ayres, from which it was distant about three miles. But on their approach it was found to be in flames, and they were unable to prevent its total destruction.

During the night the Spaniards were heard bringing down their artillery, and the British troops were in consequence withdrawn from the bank of the river, as their position seemed too much exposed to the enemy's fire, which had opened upon them from their guns and a considerable line of infantry. At day-break next morning captain Kennett was sent to reconnoitre both sides of the river, which was scarcely thirty yards wide, when he found that the English had little or nothing to protect them, whilst the Spanish troops were drawn up behind hedges and houses, and in the vessels on the opposite bank. Circumstances being such as to admit of no delay, general Beresford determined on forcing the pass, and for that purpose ordered down the field-pieces to the brink of the river. The enemy in the mean time opened an ill-directed fire of cannon and musketry, the former of which was soon silenced, though the latter was kept up more than half an hour, but so ill-directed that it did very little injury to the British troops, who by means of boats and rafts effected the passage of the river in the face of two thousand provincial troops that lined the opposite bank, and made but a feeble opposition. About eleven o'clock in the forenoon, the greatest part of the troops, with some of the guns, had crossed the river; and general Beresford having learned that most of the Spanish troops had abandoned the city, sent a summons to the governor, on the 28th of June, and the latter, without attempting further resistance, agreed to a capitulation, of which the principal articles were, security to their religious worship, to the persons of the inhabitants, and to all private property. The amount of the public treasure taken at Buenos Ayres amounted to one million two hundred and ninety-one thousand three hundred and twenty-three dollars; of which, one million eighty-six thousand two hundred and three dollars were embarked on board the Narcissus, and the remaining sum, viz. two hundred and five thousand one hundred and fifteen were left in the treasury. In the moment of elation, sir Home Popham transmitted a circular letter to the principal commercial towns of Great Britain, informing them "that a whole continent was laid "open to the trade and commerce of this country." This ill-judged measure, which in fact was an unparalleled piece of presumption, gave rise to the most unbounded extravagance of speculation, and proved ruinous to many both merchants and manufacturers. For notwithstanding the conquest had been made with so small a force, it was wholly inadequate to retain it, and in a short time Buenos Ayres was recovered by the Spaniards, under the direction of colonel Linieres, a French officer in the South American service; and the English troops, with general Beresford, their commander, were made prisoners of war. Sir Home Popham, however, continued to blockade the entrance of the river; and on the arrival of re-inforcements from the Cape of Good Hope, he made an unsuccessful attempt on Monte Video. Such was the posture of affairs on the La Plata at the close of the year.

Some naval operations took place in the course of this year of sufficient moment to entitle them to a brief notice. In the month of February, a French squadron of five sail of the line was encountered on the coast of St. Domingo by admiral Duckworth, whose force was certainly superior. After a furious action, three of them struck their flags; the other two were driven on shore and burnt. In the East Indies, the French admiral Lineis was captured by sir John Borlase Warren, on board the Marengo of eighty
guns, with the Belle Poule of forty guns, which vessels were on their return home to France enriched with various plunder. A large convoy from Rochefort was intercepted by Sir Samuel Hood, and four out of five large frigates were captured with troops on board destined for the West Indies. A remarkably gallant exploit was also achieved by Lord Cochrane, who commanded the Pallas, in cutting out three Spanish vessels under a heavy fire from the protecting batteries of Avilos.

The state of public affairs throughout the continent of Europe at this eventful crisis, was without a parallel in history. The subversion and creation of kingdoms were become simple operations, with which the world was beginning to become familiarized. The territory of the Batavian republic being full of French troops who garrisoned all the fortified towns, an edict from Paris was all that was necessary to create a king, and furnish him with a kingdom. On the 9th of June, 1806, this change in the constitution of Holland was notified to their high mightinesses, the States-general, by M. Verneuil, who being just arrived from Paris, opened the special commission which he had received from Prince Louis Buonaparte, as king of Holland. The communication was first made to the grand pensionary, and to the assembly and council of state. A constitution for the new monarchy was then immediately framed, of which the principal features were as follows: The executive power, with the nomination of all offices civil and military, was vested solely in the king; the legislative body to be composed of thirty-three members, delegated from the different provinces, and elected for five years; equal protection was granted to all denominations of religion; and by the authority of the king and the legislature, everything necessary to ecclesiastical organization, and every kind of worship was to be determined. No sooner was this new order of things announced than the new king and queen of Holland, on the 24th of June, made their public entry into the Hague. Louis addressed the constituted authorities in an appropriate oration of considerable length, concluding it by repeating his reliance on the honour and virtue of his subjects, assuring them of his affection, professing his zeal for their prosperity, and reminding them that from their loyalty and unanimity alone he could expect the tranquillity, safety, and glory of the kingdom, and the happiness of his life.

Thus terminated the famous republic of the United Provinces, which had existed two hundred and twenty-seven years in that state. The Dutch of the 16th century hazarded their lives and fortunes to establish their independence and republican form of government: their descendants of the 19th resigned, without a struggle, those privileges for which their ancestors had fought during forty years, and for which so many of them had perished in long and sanguinary wars. But the martial spirit of the Dutch had been long extinguished; and the revolutionary principles introduced among them having facilitated the conquest of their country, and rendered it dependant on France, it was no longer possible to shake off the yoke. All resistance was now too late, and they found themselves under the necessity of resigning the form, as they had already resigned the substance, of their constitution.

Whilst these things were transacting, negotiations were going forward between the courts of France and England, which for some time afforded a prospect of the restoration of peace. They originated in a correspondence between Mr. Fox and M. Talleyrand, the occasion of which had been the disclosure to the former of an infamous plot for the assassination of the emperor of France, by an emigrant who calculated on the concurrence of the British secretary in the design. Mr. Fox, however, with his characteristic generosity of spirit, thought himself obliged to give warning to M. Talleyrand. In reply to Mr. Fox’s communication, an extract was given from a speech of the senator to the legislative body, on the 2nd of March, in the following terms: “I desire peace with England. On my part I shall never delay it for a moment; I shall always be ready to conclude it, taking for its basis the treaty of Amiens.” This intimation was clearly understood as intended for an opening to negotiation, and accordingly, after a short interval Mr. Fox returned an answer expressive of the cordial disposition of the
English government to treat on the general basis of a peace honourable to both countries, and their allies; adding, "that the existing ties between "England and Russia were such, that England could not treat, much less "conclude, but in concert with the emperor Alexander." M. Talleyrand replied "that the emperor Napoleon adopted the general principle laid down "by Mr. Fox, but thought there was no necessity for the intervention of a "foreign and distant power."

Among the Englishmen detained in France at the re-commencement of the war, happened to be the earl of Yarmouth, in whose ability and discretion, Mr. Fox could confide with entire satisfaction; and to this young nobleman were accordingly transmitted the requisite powers for treating with the French government. His lordship proceeded to Paris to open the negotiation; but he found the difficulty respecting Russia unhappily retarded his progress, though a point of form rather than substance; as the concert, whether acknowledged by France or not, between the courts of London and St. Petersburg was not the less real. The principal subjects of difference, exclusive of the claims of Russia, were Hanover and Sicily. No exchange or indemnity for the first could be hearkened to; and it was not until his dispatch of June the 13th, lord Yarmouth informed Mr. Fox of the declaration which M. Talleyrand had at length made, that "considering the extreme "stress which England laid on this point, Hanover should make no difficulty." "Authorized by this concession," said lord Yarmouth, "I enquired whether "the possession of Sicily would be demanded?" To this M. Talleyrand replied, "You have it; we do not ask it. Had we the possession, difficulties "would be much augmented." The French minister also conceded, that a British minister, authorized by the emperor Alexander, should stipulate for both, adding, "the asperity which marked the commencement of the war is "no more; and the wish of France is to live in harmony with so great a "power as Britain."

So far every thing appeared auspicious for the cause of peace, but an unhappy reverse soon took place. For in a subsequent conversation, the French minister gave lord Yarmouth to understand that Napoleon had received dispatches from his brother, and the general officers under his orders, stating that Naples could not be held without Sicily, at the same time intimating the probability which they saw of gaining possession of that island. To this lord Yarmouth answered, that being required to stipulate for the restoration of Naples to the king of Sicily, as a necessary condition of peace, there could be no question of their separation. Talleyrand replied by repeatedly stating the absolute determination of his master, the emperor, not to give up Na- ples, Venice, Istria and Dalmatia, nor to alienate any part of his Italian states to form a provision for the king of Sardinia, though he frequently re- peated, that Hanover should be restored, and that Malta and the Cape of Good Hope should be ceded to Great Britain, observing that the French go- vernment considered these cessions as objects sufficient to induce England to conclude a peace. In this posture of affairs, Mr. Fox, on the 26th of June, though at this time rapidly declining in health, addressed an excellent dis- patch to lord Yarmouth, expressing his astonishment at the shuffling conduct of M. Talleyrand. The recognition of the French emperor, and the other new potentates of his creation, he regarded as a full compensation for the restoration of Hanover. He transmitted to lord Yarmouth his full creden- tials for treating, on which the French minister had laid so much stress; but with instructions fairly to state to M. Talleyrand that he had no authority to make use of them until that minister returned to his former ground respecting Sicily. He remarked that if D'Oubrill the Russian ambassador, had offered to treat separately, it was only in the way that lord Yarmouth himself treated, that is, in form, but substantially in concert. Naples and Istria, Mr. Fox admitted, were not to be conclusive against agreeing to provisional articles, subject to the approval of Russia; or, as he explained himself, "that "these articles should not have effect till a peace should be concluded between "France and Russia."

Lord Yarmouth, on the 1st of July, acknowledged his receipt of the full
powers with which he was now vested by the British government, and
mentioned his reception of them to M. Talleyrand also, who merely said "that
change of circumstances during a negotiation, were always valid reasons for a
change of terms: that had any confidential overture been made three months
ago, France would have been ready to settle the question of Naples in the
manner most satisfactory to Great Britain, the same a month latter with
regard to Holland." At the close of the conference, lord Yarmouth re-
peated "that it was impossible to proceed with the negotiation till every
mode of seeking possession of Sicily was entirely relinquished." On subse-
quently demanding his passports, Talleyrand took the opportunity of offering
the Hans Towns as an establishment for the king of Naples. But on the 5th
of July, the day after the receipt of lord Yarmouth's letter, Mr. Fox perempt-
orily replied "that the abandonment of Sicily was a point which it was im-
possible for his majesty to concede. The demand of France was in-
sistent with the whole principle on which the negotiation rests: and the
proposal of M. Talleyrand is, of itself, quite inadmissible. To the original
basis of the negotiation, therefore, lord Yarmouth was directed to advert;
and if this was not accepted, to state in perfectly civil but decided terms,
that he was not at liberty to treat on any other grounds, and therefore to
request his passports." Lord Yarmouth having strictly complied with his
instructions, M. Talleyrand now offered a further proposition from the em-
peror, tendering Dalmatia, Albania, and Ragusa, as an indemnity for Sicily.
This he was assured would not be accepted; however, his lordship consented
to wait the return of the messenger, the French minister adding, that if
peace was concluded, Germany should remain in its present state. At this
critical juncture, the indisposition of Mr. Fox had so alarmingly increased
as to render him incapable of attending to business; and the succeeding dis-
patches, transmitted under the sanction of his name, were fairly acknow-
ledged, at a subsequent period, not to have proceeded from his pen, which
indeed was but too evident. The elaborate answer of July the 18th, to lord
Yarmouth's last dispatch, most unhappily and unseasonably wavered upon
the grand point of Sicily; and from this moment all was fluctuation and in-
decision. This departure from a point which Mr. Fox had uniformly insisted
on, and respecting which he had declared it impossible for his Britannic ma-
jesty to concede, naturally induced the supposition that the English cabinet
would adhere firmly to nothing; nor did the slightest probability exist that
France would yield in exchange what would be likely to obtain "the full and
free consent of the king of Sicily."

While lord Yarmouth, conformably to the instructions he had received,
was continuing the conferences with M. Talleyrand, M. D'Oubril, the Rus-
sian plenipotentiary, concluded a separate treaty of peace with France, to
the great mortification of lord Yarmouth, who had not patience to listen to
D'Oubril's apology for his conduct, naturally concluding that France would
now rise in her demands, and become less manageable in the pending nego-
tiation. The emperor of Russia, however, prudently refused to ratify the
treaty which his minister had so precipitately concluded, and thus matters
were again placed on the same relative situation as before that event.

The English ministry now thought it advisable to send the earl of Lauer-
dale to Paris as joint negotiator with lord Yarmouth, who had given unex-
pected offence to the British government by producing his full powers, though
that measure appeared indispensable if peace were really the object in view;
and lord Yarmouth being soon after recalled, the negotiation rested wholly
with the earl of Lauderdale on the part of England, and with general Clarke
and M. Champagny on that of France. It would afford you little interest
to go at large into the detail of the various discussions which now ensued,
projetts and contre-projetts succeeded in abundance, and ended in lord Lau-
derdale demanding his passports to return to England—each government
accusing the other of being the cause of the failure of the negotiations.

At this critical moment, on which peace or war seemed to be suspended,
Mr. Fox, who had been for some months past labouring under a dropical
complaint, expired on the 13th of September, 1806, in the 59th year of his
age; and thus in the midst of tumultuous wars and of uncertain negotiations, Great Britain was called to mourn the loss of a patriot and a statesman, who has had few equals, and perhaps in no age or country any superior. For his own glory he had lived sufficiently long; but his existence was too short for the good of his country. The public, and even the personal character of Mr. Fox, must be estimated by his speeches in parliament, and by his unwearied efforts to promote the interests of his country. All historical delineation is comparatively feeble. The errors of his early youth he shook off "as dew-drops from the lion's mane." While yet in the morning of life, his genius, bursting through the surrounding clouds, shone with unrivalled radiance, amidst a long succession of political conflicts in times the most momentous. The extent of his sagacity in his vast survey of human affairs, could only be equalled by what has been happily styled "the grandeur of his "benevolence." His mind was too lofty to adopt sinister means of effecting even the most important purposes. Too great for pride, too wise for artifice, he was not only free from dissimulation, but from the remotest suspicion of it. His eloquence was as various as the occasions which called it forth; always clear and forcible, at times dignified, pathetic, and sublime. His attacks were invariably made on the strongholds of his adversaries, and his wit, which was occasionally brilliant, constantly touched on his subject, and never degenerated into personality. Peculiarly gifted to unravel the most complicated web of sophistry, he abstained, as a sacred duty, from ascribing to others sentiments which they themselves disclaimed. Without rhetorical flourishes and gaudy ornaments, his language was the vehicle of thought and feeling. Perfectly master of every kind and mode of reasoning, he modelled his arguments according to those of his principal opponents. Among his rhetorical excellencies may be reckoned his extraordinary powers of arrangement and amplification, the unstudied results of distinct and comprehensive views formed in a mind luminous and energetic, and rapid in all its combinations. His style was such as a powerful understanding and extensive information are calculated to produce: it was not defective either in elegance or harmony, but clear, precise, forcible, and appropriate to the subject he was handling.

As a classical scholar he had few equals. He retained through life his acquaintance with the Greek language. He could converse with a Longinus, on Homer's beauty, sublimity, and pathos; with an Aristotle, on his exhibitions of man; and with a pedagogue, on his dactyles and spoudae. Such was the rapidity with which the genius of Fox darted into every subject, that he could meet men of the greatest talents on equal terms in their peculiar studies.

His disinterested patriotism and universal philanthropy, render his memory dear to his country and to mankind. While the subverters of thrones and the spoilers of kingdoms are crowned with triumphant laurels, and congratulated with applauding odes, it is to the honour of Mr. Fox, that he never gave a vote in the British senate by which one drop of human blood had been spilt, or the treasures of the nation lavished away. He,

"Midst jarring conflicts, stem'd the tide of blood,
"And to the menaced world a sea-mark stood;
"Whose wisdom heals the broils of nations cease,
"And taught the world humanity and peace."

The closing scene of his life was employed in the benevolent work of restoring peace to his distracted country, but he lived not to effect the wishes of his heart: posterity, however, will not fail to applaud his efforts and intentions.

In private life, no man was ever more adapted to captivate the minds of those with whom he had frequent intercourse. His genius was at once so profound and so lively, his knowledge so extensive, his disposition so amiable, his deportment so unassuming, his manners so affable and engaging, that he gained the hearts of all who enjoyed his conversation, and was the delight of
every company into which he entered. Though destitute of the gifts of fortune, he was supported by the services, as well as honoured with the esteem, of several of the most wealthy of the aristocracy, while he was beloved by the nation in general, and adored by the people of Westminster, whom he represented. Dr. Johnson, though unfriendly to his whig principles, was proud to call him his friend, and admired his genius and talents. "There is an extraordinary man," said he, "who can leave the empire in doubt whether it shall be ruled by the tongue of Fox, or by the sceptre of George III." Burke and Pitt condemned his politics, but to his talents and virtues they paid the just tribute of applause; and, if report may be credited, the latter with his dying breath recommended him to his sovereign as his successor. The Earl of Carlisle hailed the dawning genius of his youth, which he celebrated in a poem of great excellency: all his contemporaries admired the wonders of his maturity years; and many of the nobility regarded him as the brightest ornament of his age.

Such was the public and private character of the man who, through life, never deviated from the principles of benevolence and patriotism. The close of his career was not less brilliant than its meridian splendour. The three last acts of his life were worthy of the lover of his country, and the friend of mankind. By one, he endeavoured to put an end to the ravages of war; and had his valuable life been spared, it can scarcely be doubted that he would have accomplished the desirable object. By another, he laboured to tranquillize an important branch of the empire, that was distracted by religious feuds and dissensions; to remove all legal disabilities on the score of religion; to establish on the broadest basis liberty of conscience; and to unite the interests of Ireland with those of England, by an extension of common rights, and a participation of common benefits. By the third, he obtained from both houses of parliament a resolution for the abolition of the slave trade; and thus closed his life with an act which tends to rescue humanity from reproach, and cause millions yet unborn to revere his memory. When prejudice shall be extinct, and party cavils forgotten, the name of Fox will be classed among the benefactors of mankind, and "History, making an allowance for the indiscretions of his youth, will enshrine his fame in one unclouded blaze of glory."

Poesy has immortalized the names of Pitt and Fox, and erected to the memory of these two celebrated statesmen and eminent orators, a monument more durable than marble or bronze:

> With more than mortal powers endow'd,<br>How high they soar'd above the crowd!<br>Theirs was no common party race,<br>Jostling by dark intrigue for place;<br>Like fabled gods, their mighty war,<br>Shook realms and nations in its jar:<br>Beneath each banner proud to stand,<br>Look'd up the noblest of the land,<br>Till through the British world were known<br>The names of Pitt and Fox alone.<br>Spells of such force, no wizard grave<br>E'er framed in dark Thessalian care;<br>Though his could drain the ocean dry,<br>And force the planets from the sky,<br>Those spells are spent, and, spent with these,<br>The wine of life is on the lees.<br>Genius, and taste, and talent gone,<br>For ever tomb'd beneath the stone,<br>Where—saying thought to human pride!—<br>The mighty chiefs sleep side by side.<br>Drop upon Fox's grave the tear,<br>'Twill trickle to his rival's bier;<br>O'er Pitt's the mournful requiem sound,
And Fox's shall the notes rebound,
The solemn echo seems to cry,
"Here let their discord with them die.
Seek not for those a separate doom
Whom Fate made brothers in the tomb;
But search the land of living men,
Where wilt thou find their like again?"

On the death of this lamented statesman some new arrangements became necessary among the members of administration. Mr. Grey, now lord Howick, succeeded Mr. Fox in the office of secretary of state for foreign affairs, and Mr. Thomas Grenville succeeded the former as first lord of the admiralty. Mr. Tierney became president of the board of control, to which the former gentleman had been appointed, on the nomination of lord Minto to the government of India. Lord Sidmouth was president of the council in the room of earl Fitzwilliam, who retired in ill health; and the vacant office of privy-seal was assigned to lord Holland. These changes were rather unexpectedly followed by a dissolution of parliament; but this appeal to the people procured for ministers no great accession of strength in the house of commons.

During the late events, Prussia, as I have already mentioned to you, had been flattered by Napoleon, with the idea of holding the balance of power between the great belligerent states; and the offended pride of the Prussian monarch, consequent on the violation of the territory of Anspach, had so far changed his policy, that he was deterred or prevented only by the quick succession of disasters, from joining the coalition. This was an offence which the French emperor could not easily forgive; and though Prussia had been encouraged to form a confederation in the north of Germany, similar to that of the Rhine, it was found to be a mere delusion; the Hanse Towns and other Northern states of the empire, being included in the continually increasing circle of French protection. Besides, by the treaty lately signed by D'Oubril, France had guaranteed the possessions of Sweden in Germany; whereas the Prussian monarch had been led to expect the annexation of Swedish Pomerania and Weigmar to his dominions. But Hanover had been the principal tie by which Frederick William III. had been tempted to desert the cause of sovereigns, and to lend himself to the projects of Gallic ambition; and though the restoration of that electorate to its lawful sovereign had been promised under the strictest seal of secrecy, the court of Berlin soon obtained authentic information of the projected infraction of the subsisting engagements of France with Prussia.

The resentment of the Prussian monarch, and of all those who adopted the passions of the day, was now extreme. The tide of opinion ran strongly in favour of war, and nothing was talked of at Berlin but the great Frederick and the victory of Rosbach. The alienation of Prussia did not escape the vigilance of the courts either of London or Paris. From the former lord Morpeth was dispatched with great powers to Berlin, and the naval blockade was immediately raised. On the other hand, M. Talleyrand, on the 11th of September, addressed a note to the Prussian ambassador, Knoblesdorff, complaining of the warlike preparations of Prussia, which was evasively answered. On the 1st of October, however, the Prussian ambassador presented in due form the demands of his sovereign:—1st, That the French armies without delay repass the Rhine; 2d, The establishment of the northern Germanic confederation; 3d, The separation of certain places from the confederation of the Rhine. To these requisitions the emperor of France did not deign to reply, but advanced at the head of his troops with rapid steps, and approached the frontier of Upper Saxony before Prussia could possibly receive any aid from her ally the emperor of Russia.

On the 9th of October appeared the declaration of Frederick William—a singular document, filled with the most humiliating confessions of the lengths to which Prussia had gone in subservience to France, and with expressions of resentment on being made its dupe and its victim. It nevertheless allows, that "the possession of Hanover, could it have been obtained under less
"unhappy circumstances, would have been of invaluable advantage to Prussia.

The king therefore conceived, that he reconciled his wishes with his princi-

ples when he accepted of the proposed exchange only under the condition of

delaying the fulfilment of the same till a general peace, with the consent of

his Britannic majesty."

At this moment of rashness and passion Prussia seemed almost to exult in

the idea of entering alone into a contest with France. Early in October the

duke of Brunswick, to whom was committed the chief command of the army,

fixed his head-quarters at Weimar, the army extending along the banks of

the Saale. The Saxons served as auxiliaries under prince Hohenloeh on the

left, and the whole collected force exceeded one hundred thousand

men. The French advanced from Bamberg in three divisions; and after va-

rious partial encounters, in one of which, at Saalfeld, prince Louis, brother

to the king of Prussia, lost his life, the two armies, nearly of equal strength,

but very unequally commanded, seemed to assume an attitude of mutual de-

fiance. The French emperor having by superior manoeuvres succeeded in

turning the left of the Prussians, and in cutting off the communication with

their magazines, occupied in force the heights of Jen, which had been

thought impracticable for artillery; and on the eve of the 13th of October

the two armies encamped within cannon-shot of each other.

The action commenced two hours after day-break, and quickly became

general, exhibiting for some time equal skill and bravery; but a fierce as-

sault from the French cavalry and cuirassiers, under general Murat, at once

decided the fortune of this memorable day. All attempts to restore order

were in vain: universal consternation ensued. Nothing resembling even a

regular retreat could be effected; and in the flight of the Prussians towards

Weimar and Naumburg, multitudes were slaughtered, and a still greater

number made prisoners. The duke of Brunswick himself was mortally

wounded, and the entire loss did not fall short of forty thousand men; while

that of the French, if their own account may be credited, was below five

thousand. Further resistance seemed not to be thought of. Erfurt, Mag-

deburg, Stettin, Leipsic, and Spandau, surrendered almost on the first sum-

mons; and on the 25th of October the marshals Davoust and Augereau en-

tered Berlin.

The veteran marshall Mullendorf, last of the generals formed under the

great Frederick, was second in command at Jen, and according to report,

had strongly remonstrated against the dispositions made by the duke of

Brunswick, particularly in separating the left wing, which extended to

Auerstadt, to so great and dangerous a distance from the right and centre.

According to the accounts given in the French bulletins, the loss of the

Prussians was above twenty thousand killed and wounded, and from thirty

thousand to forty thousand prisoners, with three hundred pieces of cannon,

sixty standards, and immense magazines of warlike stores and provisions.

Above twenty of the Prussian generals were taken prisoners: on the side of

the French, only one general of brigade was killed and one wounded. Such are

the accounts given in the French bulletins of this decisive and sanguinary

action; and those which rest on Prussian authority, though somewhat dif-

ferent in regard to particulars, have, in respect to the principal features a

greater coincidence than might be expected. The disastrous results, indeed,

were too conspicuous to admit of either concealment or palliation. The ac-

count which is ascribed to Prussian authority represents the strength of the

French army at one hundred and eighty thousand men, and their own at

only half that number. The French bulletins, on the contrary, represent

the Prussian army engaged in the battle of Jen as consisting of one hundred

and twenty-six thousand; and from every previous estimation of the whole

military force of Prussia, and every account of its disposal, there is reason

to believe the statement approximates pretty nearly to truth.

But whatever suspicion might be supposed to attach to the French account

of the respective strength of the armies, the disastrous and extraordinary con-

sequences of this memorable action were such as to render exaggeration unne-

cessary, and almost impossible. The rapid successes of the French, and the ac-

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cumulated misfortunes of the Prussians, are without a precedent in military
history. The emperor of France immediately took possession of Potsdam and
Berlin, where he levied vast contributions, and sent the sword of Frederick the
Great as a trophy to Paris. The different corps of the Prussian army were
one after another, obliged to surrender to the enemy, whose divisions daily
sent in immense numbers of prisoners, cannon, &c. The main body of the
army, under prince Hohenlohe, which consisted of twenty-two thousand men,
and constituted the last hope of Prussia, was obliged to surrender to the
duke of Berg. The imperial city of Lubeck was carried by storm, and gene-
ral Blucher, with above nine thousand men, was obliged to capitulate, after
a great part of his army had been cut in pieces or made prisoners.

It will for ever astonish the readers of military history, when they peruse
the relations of this memorable battle, to find the Prussian corps every-
where circumvented, their magazines taken or destroyed, and the scattered
divisions of the army without ammunition, forage, or bread, and literally
starving in their own country. All the circumstances of this extraordinary
contest indicate strange mismanagement in some of the governors of fortifi-
ced places; nor can the rapid conquests of the Prussian territory be account-
ed for, except by admitting the fact, that that monarch had been so unfortun-
ate as to lose the hearts of his subjects. Upon any other supposition the
rapid successes of the French will remain a problem not easily solved. In
the space of little more than a month, from October the 9th to the 12th of
November, they had, if we may credit their own account, taken no less than
one hundred and forty thousand prisoners, two hundred and fifty standards,
and above forty-eight hundred pieces of cannon, of which eight hundred were
taken in the field, and above four thousand were found in Berlin and the for-
tresses which had capitulated.

The policy of Napoleon leading him to detach Saxony from Prussia, he re-
leased six thousand Saxon prisoners on their parole, and sent a friendly letter
to the elector, who thereupon relinquished his intention of quitting Dresden;
and towards the close of the year he signed a treaty of alliance with France,
by which he became a member of the confederation of the Rhine, and receiv-
ed from this egregious "King-maker" the royal title. The Prussian pro-
vinces on the Lower Rhine, and the Hanoverian territory, were reduced by
an army from Holland under Louis Buonaparte; and the landgrave of Hesse-
Cassel, who had refused to become a member of the Rhenish confederacy,
was expelled from his capital and dominions by general Mortier, who then
took possession of Hamburg, and ordered the sequestration of all English
property.

This was the prelude to a decree issued from Berlin by the French empe-
or, dated the 90th of November 1806, interdicting all commerce and correspon-
dence between the countries under his government and the isalnds of
Great Britain, which he declared to be in a state of blockade; denouncing
all English property as lawful prize; and all vessels touching at any port in
England, or any English colony, were excluded from the harbours of France,
or the countries under its control. This was validated as a measure of re-
taliation for the flagrant violations of the laws of maritime neutrality by
Great Britain; and extravagant as the terms of the decree might seem, its
effects were severely felt.

After the dreadful defeat of his army at Jena, the king of Prussia retired
to Koningberg, where he was actively employed in collecting the scattered
and feeble remains of his once formidable force. In the mean time the French,
under Jerome Buonaparte, who had recently espoused a princess of Wirtem-
berg, grand-daughter of the late duke of Brunswick, having passed the Oder,
made themselves masters of Silesia. The immense barrier which seemed to
have wholly separated France from Russia was now broken down; and the
emperor Alexander resolved to make a grand effort to protect his own domi-
nions, as well as to support the throne of Prussia and the independence of
Europe. While marshals Davout and Lannes entered Prussian Poland, an
immense force was collecting in different parts of the Russian empire, and
began to move towards the frontier.
The Russians having crossed the Vistula, in order to check the progress of the enemy, on the 26th of November met his advanced posts; but finding themselves possessed of a force unequal to the undertaking, they re-passed that river; and two days after, the duke of Berg, with a division of the French army, entered Warsaw. The respective strength of France and Russia was now to be put to a decisive trial; and about a month after the forces of these two great powers came into contact, the winter campaign began in a most sanguinary manner by the battle of Pultusk. The Russian general Benningsen having taken a position at this place, was attacked by the French on the 30th of December, led on by marshals Davoust and Lasnes, under the immediate direction of the emperor of France. Davoust with ten thousand men fell upon the left wing of the Russians; at the same time the attack on their right was extremely impetuous, and conducted by Napoleon in person. The conflict was extremely obstinate, and continued till night. The enemy was certainly repulsed; but the French and Russian accounts are extremely contradictory. Both sides laid claim to the victory, but neither gained ground. The loss was unquestionably great; and from subsequent circumstances it appears to have been nearly equal on both sides.

From the Russian official accounts it appears, that when general Benning- sen's army broke up from Landshut, it consisted of only seventy thousand men, the general having sent out several detachments. The French army, amounting to nearly ninety thousand, followed BenningSEN closely, making continual attacks on his rear. On reaching Eylau, the Russian commander sent general Marcoff to take possession of the town, and a sanguinary conflict ensued between his corps and several columns of the enemy. The Russians, after an obstinate contest, made themselves masters of the town on the 7th of February, 1807; but the French advanced in such force, that they were obliged to retreat. In consequence of this reverse, general BenningSEN ordered another division to advance, which, marching in three columns, bore down all opposition, and re-took Eylau by assault.

On the following day the action was renewed, and became general. It would exceed the limits of historical summary to follow the official accounts of the various operations; but they assert, that all the attempts of the French cavalry to break the Russian columns were defeated. "In vain," says general BenningSEN, "did the emperor of France lavish his last resources; in vain did he endeavour to excite the courage of his soldiers, and sacrifice so great a part of his army: the bravery and persevering courage of the Russians withstood all his efforts, and snatched from him a victory which had long remained doubtful." These accounts state the loss of the French at thirty thousand killed, twelve thousand wounded, and two thousand prisoners, and add that twelve of the French eagles were taken. The loss of the Russians is stated at twelve thousand killed, and seven thousand nine hundred wounded. From whatever quarter or cause the error may have originated, these statements must be monstrous exaggerations; and other Russian accounts diminish the numbers on both sides to less than one half, which seems to be the nearest approximation to truth.

The battle of Eylau commenced on the 7th of February about three in the afternoon, and, with a short intermission during the night, continued till midnight on the 8th. In all this time, the attacks of the French, under the immediate eye and direction of their emperor, were incessant and impetuous, but repulsed by the Russians with invincible bravery. The loss of men on both sides must therefore have been exceedingly great; but as regards the final issue of this memorable action, in which both sides claimed the victory, nothing can be more discordant, or more flatly contradictory than the Russian official accounts and the French bulletins, which shews that neither of them is entitled to implicit credit. Subsequent circumstances go to prove that the action, however sanguinary, was indecisive, and that neither party could boast of any great advantage. At midnight, when the carnage ceased, the Russians remained masters of the field of battle; but in the morning they began to retreat, and left the French to take possession of Eylau.
From this period the grand armies of France and Russia remained for a considerable time inactive. Warlike operations, however, continued in Swedish Pomerania, where, after a number of actions fought with various success, the Swedes were at last driven into Stralsund. In the month of April a division of the French army commenced the siege of Dantzig. The garrison made vigorous sorties, and several obstinate actions took place in the environs. General Kalkreuth, who commanded in Dantzig, ordered the houses in the suburbs to be destroyed to the value of nine millions of livres; and the damages occasioned in the city itself, by the cannonade and bombardment, were estimated at twelve millions. The Russians, notwithstanding their assumed victory at Eylau, could never make an effort for the relief of Dantzig, which, on the 28th of May, surrendered to the French by capitulation, after the garrison had been reduced from sixteen thousand to nine thousand men, of whom not less than four thousand are said to have deserted. The capture of Dantzig was styled by the French the first fruits of their victory at Eylau, so decidedly claimed by general Benningsen; and it must be confessed, that the surrender of so important a city and fortress, in the very face of the Russian army, was an unfavourable omen.

This was a most eventful crisis in the affairs of the north of Europe, and the grand armies felt it as such; for they laboured incessantly to strengthen their positions, and increase their numbers. The French emperor, in order to concentrate his force, withdrew his troops from before Stralsund, and ordered all those that could be spared from the garrisons of Prussia, to march towards the Vistula. At the same time, numerous bodies of troops were moving from Russia towards the theatre of war. In the month of May the king of Sweden arrived at Stralsund; and the emperor of Russia quitted Petersburg, and repaired to his army. Thus every thing announced a momentous crisis.

The fatal day at length arrived which was to decide the mighty contest. That day was the 14th of June, the anniversary of the battle of Marengo. Having put his soldiers in mind of this circumstance, the emperor Napoleon prepared for an attack on the Russian position at Friedland. The battle did not commence till half-past five in the evening, when marshal Ney and general Marchand advanced, while general Bisson's division supported their left. The Russians attempted to turn marshal Ney with several regiments of cavalry, preceded by a numerous body of Cossacks. But general Latour Mauberg immediately formed his division of dragoons, and, advancing to the right at full gallop, repelled their charge. In the mean while general Victor ordered a battery of thirty pieces of cannon to be placed in the front of his centre; and general Summermont having caused it to be moved about four hundred paces forward, the Russians sustained a dreadful loss from its fire.

The different movements which were made to effect a diversion proved useless. Several columns of the Russian infantry attacked the right of marshal Ney's division, but were charged with the bayonet, and driven into the Alle, in which river several thousands found their death. While Ney advanced to the ravine which surrounds the town of Friedland, the Russian imperial guards made an impetuous attack on his left. This corps was for a moment shaken; but general Dupont's division, which formed the right of the reserve, marched against the guards, and routed them with dreadful slaughter. The Russians then drew several re-inforcements from their centre, and other corps of reserve, to defend Friedland; but, in defiance of all their efforts, the town was forced, and its streets covered with dead bodies.

At this moment the centre of the French, commanded by marshal Lannes, was attacked; but the Russians could make no impression. This sanguinary contest was decided chiefly by the bayonet, and the result was the total defeat of the Russians. The carnage that now ensued was dreadful. According to the French bulletins, the Russians left from fifteen thousand to eighteen thousand dead on the field; and the number does not appear to be greatly exaggerated. But it is difficult to give implicit credit to their relations, when they state their own loss at no more than five hundred killed,
and six thousand wounded. The French took eighty pieces of cannon, a
great number of caissons, and several standards.

On the following day the retreat of the Russians towards Koningsberg
was cut off; but on the 16th at day-break they destroyed the bridges over
the Progel, and, having burned or thrown into the water the stores accumu-
lated in their magazines on the Alle, they continued their retrograde move-
ment. At eight o’clock the same morning the French emperor ordered a
bridge to be thrown over the Progel, and continued the pursuit. The Rus-
si ans in their retreat destroyed all the magazines which they had in the
villages. But a division of the French army under Soult took possession of
Koningsberg where they found twenty thousand wounded Russians and
Prussians, several hundred thousand quintals of grain, and a vast quantity
of warlike stores, with one hundred and sixty thousand muskets, sent from
England for the service of the Russian army. In this disastrous battle and
retreat the Russians lost a great part of their artillery, and almost all their
magazines and ammunition, on a line of one hundred and twenty miles in
extent.

The mysterious veil with which the operations on the Vistula had so long
been covered by the contradictory assertions of the French bulletins and
Russian dispatches, was now completely removed, and the broad glare of
facts dispelled the illusion arising from fallacious representations. The
battle of Friedland was not less decisive than those of Austerlitz and Jena,
nor its consequences less hostile to the independence of Europe. Without
confiding in accounts originating either at Paris or Petersburg, we have
nearer home an impartial witness, whose talents for observation are indis-
putable, and who possessed ample means of information. Lord Hutchinson
declared in the British senate, in a speech delivered February 8th, 1808, that
the Russians crossed the Niemen with a loss of forty thousand men, having
in the space of eleven days lost no less than twenty-seven generals, and one
thousand eight hundred and forty-eight officers killed or wounded.

This sanguinary action was followed by an interview between the emper-
ors of France and Russia and the king of Prussia, on the 7th of July, and a
treaty of peace was concluded at Tilsit between France and Russia, and a
few days afterwards between France and Prussia. The principal articles
were, that a part of the Prussian dominions, especially on the eastern side
of the Elbe, should be annexed to the new kingdom of Westphalia. Those
parts which had been wrested from Poland, and become subject to Prussia,
were ceded to the king of Saxony, under the title of the duchy of Warsaw,
with a free communication with Saxony by a military road through the king
of Prussia’s dominions. The city of Danzig, with a surrounding territory
of two leagues, was restored to independence. The navigation of the Vis-
tula was to be free. Russia acknowledged Joseph Buonaparte and his bro-
ther Louis, as kings of Naples and Holland, and Jerome as king of West-
phalia. The emperor of all the Russians also acknowledged the confederation
of the Rhine, and promised to acknowledge all the sovereigns who might here-
after become members of that confederation. All these princes and states
were included in the treaty of peace. It was also stipulated, that hostilities
should instantly cease between Russia and the Ottoman Porte; and the em-
peror of Russia agreed to accept the mediation of the emperor of France,
for the conclusion of a peace between the two powers.

The French emperor also agreed to accept the mediation of the emperor
of Russia, in order to negotiate and conclude a peace with Great Britain,
under the condition, however, that this mediation should be accepted by
England within a month after the conclusion of the treaty of Tilsit. By
other articles of a secret nature, the ports of Prussia, as well as of Danzig,
were to be shut against the vessels and trade of Great Britain; and it is not
certain whether the emperor of Russia was not bound by the same condition.
Subsequent events, indeed, have excited an opinion in favour of the affirma-
tive side of the question. It also appears, that, by another secret article,
Russia had consented to cede Corfu and the Seven Islands as an appendage
to France. In the month of August a Russian officer, attended by French
commissioners, arrived there; and having convened the senate, opened a
dispatch from the emperor Alexander, in which his imperial majesty de-
clared, that he renounced all the rights which he possessed in quality of pro-
tector of the Seven Islands, and ceded them to his majesty the emperor of
the French and king of Italy. The French commissioners accepted the re-
nunciation, and took possession of the islands.

By this fatal war the Prussian monarchy lost nearly the half of its terri-
tory and of its subjects, with more than half of its revenues; and Russia
saw herself deprived of her extensive barrier against the dangerous and
domineering power of France. The king of Sweden refused to accede to
the treaty of Tilsit, and attempted the defence of Pomerania; but his efforts
were useless, as the whole power of France could now be directed to that
quarter. His Swedish majesty, however, succeeded on the 19th and 20th of
August in withdrawing his forces from Stralsund, before the enemy was ap-
prised of his intention, after which he crossed the Baltic and retired into
Sweden.

LETTER V.

History of the Affairs of Great Britain, A. D. 1807—8.—Parliamentary
proceedings.—The King and his Ministers differ respecting the Catholic
question.—Act for the abolition of the Slave Trade.—Change of Ministry.
—Character of the late Whig Ministry.—Proceedings of the British army
in South America.—Expedition to the Dardanelles.—Proceedings of the
British forces in Egypt.—Expedition against Copenhagen.—Rupture be-
tween England and Russia.—Dispute with the United States of America.

The death of Mr. Fox was sensibly felt by the cabinet of which he formed
the main-spring; but the new arrangements consequent thereupon having
been perfected, as mentioned in a former letter, the ministers, as if apprehen-
sive of a decline of their popularity, advised his majesty to dissolve the
parliament, in the hope of increasing their preponderance in the house of
commons, while they had the means of powerfully influencing the elections.
At the meeting of the new parliament, which took place on the 19th of De-
cember 1806, the lord chancellor, in the king’s name, took notice of the
difficult and arduous circumstances under which the two houses were assembled,
and deplored the calamitous events of that war which had been recently kindled
anew by the ambition and injustice of the enemy. Prussia, he said, had been
constrained to adopt the resolution of resistance; but neither this determi-
nation, nor the succeeding measures, were previously concerted with his
majesty. Even the hostile demeanour of the court of Berlin, both toward
Hanover and Great Britain, had not precluded the manifestation of a wish
to afford every assistance that she could desire against the common enemy;
but the rapid course of misfortune had “opposed insurmountable difficulties
“ to the execution of this purpose.” Amidst these disastrous incidents, it was
pleasing to observe the unshaken fidelity of the emperor of Russia, with
whom it was more particularly necessary to establish a cordial union, because
such an alliance afforded “the only remaining hope for the continent of
“Europe.”

In the early debates, the affairs of Prussia and the conduct of the ministry
were discussed with freedom. The misfortunes of Frederick William were
imputed to that narrow and selfish policy, by which he had been guided. It
was affirmed that he had illiberally consulted his own apparent interest, with-
out regard to the general welfare of Europe; that he had long been blind to
the danger which threatened him; and that, when he at last reused himself
to an appearance of energy, he acted without caution or judgment, and with-
out even waiting for that succour by which he might have been saved from
ruin. The ministers were blamed for not having given a proper direction to
his rising zeal, and for not checking his rashness by friendly expostulation, until a regular concert could have been established. They were accused of being more disposed to resent his offence than to assist him in his distress; and their pretext of being precluded from an opportunity of supporting him was declared to be evasive and unsatisfactory. The late negotiation with France was very temperately discussed; and lord Yarmouth expressed himself with great confidence that had Mr. Fox’s life been prolonged but a few months, peace would have been concluded. Mr. Whitbread, indeed, differed from his friends in the cabinet in thinking that peace might have been obtained, even after the death of Mr. Fox, by a perseverance in the negotiation, as the French seemed to afford greater facilities for it than on any other occasion subsequent to their revolution, and he therefore proposed that the king should be requested to promote a renewal of diplomatic communication, rather than avoid it under the pretence of that unbounded ambition which prompted the enemy to baffle all conciliatory endeavours. He thought that war, eternal war, was not to be waged for Sicily and Dalmatia. His proposition, however, was thought unseasonable, and both houses of parliament thanked his majesty for having offered every sacrifice to peace that the interest and glory of his people would allow.

On the 29th of January, 1807, the chancellor of the exchequer stated his plan of finance, which was so framed as to make provision for a series of years to come, on the very probable supposition of a continuance of the war; the loan for the present year was stated at twelve millions. Upon the resolutions moved and finally agreed to by the house, much debate arose, and very forcible objections were urged against them; but as this project was never carried into effect, it is unnecessary to enter further into the detail.

On the 20th of February, lord Howick intimated his intention of preparing some additional and very necessary clauses for insertion in the mutiny bill—an ill-fated proposition, and ever to be deplored inasmuch as it led eventually to the overthrow of the ministry, and their being driven from the councils of the monarch; it will therefore be necessary to go into some explanation on the subject. By the Irish mutiny act, passed in 1793, Catholics were allowed to hold any rank in the army under that of general, on the staff in Ireland, though in Great Britain they were disqualified from serving under severe penalties; thus being deemed by law worthy of trust in one part of the United Kingdom, and unworthy in another. This anomaly it was the object of lord Howick to remedy, by making the provisions of the Irish act general. But on the 5th of March, his lordship, in lieu of the proposed clauses, moved to bring in a bill for, “enabling his majesty to avail himself of the services of all his subjects, in his naval and military forces, on their taking the prescribed oath of allegiance;” for, to grant this privilege to Catholics and deny it to Protestants, would have been manifestly unjust. It might be thought that a law so salutary and equitable would recommend itself by a simple statement of its provisions; but to give it the greater effect, the motion of lord Howick was enforced by him with all the wisdom and eloquence of an accomplished statesman. The Tories, however, took advantage of it to raise the hue-and-cry against ministers, to alarm the conscience of the monarch, and for a time set the whole country in a flame! Mr. Spencer Perceval, late attorney-general, instantly rose to resist, what he styled, one of the most dangerous measures which had ever been submitted to the judgment of the legislature. Our ancient and venerable establishment, he contended, could only be preserved by making a stand against every fresh attempt at innovation, which, if encouraged, would not stop short of abolishing all that the wisdom of our ancestors had thought necessary to enact in defence of our religion. The present question, he said, was simply, whether the legislature were prepared to give up the Protestant ascendency in Ireland? This measure was, indeed, but a part of the principle of innovation which was gradually increasing; and these approaches were far more dangerous than if it were to come forward at once in all its frightful magnitude; and what if it were at first denied by the wisdom of parliament, would be ultimately exorted from its weakness! Such was the nature of the alarm sounded in
parliament, and the spirit of bigotry instantly awoke from its slumber and answered to the call. After an animated debate, an early day was fixed for the reading of the bill; this, however, was twice postponed; and on the 18th of March, lord Howick gave notice that "the bill was not intended, under present circumstances, to be proceeded upon." These circumstances were of a nature so singular, as to require particular elucidation.

In the month of February, a despatch had been received from the duke of Bedford, the lord lieutenant of Ireland, stating that a disposition had been manifested by the Irish Catholics to prosecute their claims by petition to parliament. Anxious to prevent an application so unseasonable, and at the same time to assure the Catholics of their favourable disposition, an answer to the dispatch of the lord-lieutenant was prepared by ministers, stating their intentions relative to the mutiny bill, a copy of which was transferred to the king accompanied by a cabinet minute. To this proposition the king expressed a strong dissent; and on receiving his disapproval, the cabinet, on the 10th of February, made a respectful representation of the grounds of policy and principle upon which the measure in question was founded. Lord Sidmouth, who was president of the council, had fairly avowed his readiness, to concur in the extension of the Irish act, so far as to legalize the services of the Irish Catholic officers in England, but no further. This he had made known to the sovereign on being questioned by him, confessing, that he saw no alternative but either to repeal the Irish act, or make it operative in England. In consequence of this opinion, corroborated by the lord chancellor, who described the measure as merely a corollary from the Irish act, the king replied to the cabinet minute, "that, advertsizing to what had taken place in 1793, he would not prevent his ministers from submitting to the consideration of parliament the proposed clauses in the mutiny bill; but thought it necessary to declare, that he could not go one step farther; and trusted that this reluctance and concession would secure him from being distressed by any future proposal connected with the Catholic question." Under this frail and limited sanction, however, a majority of the cabinet transmitted a dispatch to Ireland, exciting expectations far beyond the letter of the act of 1793, not only by removing the bar to higher military advancement, but extending the provisions of the act to the navy, and imparting the same privileges to English Protestant dissenters.

Lord Sidmouth, on being apprised of the import of the new clauses introduced into the bill, plainly declared the necessity he should feel of opposing the measure in parliament; and, in a cabinet council held on the first of March, he stated his conviction, that the extent of it was not understood by the king. Lord Grenville, however, expressing an opposite opinion, it was proposed by lord Howick to transmit to his majesty a copy of the clauses in question, which was done on the following day, accompanied by a dispatch to the lord-lieutenant of the same tenor. These documents were returned without a comment; but on the fourth of March, the king, having previously conferred with lord Sidmouth, declared to lord Howick, at an audience held after the levee, his dislike and disapprobation of the measure, without, however, in express words withdrawing the consent which he had already given. The ministers, therefore, still acted under a misapprehension of the king's mind, and the obnoxious bill was ordered to be read a second time on the 12th of March.

It was in this interval that lord Sidmouth gave notice of a resolution to which he had come to resign his office, with the view of opposing the bill. The king, however, refused to accept his resignation, and mentioned in strong terms his surprise at the extent of the proposition made in the house of commons, after his declaration to lord Howick; and on the same day his majesty informed lord Grenville, in a manner which could not possibly be mistaken, that to those parts of the bill which went beyond the limits of the act of 1793, he could not be induced to give his consent. Lord Sidmouth, on this, prudently advised them to modify the bill, in such a manner as to free it from objections evidently insuperable. This they agreed to do, and lord Grenville, with the concurrence of his colleagues, respectfully apprised the
king of the misconception that had prevailed, and their determination to modify the measure, so as to confine it strictly within those limits to which his majesty understood himself to have consented—an intimation which was graciously received by the king, who gave the strongest assurances of his conviction, that the intentions of his ministers towards him were perfectly honourable.

It was now confidently hoped that the difficulty was surmounted, and that ministers would be able to proceed with the bill, so modified as to meet the wishes of all parties; but, most unaccountably, at a subsequent cabinet meeting held on the 15th of March, to which neither the lord chancellor, the president of the council, nor the lord chief justice were summoned, a resolution was taken to abandon the bill altogether. Nor was this the only, or the principal indiscretion: a minute was transmitted to the king, who now conceived that an amicable and final explanation had taken place, announcing the relinquishment of the measure; but at the same time asserting "their right and intention to avow their opinions in parliament respecting their withdrawal of the bill; and in all future discussions relating to the Catholic question, also to submit for his majesty's decision from time to time, such advice respecting Ireland as the course of circumstances and the interests of the empire should require." This superfluous declaration concerning "rights" which had never been controverted, excited in the breast of the king, the utmost apprehension and uneasiness. He began to think that the question was never to be at rest, and that he was to remain perpetually exposed to a recurrence of importunity and anxious feeling. The royal answer, unadvisedly given, expressed some dissatisfaction at the parliamentary avowals, which the ministers supposed to be necessary. It declared that "his majesty would never consent to any farther concessions; and declared mandered from ministers a positive and written assurance that he should never again be distressed by a recurrence to this subject." With regard to a demand of this nature, there could be no hesitation on the part of ministers to reject it; and, consequently, it was in dutiful terms represented to the king, "that those who were intrusted by him with the administration of the affairs of his extensive empire, were bound by every obligation, to submit without reserve the best advice they could frame to meet the exigencies of the times; and that the situation of Ireland constituted the most formidable part of the present difficulties."

On the following day, his majesty, with the most gracious expressions of his satisfaction in reference to every other part of their conduct, announced his intention of making a change of ministers, and on the 18th of March lord Howick was authorized to notify to parliament this his intention. On the 25th of the same month his majesty's pleasure was signified, that the members of the present administration should deliver up their seals of office. Thus suddenly and prematurely was dissolved this celebrated Whig administration, from the combined talents and virtues of which so much had been expected by the nation. Their fall was the subject of much exultation to the Tories, and of no great regret to the Whigs, who were severely disappointed that no radical change of system had taken place. Mr. Fox, who alone could be expected to balance the weight of lord Grenville in the cabinet, was, in every point of view an irreparable loss. With him the spirit of peace departed, the prospect of another coalition arose to view, and hope once more told her flattering tale. Nevertheless, the general conduct of the Whig administration was highly honourable to themselves, and advantageous to the country. The limitation of military service; the various reforms of office; the abstaining from all reversionary grants, and from all political prosecutions; with the amelioration of Scottish jurisprudence, and the liberal boon to Ireland in their immediate contemplation;—but, above all, the abolition of the slave-trade, that disgrace to humanity, will render this administration short as was its duration, memorable in the annals of the country. In relation to the war, and that only, their policy was unadvised and unfortunate; and though they did not primarily repose on "a bed of roses," as lord Castlereagh had asserted in one of his speeches on their entrance upon office, it cannot be...
nied that the state of Europe was at this moment incomparably worse than at the period of their entrance into office. Let me now direct your attention to the proceedings of the British army in South America.

Re-inforcements to a considerable extent, had been sent out towards the close of the year 1806, under the command of general sir Alexander Ashmuty, and admiral Stirling; sir Home Popham having been re-called from that station, with a view to his being put upon his trial by court-martial, for having undertaken an expedition of such magnitude unauthorized by the constituted authorities at home. The troops were landed near Monte Video, in the month of January 1807, and on their arrival at Maldonado, the general resolved on making an attack on Monte Video, it being the only place on the river which could be assailed with probable advantage. The troops being landed near the town, on the 13th of January, about six thousand of the provincials marched out to attack them, but were repulsed with great slaughter, and the British force afterwards commenced the siege of the place. The works were found strong, and were ably defended; but a practicable breach being made on the 2nd of February, an assault was instantly determined on. This was effected before day break of the following morning; and after a severe action, in which five hundred and sixty of the assailants were killed or wounded, and more than twice that number of the defenders, everything was carried except the citadel, and that soon after surrendered. The prizes captured were fifty-seven West India and merchantmen, independent of gunboats and armed vessels.

Before any intelligence had been received in England of the re-capture of Buenos Ayres by the Spaniards, the British government had resolved to send out an expedition for the reduction of the whole province of Chili. For this purpose a force of four thousand men was placed under the command of brigadier-general Crawford, which sailed about the end of October, 1806, accompanied by a naval force under admiral Murray. But the intelligence above referred to occasioned an order to be afterwards dispatched for the expedition to change its object and proceed to the river La Plata. It was overtaken at the Cape of Good Hope, and accordingly sailed for the new destination, where it arrived on the 14th of June 1807, and raised the British force there to nearly ten thousand men. General Whitelocke, who had in the mean time been nominated to the supreme command of the forces in South America, left England in March, taking with him an additional force of sixteen hundred men, the service expected from him being the entire reduction Buenos Ayres. At this time two parties existed in the city of that name; one was devoted entirely to the Spanish government; the other entertained views of throwing off the yoke of the mother-country, and of erecting an independent state. The latter were thought disposed to join the British, if a promise were made them of securing their independence; but as there was a probability that the restoration of the province would be made a condition of peace with Spain, there was an obvious difficulty of treating with this party.

General Whitelocke arrived in the river La Plata in May, and took the command of the troops. On the 28th of June the united force, to the number of about eight thousand men, was landed about thirty miles to the eastward of Buenos Ayres; and after a fatiguing march, the different divisions assembled in the suburbs of the city, which was nearly invested. On the morning of July 6th, a general attack was ordered, each corps to enter by the streets opposite to it, and all with unloaded muskets. The greatest intrepidity was displayed in the execution of the plan, which was so far successful, that two strong posts were gained in the town, though at the expense of two thousand five hundred men in killed, wounded, and prisoners; the fire from the tops of the houses, and every advantageous position, upon the defenceless troops, having been most murderous.

On the following morning general Linieres sent a letter to the British commander, offering to give up all the prisoners taken in this bloody rencontre, as well as those formerly made with general Beresford, if he would desist from any further attack and withdraw the British armament
from La Plata; intimating that such was the exasperation of the populace, he could not answer for the safety of the prisoners if offensive operations were persisted in. General Whitelocke, influenced, as he said, by this consideration, and reflecting upon the little advantage that was to be obtained from the possession of a country absolutely hostile, agreed to the proposal. This termination of an enterprise, from which much had been expected, was the cause of great dissatisfaction; and the general, on his return home, was tried by a court-martial, whose sentence was, "that he be cashiered, and declared totally unfit and unworthy to serve his majesty in any military capacity whatever"—a decision confirmed by the king, and approved of by the public. It was, however, thought that a censure was not less merited by those who had recommended, for such an employment, a man whose military reputation appears at no time to have entitled him to a trust of that importance. * This disastrous expedition was in some small degree counter-balanced, by the reduction of the Dutch settlement of Curáçoa, early in the year 1807, by a small squadron under the command of captain Brisbane, detached from the fleet of admiral Dacres. The harbour was defended by regular fortifications, of which fort Amsterdam alone mounted sixty-six pieces of cannon, and across the entrance were moored two frigates and two armed schooners. The bravery of the British troops, however, in a very short time, and with inconsiderable loss, carried the forts by storm and the shipping by boarding; and a capitulation yielded the island to his Britannic majesty, the garrison and crews of the ships of war remaining prisoners.

England at this time became involved in hostilities with the Ottoman empire of which some notice must be taken. On the refusal of the emperor of Russia to ratify the treaty of D’Oubril, general Sebastiani was sent to Constantinople with a commission from the French government, by every possible means to induce the Sublime Porte to declare war against Russia: and he obtained an edict prohibiting to Russian ships of war the passage of the Dardanelles. But the court of St. Petersburg, not waiting the result of the negotiation, marched an army into Moldavia, and took possession of Choczin, Bender, and Jassi; in consequence of which a declaration of war issued from the Porte, December 29th, 1806, and an English squadron took on board the Russian and British ambassadors. Between Great Britain and Turkey the strictest amity had subsisted since the victory of the Nile; nor was the slightest injury or infraction of treaties pretended, when, with the view of compelling the Turks to an immediate accommodation, or rather submission, the British squadron under sir John Duckworth, in the month of February 1807, received orders to force the passage of the Dardanelles, and present himself in hostile array before Constantinople. In sailing through the strait, the squadron sustained a heavy cannonade from the opposite shores, and a small Turkish armament was destroyed by sir Sidney Smith. On the 20th of February, under the sanction of a flag of truce, Yvac Bey, one of the Turkish ministers, came on board the English fleet, professing an earnest desire on the part of the sultan, Selim III. to give the desired satisfaction. But the demand of Britain was no less than a delivering up to her all the ships of war belonging to the Porte. The negotiation continued till the 27th, and the interval was diligently employed by the Turks, under the direction of French engineers, in erecting batteries on both sides of the long and narrow strait, and a considerable force was collected, both by land and sea, to prevent the return of the English squadron. Sir John Duckworth, finding himself out manoeuvred, even by Turkish artifice, after all his high and menacing language, now thought only of retreat; and weighing anchor on the 1st of March, he succeeded in forcing his passage through the straits, though not without incurring the most imminent peril. Any longer delay would have been fatal; he therefore hastened to repass the castles of Sestos and Abidos, which saluted him with the fire of vast blocks of marble, one of which, weighing eight hundred pounds, cut in two the main mast of the Windsor, man of war. None of the ships escaped without damage, and the expedition, which was generally condemned as no less impolitic than unjust, cost the country
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about two hundred and fifty men killed and wounded, while the only effect produced by it was to confirm the influence of France at the Porte.

The failure on this occasion appeared to be in some degree compensated by the success of an attempt against another seat of the Ottoman power. On the 5th of March, a force of about five thousand men was sent from Messina, under the command of General Fraser, of which, on the 16th, a part anchored to the westward of the port of Alexandria. The English consul resident there advised the general not to delay landing his troops, though many of the transports had not yet arrived, because the French consul was endeavouring to procure the admission of a body of Albanians to defend the town. Accordingly, on the 18th, General Fraser put his troops in motion, and having taken possession of Aboukir, and the canal between Lakes Maedie and Mareotis, the city of Alexandria capitulated on the 20th. By the articles of capitulation, the vessels belonging to the Turkish government, and all public property, were given up to the British; the crews were to be sent to a Turkish port, but under a stipulation that they were not to serve against England, or her allies, until exchanged. The loss by which this success was obtained was inconsiderable; and on the day of the treaty the transports which had been missing made their appearance, and two days afterwards Sir John Duckworth's squadron also arrived.

Aware that there could be no danger of a scarcity of provisions at Alexandria, provided that Rosetta and Rhumania were in the occupation of the British, General Fraser detached a body of troops consisting of fifteen hundred men, on the 27th, to take possession of Rosetta, but the commanding officer incautiously marching into the town without previously examining it, the troops received so brisk a fire from the roofs and windows of the houses, that after sustaining a loss of three hundred killed and wounded, they found it necessary to retreat to Aboukir. The want of provisions encroaching, another corps of about two thousand five hundred men under the command of General Stuart, was sent to reduce Rosetta. The summons to surrender being disregarded, the British began to construct their batteries; and as a succour of Mamelukes was expected, Lieutenant-General Macleod was detached to seize a post in order to facilitate their junction. Many days passed in fruitless expectation; at length a great number of vessels were descried sailing down the Nile, which, it was not doubted, contained a reinforcement to the enemy sent from Cairo. Orders were immediately transmitted to Colonel Macleod to return from his position, but they were unfortunately intercepted, and his detachment was completely cut off. General Stuart retreated fighting all the way to Alexandria, where he arrived; but a formidable force of the enemy were now perceived approaching that city, and finding its inhabitants also disaffected to the British, a flag of truce was sent by General Fraser, offering instantly to evacuate Egypt with his army on condition that the British prisoners should be liberated, which was readily agreed to, and on the 23d of September the troops sailed for Sicily. The attempt on Rosetta cost the English a thousand men in killed, wounded, and missing.

From the conclusion of the treaty of Tilsit, it became increasingly evident, from the aspect of affairs on the continent, that Denmark could not long maintain her neutrality. At the same time, the exertions of the Danish government in augmenting its marine, and collecting great quantities of warlike stores in the arsenals, gave indications of approaching or apprehended hostilities. The English ministry strongly suspected or rather had positive proof, that these hostilities were to be directed against England. In every view of the subject, therefore, it was thought expedient to prevent the Danish fleet from falling into the hands of the French government, who was said to have formed the design of turning the maritime force of Denmark and Portugal against Great Britain. His Britannic majesty consequently thought it expedient to request from the court of Denmark the temporary deposit of the Danish ships of the line in some of the British ports. This proposal was made in the most friendly manner, representing the indis-
pensable necessity of such a measure, under the relative circumstances of
the neutral and belligerent powers of Europe, as the only means of security
against the mischiefs which the French were meditating through the medium
of the Danish navy. In order to give additional weight to the negotiations,
a formidable naval and military force, under the command of admiral Gamb-
bler and lord Cathcart, was sent to the Baltic, with the view of protecting
Denmark against the resentment of France in case of an amicable result, or
to enforce compliance should her government reject the proposal. On the
arrival of the British army in the Baltic, the Danish cabinet having given a
peremptory refusal to the application from England, the troops began to dis-
embark at the village of Wibecb, about half way between Elsinour and
Copenhagen, and on the 16th of August, the landing was effected without
opposition. Military operations soon commenced, and the British troops
gained many important advantages. On the 29th sir Arthur Wellesley to-
tally defeated the Danish army, which lost a considerable number in killed
and wounded, independent of eleven hundred men made prisoners, including
about sixty officers. The British army then invested Copenhagen, and op-
erations for commencing the siege were carried on with unremitting activity.
All the preparations being completed, on the 1st of September the city was
summoned, and the offers renewed which at different times had been made to
the crown-prince and the governor. The summons producing no effect, the
bombardment, both from the land batteries and the shipping, commenced on
the following day, and continued till the evening of the 5th, when a proposal
for capitulating was made by the garrison. On the following day the basis
of the capitulation was agreed upon. The principal articles were, that the
ships and vessels of war of every description, together with all the naval
stores, should be delivered up to the disposal of his Britannic majesty; and
that the British troops should, within the space of six weeks, or sooner if
possible, evacuate Zealand. A mutual and unconditional restitution of
prisoners was to take place; all property, public and private, was to be re-
pected, except the shipping and naval stores; and all the British property,
sequestered in consequence of the rupture, was to be restored to the owners.
The Danish navy consisted of eighteen ships of the line—one of ninety-six,
two of eighty-four, twelve of seventy-four, and three of sixty-four guns;
fifteen frigates, five brigs, and twenty-five gun boats; a force which in the
hands of Napoleon, might have proved the means of great annoyance to
England. The loss of the British in this expedition was very inconsiderable
if we take into account the magnitude of the object attained. On board the
fleet it amounted to little more than fifty men killed and wounded, and the
army had only two hundred and eight killed, wounded, and missing, during
the siege of Copenhagen, exclusive of a trifling number in the previous
operations. The city, however, suffered severely by the bombardment; not
less than eleven hundred of the inhabitants are said to have been killed, and
the number of houses destroyed was estimated at four hundred, besides many
others greatly damaged. The capitulation, however, was not ratified by the
crown-prince; and the Danish government, rejecting every conciliatory pro-
posal, issued a formal declaration of war against England. Notwithstanding
these demonstrations of hostility; the occupation of Zealand was found to
require a greater number of troops than Great Britain could spare from
other services, and the country was consequently evacuated according to
the convention. From that period the war with Denmark produced no im-
portant results.

But, however necessary to the security of the British dominions, the expedi-
tion against Denmark was, it served as an ostensible pretext to Russia for
commencing hostilities against England. On the 31st of October, the em-
peror Alexander issued a declaration, in which he accused the British go-
vernment of rejecting his mediation for peace; of not co-operating with the
allies against France during the war; of sending troops against Buenos
Ayres and Alexandria, instead of making a diversion in Italy, or some other
part of the European continent; and particularly inveighed against the
conduct of England in attacking Denmark, and troubling the commerce of
Russia. In consequence of these causes of complaint, his Imperial majesty declared that all friendly intercourse was broken off between Russia and Great Britain, and an imperial ukase was immediately published, ordering the detention of all British ships and property. The first care of the court of St. Petersburg was to put the fort of Cronstadt in the most formidable state of defence; but the war between Russia and England proceeded little farther than to an interruption of commercial intercourse.

The system adopted by the belligerent powers was indeed particularly harassing to the mercantile interest in every quarter. In a former letter, I mentioned to you the decree which the French emperor issued from Berlin, declaring the British islands in a state of blockade. He shut the ports of the countries subject to his tyrannical influence against all vessels that had cleared out from British ports, and subjected to confiscation all neutral vessels that had cargoes of British produce or manufacture. In support of this regulation he decreed, that neutral vessels coming into any port of his dominions, should bring with them a certificate of origin, under the signature of the French consul at the port where they cleared out, attesting that no part of their cargo consisted of British manufacture or produce, and that all vessels met at sea without such a certificate should be liable to seizure. In January 1807, the British government opposed to the commercial restrictions of France, a measure, which interdicted the coasting trade of the enemy to neutrals, by issuing an order subjecting to seizure, all vessels of whatever nation, trading from one hostile port to another with hostile property. This, however, was not deemed an adequate retaliation; and in the month of November, the famous orders in council were issued, declaring France in a state of blockade, with all the countries under her immediate power and influence; and subjecting to seizure all vessels whatever that should attempt to trade between neutral and hostile ports, or that should have on board any such certificate as was required by the Berlin decree. By these orders, neutral vessels, destined for a hostile port were directed first to touch at some port of Great Britain, from whence, after the payment of certain duties, they might be allowed to proceed; and when clearing out with a cargo from any hostile port they were required to come to Great Britain. These restrictive regulations instituted by France and England, proved extremely incommodious to the Americans, who were now become the general carriers of Europe, especially of colonial produce. The congress of the United States retaliated by an embargo in all their ports; and notwithstanding the consequent annihilation of their commerce, they persisted in this measure. The British government sent out Mr. Rose for the purpose of restoring the relations of amity between the two countries; but he returned without effecting the object of his mission. The embargo was continued by the Americans throughout the whole of the year 1808, though not without great dissatisfaction, especially in the northern States. At the meeting of congress in November, the president, in a message, acquainted them with the failure of his negotiations with the French and English courts to obtain a revocation of their measures which were so injurious to neutral commerce. With respect to England, he said that an offer was made to take off the embargo, as far as concerned the trade of Great Britain, on condition of the repeal of the orders in council, but that the offer was not accepted. (1)

(1) London Gazette—Annual Register, 1806—1808—Akin's Annals of the Reign of George III.
History of the affairs of Spain and Portugal, 1807—9.—Departure of the Braganza-family for the Brazils.—Invasion of Spain and Portugal by the armies of France.—Perturbed state of Madrid.—Perfidious conduct of Napoleon.—Charles IV. abdicates the throne.—Resistance of the Spanish patriots.—Joseph Buonaparte takes possession of the crown of Spain.—Peninsular war; first campaign.—Battle of Vimeira.—Convention of Cintra.—Retreat of the British army in Spain, under Sir John Moore.—Battle of Corunna.—Death of Sir John Moore, 16th of January, 1809.

In prosecuting the narrative of this extraordinary period of the affairs of Europe, I must now, my dear Philip, direct your attention for some considerable time to a part of the continent which has hitherto occupied, comparatively, but a slight portion of your regard. I mean the European peninsula, comprising the kingdoms of Spain and Portugal, which were destined to become, during the space of several years, the theatre of war and bloodshed, until liberated from the hostile troops of France, by the superior skill and bravery of the armies of Britain.

The peace of Tilsit having freed the French emperor from all apprehensions in the north, he was left at leisure to pursue his schemes of rapacity and aggrandizement in the south; and the autumn of the year 1807, presented a new and interesting spectacle in modern history—the voluntary migration of a European court into the southern hemisphere. Portugal had long been the faithful ally of Great Britain, and both countries found their interest in the connexion. The former received political support and protection; the latter enjoyed a lucrative commerce. England was the basis on which the independence of Portugal rested; and Lisbon and Porto were sources whence London derived no inconsiderable portion of its opulence. But the disastrous circumstances of Europe interrupted this enjoyment of reciprocal advantages. The hatred and jealousy of the emperor of France prompted him to threaten the invasion of Portugal with his troops of marauders, and intimidated the court of Lisbon into a compliance with his requisitions, to shut the ports of that kingdom against the ships and commerce of Great Britain, to which effect a decree was issued at Lisbon, on the 22nd of October, 1807.

In consequence of this measure being adopted, his Britannic majesty though he had generously resolved not to resent those acts of unwilling hostility to which the consent of the prince-regent of Portugal had been extorted, nevertheless deemed it expedient to send a squadron to the mouth of the Tagus, to act as future circumstances might render necessary. But the exclusion of British commerce from the Portuguese ports did not satisfy the tyrant of the continent; and the appearance of a French army on the frontier of Portugal induced the prince-regent to sign an order for the detention of all British subjects and the sequestration of all British property. This decree bears date November the 8th, 1807, but the event had been anticipated, and most of the British merchants resident in the country had previously removed their effects. These measures, however, though the consequences of compulsion, placed England and Portugal virtually in a state of hostility; and lord Strangford, the British ambassador demanded his passports, presented a final remonstrance against the conduct of the court of Lisbon, and proceeding on board one of the English ships in the Tagus, a rigorous blockade was established at the mouth of the harbour. The full compliance of the court of Lisbon with the requirements of the French emperor could not, however, preserve its dominions from his rapacity. He had marked out Portugal for his prey; and no principle of generosity or justice could induce him to deviate from his plans of aggrandize-
ment. It is difficult to conceive of a more critical situation than that in which the prince-regent of Portugal was now placed, being in a state of hostility with England, whose alliance he had been compelled to renounce, and with the French emperor, who had declared that "the house of Braganza should cease to reign." The French army had entered Portugal, and was advancing towards the capital, while the British fleet blockaded the mouth of the Tagus. At this important crisis of the Portuguese monarchy, lord Strangford, in consequence of fresh instructions received from his court, returned to Lisbon, on the 27th of November, to renew the negotiations. His lordship had immediately the most interesting communications with the court, and found that the prince-regent wisely directed his apprehensions to the French army, and his hopes to the British fleet. Having received the most positive assurances of the protection of the British navy, his royal highness instantly came to the determination of removing the royal family and the seat of government to Brazil. Little time was left indeed for either deliberation or delay, as the French army under general Junot had already advanced to Abrantes, within about three days march of the capital.

Thus circumstanced, the embarkation was so expeditiously performed, that on the morning of the 29th, the Portuguese fleet sailed out of the Tagus, having on board the prince of Brazil, with the whole of the royal family of Braganza, and a number of persons attached to its fortunes. The French army had already arrived in the neighbourhood of Lisbon, and from the hills had a view of the fleet as it dropped down the river. This fleet which conveyed to a distant quarter of the globe the hopes and fortunes of the Portuguese monarchy, consisted of eight ships of the line—one of eighty-four, four of seventy-four, and three of sixty-four guns, besides four frigates, three brigs and a schooner. Four ships of the line and five frigates were left in the Tagus; but the former were all unserviceable, except the Vasco di Gama, of seventy-four guns, which was repairing and almost ready for sea; of the frigates, two were wholly unserviceable, and the other three stood in need of a thorough repair.

The court was no sooner departed than the French army entered Lisbon without opposition. Sir Sidney Smith, with a British squadron, accompanied the royal emigrants to Rio de Janeiro, in Brazil, where they arrived on the 19th of January, 1808, after a prosperous voyage. A commercial arrangement was entered into, and a direct intercourse established between Great Britain, and the Portuguese empire in South America, an event which forms an epoch in the history of the commercial relations between the two nations. Brazil and Britain were mutually benefited at the expense of Lisbon, which was formerly the medium of that intercourse. But before we proceed further with the affairs of Portugal it will be proper to take a survey of the state of the sister kingdom at this tremendous crisis.

The imbecile court of Spain was at this time fast hastening to that condition of internal dissension and degradation, which in a little time occasioned the deposition of the royal family. On the 30th of October, 1807, a singular manifesto was issued by the king of Spain, Charles IV. that his life and crown had been endangered by a conspiracy, of which his own son was the author, whom, in consequence he had caused to be arrested. The foundation of this atrocious charge was a clandestine correspondence carried on by the prince of Asturias with the emperor Napoleon, on the subject of a projected marriage between the former and a princess of the Buonaparte family. Through the interposition of Godoy, the prince of peace, a reconciliation was effected; the prince of Asturias having been induced to write penitential letters to his father and mother; in which, however, there was no confession of any heinous or atrocious design. A treaty was soon afterward concluded between the sovereigns of France and Spain, the object of which was a partition of the kingdom of Portugal; but in return for the portion which was to devolve on the king of Etruria, his kingdom of Tuscany was to be ceded to Napoleon in quality of king of Italy. By a secret convention, French troops were to be admitted into Spain, and others were to be assembled at Bayonne, to assist in the conquest of Portugal. Thus a handle
was given for placing Spain at the disposal of the emperor of France; and these were the circumstances which led the court of Lisbon to emigrate to the western hemisphere.

The attention of all Europe was at this time turned towards the Peninsula; and the designs of the emperor of France upon that quarter began daily more and more to develop themselves. Spain, once the most potent and flourishing of the European monarchies, had during two centuries been in a state of decline. A wretched system of government had almost extinguished the ancient Castilian spirit; and the Spanish armies, which had been acknowledged superior to those of all other nations, had lost their reputation for courage and discipline. In this state of national degradation, Spain was one of the first countries of the continent which fell under the control of revolutionary France; and it appeared to be one of those that was least calculated for throwing off her yoke. Yet under these unfavourable circumstances, the national spirit burst forth like a meteor, and astonished the view of all Europe.

While the efforts of faction agitated the court of Madrid, and perplexed its councils, the cabinet of St. Cloud was preparing for the execution of a deep laid and most unprincipled design. Under the pretext of invading Portugal and attacking Gibraltar, the armies of France, in the ostensible character of friends and allies, were marching into Spain, securing the strong places, and taking the most commanding positions. In the mean while an apparent reconciliation took place between the Spanish monarch and his son, as already mentioned, an event which diffused great joy throughout the whole kingdom. A perfect harmony seemed also to reign between the French and Spanish cabinets; and the popular reports of the approaching annexation of Portugal and Gibraltar to Spain, were well calculated to allay the suspicions which the entrance of the French armies must naturally have tended to excite among the people.

In this manner, the revolutionary volcano by which the Spanish monarchy was about to be convulsed, had secretly and silently collected its powers, and in the month of March 1808 the explosion took place. It appears that his Catholic majesty had formed the design of removing the seat of government to Mexico, and that the measure was approved of by the queen and the prince of Peace, but reproved by the prince of Asturias and his brothers, with the majority of the grandees of the court. The motives which led to this extraordinary project are enveloped in mystery; as are indeed all the affairs of the court of Madrid, from the period of the alleged conspiracy of the prince of Asturias, till the journey of the royal family to Bayonne. It seems, however, that the design of emigrating beyond the Atlantic had originated with the prince of Peace, whose views in this affair are not fully ascertained. It is certainly not to be doubted that this minister, whose influence had long been paramount in Spain, perceived the approach of his downfall, and inspired his royal master with apprehensions for the safety of his person and government if he remained at Madrid.

No sooner had the intended emigration of the royal family transpired, than the Spanish capital presented a scene of confusion and turbulence. On the 17th of March a report was in circulation that the guards had received orders to march to Aranjuez, where the court then resided; and the inhabitants of Madrid rushed in crowds to the road to prevent their departure. At the same time, several of the ministers and grandees who disapproved of the emigration, circulated hand-bills in the surrounding country, stating the designs of the court, and the danger to which the kingdom was exposed. The night was a scene of tumult, and on the following day, immense crowds of people hurried to Aranjuez. The palace of the prince of Peace, though defended by his guards, was forcibly opened, and the furniture destroyed. The princess of Peace was conducted to the royal palace with all the respect due to her rank; but the prince had disappeared, and his brother, Don Diego Godoy, commandant of the life-guards, was arrested by the soldiers of his own corps.

A proclamation was immediately issued by the king, announcing the dis...
mission of the prince of Peace from all his employments. But this did not calm the fury of the populace. The same scenes were renewed at Madrid, where, as soon as intelligence was received of what had passed at Aranjuez, the people rushed in crowds to the palace of the prince of Peace, and to the houses of several other ministers. In all these the windows were demolished, and the furniture and ornaments destroyed, while the Swiss regiments cantoned in Madrid remained in their quarters, without daring to oppose these disorders. In the midst of this popular effervescence, the king resolved to withdraw from so tumultuous a scene; and on the 19th of March issued a royal decree, by which he abdicated the throne in favour of his son, the prince of Asturias; one of the first acts of whose sovereignty was the confiscation of the estates and property of Don Emanuel Godoy, prince of Peace, who had been discovered and made prisoner in the place of his concealment. These events, however, were soon succeeded by a counter-revolution, more extraordinary in its nature, and in the circumstances by which it was accompanied, than any of the former changes which stamped a peculiar character on these unstable times. The duke of Berg, with the French army, had entered Madrid, and was in full possession of that capital. All the arrangements being made, the important drama was at length opened.

The two kings of Spain, Charles IV. and Ferdinand VII. formerly prince of Asturias, with the whole of the royal family, and some of the principal grandees, were allowed by deceitful pretexts to Bayonne, the station which the French emperor had fixed upon for the more convenient accomplishment of his designs. This extraordinary journey may be regarded as the most mysterious part of the Spanish revolution. Without the supposition of force, or deep laid fraud, it is difficult to conceive what motives could induce either Charles or Ferdinand to put themselves in the power of the emperor of the French. Ferdinand indeed declared, that the circumstances in which he assumed the reigns of government dictated the propriety of the measure. "Many provinces of the kingdom," according to his own representation, "and all the frontier garrisons, occupied by great numbers of French troops, and more than sixty thousand of them stationed in the metropolis, with a variety of other data which no other person could possess—all conspired to persuade him and his royal brothers, that, being surrounded by rocks and quicksands, they had no other remedy but to choose, among many evils, the one that would be the least productive of calamity; and, as such, they fixed on a journey to Bayonne."

Unfortunately, however, this proved eventually the most imprudent step they could have taken; and Spain was left to witness whether it were the least productive of calamity. Had Ferdinand thrown himself into the arms of his faithful subjects instead of those of a foreign despot, their subsequent conduct demonstrates, that he would have formed around his person and family an impenetrable bulwark. The rash and indiscreet step which he had taken was followed by terrible commotions throughout the country, and in Madrid, in particular, the most dreadful disorders prevailed. The French were insulted daily; numerous assemblies were held by the populace; and every thing indicated a dreadful explosion. At length on the 2nd of May, a general insurrection took place. The grand-duke of Berg, commander-in-chief of the French armies in Spain, incoming from the palace, was surrounded by the populace, and, after defending himself for some time, was on the point of falling, when he was rescued by his grenadiers. The street of Alcalá, and the great square, were crowded with insurgents. The grand-duke flew to his post, and a battalion of the French, with some cannon, repaired to the palace. Vollahies of grape-shop, and charges of cavalry, cleared the streets and the square; but the insurgents continuing to fire from the houses, generals Deubrin and Guillot, with their divisions, broke open the doors, and all who were found in arms were put to the sword. A body of the insurgents, in the mean while, pushed forward to the arsenal, and had already broke in, when general Lasraen just arrived in time to save the arms and ammunition. The loss sustained on each side was so variously represented in the different accounts given at the time, that no credit can be attached
to any of the estimates given to the public; but there can be no doubt of its having been very considerable. In consequence of these disorders, the grand-duke of Berg was constituted lieutenant-general of the kingdom.

The crisis was now arrived when the emperor Napoleon, judging it no longer necessary to assemble, began to unmask his designs. At first he pretended a wish to restore Charles IV. to the throne; but perceiving Madrid to be in a ferment, and having the two kings in his power, he obliged them both to sign a formal abdication, and the infants Don Carlos and Don Antonio renounced all claim to the succession. The queen was also said to have been solicited to declare the prince of Asturias illegitimate; an expedient doubtless, devised with the intent of invalidating in the eyes of Spaniards his right to the crown; and the least effect which it might have been expected to produce, would be that of dividing the public sentiment between him and his brother Don Carlos, and infusing a party spirit from which the French might derive advantage. The abdication signed by the king, and the renunciations made by the different branches of the royal family, were represented as voluntary acts; but Spain and all Europe regarded them in a very different light.

On the 25th of May, however, an imperial decree was issued, declaring the throne of Spain vacant by the abdication of the reigning family, and ordering an assembly of notables, consisting of the prelates, grandees, &c. to be held at Bayonne, for the purpose of fixing the basis of a new government. This order was communicated to the council of Castile, by the duke of Berg; and a commission was established for secularizing the lands of the church. A spirit of discontent had long pervaded the kingdom; but now the public exasperation was indescribable. Except the partisans of France, few Spaniards attended the junta at Bayonne. The proceedings in that assembly might be easily supposed to correspond with the purpose for which it was convened. And the consummation of the whole plan, which had been so long carrying into effect by every engine of intrigue, was, that the French emperor, on the 6th of June, conferred the crown of Spain on his brother, Joseph Buonaparte, who abdicated his kingdom of Naples in favour of the grand-duke of Berg, otherwise Joachim Murat, who had married the sister of Napoleon.

This consummation developed the whole system of pernicious policy which had, for more than eight months, kept Europe in anxious expectation. It was now no longer doubted, that the pretended conspiracy of the prince of Asturias was a scheme laid for his destruction; and all the subsequent intrigues at the court of Madrid were, with too great appearance of probability, considered as the effect of French influence and agency. The measures which Napoleon had taken for ensuring the success of his plans, place the whole matter beyond suspicion or conjecture. They may be considered as the necessary preliminaries of the atrocious act which he meditated. The entrance of his armies into Spain has already been mentioned, and it may not be amiss to add, that their disposal was skilfully adapted to a design of seizing the kingdom. His primary object was to secure the entrances into Spain by the passes of the Pyrenees, that vast barrier of mountains which nature has placed between that kingdom and France. The two principal of these are the entrance from Bayonne into Biscay and Navarre, and that from Perpignan into Catalonia, by Bellegarde, La Jonquiera, Roses, and the famous pass of Figueras. Of this road an extent of above fifty miles lies through the gorges of the Pyrenees, in some parts of which a few armed peasants might arrest the progress of an army. To these may be added the entrance from Bayonne into Navarre, a dangerous and difficult road through continuous defiles amidst prodigious mountains.

Being masters of these important passes, the French immediately garrisoned Barcelona and Pampeluna, stations of great strength, which enabled them in some measure to command the northern parts of the kingdom, while the grand-duke of Berg, with the main body of the army, advanced forward to Madrid, the central point from which he might detach his legions to every part of the kingdom. In the mean time the French emperor was proceed-
ing to Bayonne, to be ready to act as circumstances might require. At this place also a strong force was collected, from which occasional s were occasion-
ally sent into Biscay, Navarre, Old Castile, and Arragou. This is a retrospec- tive view of the proceedings of the French, from the month of No- vember 1807, when their armies first began to enter Spain; and the forces were continually augmenting, till the last act of the treacherous Junot. Of their numbers it is difficult to make a correct estimate; but from comparing together the various accounts on record, it would seem that the sum-total of the French armies in Spain, prior to the date of Joseph Buonaparte's accession, could not amount to less than one hundred thousand men, while general Junot had at least twenty thousand in Portugal.

Such was the state of affairs in Spain when the spirit of patriotism burst forth like a blaze in that kingdom. The news of the renunciations of the crown, compulsively made by their princes in favour of the emperor Napoleon, was the signal for a general insurrection. The patriotic flame burst forth in Asturia. The brave inhabitants of that province, at the time of the Arabian invasion, a crisis not less perilous than that now under considera- tion, saved by their valour the remains of the Spanish monarchy; and their intrepid spirit had been transmitted to their descendants through the long succession of eleven hundred years. From the province of Asturia the ins- surrection spread into Gallicia, and into several districts of Leon. An as- sembly, convened at Oviedo, published a formal declaration of war against the French government; and having appointed the marquis of Santa Cruz generalissimo of the patriotic army, sent deputies to request the assistance of England. This request was immediately acceded to; and on the 4th of July his majesty issued a proclamation, declaring that Great Britain was at peace with the Spanish nation.

The patriotic flame now spread rapidly in Spain, and in every quarter the inhabitants lost no time in taking up arms. The council of Seville, one of the chief provincial jurisdictions in the kingdom, rejecting the authority of the supreme council of Madrid on the ground of its being under foreign control, assumed an independent authority in the name of Ferdinand VII.; and hav- ing published an appeal to the Spanish nation for support, issued a formal declaration of war against the French emperor on the 1st of June. Provin- cial assemblies were formed in most of the principal towns, and called upon in the most suitable situations. Orders were everywhere issued for raising volunteers, and every effort was made for organizing armies. In Andalusia alone above fifteen thousand regular troops were collected; arms were put into the hands of sixty thousand peasants; and general Cas- tanos was appointed commander-in-chief.

The insurrection being completely organized under the direction of the different junta, especially that of Seville, the hostile armies commenced their operations. The grand-duke of Berg began to fortify himself in the Retiro, and to send out detachments from Madrid into the different prov-

The French army, in the north-western parts, consisted of between forty and fifty thousand men, commanded by marshal Bessieres, who had his principal station at Burgos, about one hundred and twenty miles to the north of Madrid, in order to maintain a commu- nication between the capital and Bayonne.

The great commercial city of Cadiz was among the first to show its zeal for the patriotic cause. The French squadron, consisting of five ships of the line, and one frigate, lying in the harbour, was obliged to surrender, on the 14th of June, to the Spanish arms, after having sustained a heavy under- fire and bombardment from the batteries, while the British fleet stood off the port prevented its escape. This affair was followed by the defeat and
Almost total destruction of the French army near Almanza. General Moncey having attacked the city of Valencia on the 28th of June, from two in the morning till sight, was repulsed with an almost incredible slaughter. It is not to be found in the history of any age or country, an instance of more decided valour and patriotism than was displayed by the Valencians on this memorable occasion. The place being destitute of regular troops, its defence rested solely on the inhabitants; and while the monks and clergy acted the part of soldiers, the women were employed in preparing cartridges, and affording every assistance of which they were capable.

General Moncey being thus repulsed, he immediately began his retreat; but on the following day he was overtaken by the patriotic forces under generals Castillon and Caro. A desperate engagement took place about thirty miles from Valencia, in which, according to the Spanish accounts, the whole of the French Army was destroyed, except two or three hundred of the cavalry, who made their escape. Saragossa vied with Valencia in patriotic enthusiasm. On the 1st of July, about midnight, the French made a vigorous attack on Saragossa, but the courageous conduct of the brave general Palafax, who commanded in that place, with the valour of the troops and armed inhabitants, completely baffled their efforts. Several succeeding attempts were equally ineffectual; and on the 14th of July the French once more made a desperate assault on that important place, but were again repulsed with prodigious loss. The carnage indeed must have been dreadful; for the enemy is said to have lost no fewer than twelve thousand men in their attacks on Saragossa. In some of the Spanish accounts it is asserted, that the gates of the city being thrown open, the French entered without opposition, and were immediately exterminated with grape-shot in the streets and musketry from the houses; but it is not easy to credit the report of their entering so indiscriminately, without suspecting some stratagem.

In another quarter, however, the Spaniards were less successful. On the very day on which the French were repulsed in their grand attack on Saragossa, the patriotic general Cuesta, with an army of fourteen thousand men, aided by a body of peasantry, and having twenty-six pieces of cannon, was defeated, near Benavente, by general La Solles, whose force consisted of ten thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry. The patriots, though on the whole inferior in numbers to the French, had only eight hundred horse; and the battle being fought in a champaign country, their defeat may be attributed to this deficiency.

But the most important transaction took place in the province of Andalusia. The French general Dupont, finding that Seville, Carthagena, and Cadiz, the three principal places which he was sent to cover and protect, had declared for the patriots, abandoned Cordova, and took a strong position on the heights of Andujar, near the banks of the Guadalquivir. General Castara, at the head of the Andalusian army, immediately advanced upon this position; and having received intelligence that a detachment of eight thousand French, from the head-quarters at Madrid, was already on its march to Andujar, resolved to attack Dupont before he could receive this reinforcement. An obstinate and bloody action ensued; but the patriots at length prevailed, and the victory was decisive. The French general, in order to save the remains of his army from total destruction, on the 20th of July surrendered himself and his troops as prisoners of war. The detachment that was on the way to join him was included in this capitulation, but with this difference, that they should not be considered as prisoners, but be conveyed by sea to France.

This victory was of incalculable importance to the patriotic cause. At the commencement of the action general Dupont's army amounted to more than twelve thousand effective men; so that in one day, not less than twenty thousand of the French were either killed, made prisoners, or expelled from Spain. Had Dupont gained the victory, Seville and Cadiz would have lain at his mercy; and the French would have intercepted Spain with their guns in a line from Navarre, through Castile, to Andalusia. By his de-
feat, and that of general Moncey in Valencia, all the southern provinces were completely cleared of the enemy.

While these important events were transpiring in the provinces, Joseph Buonaparte, the newly created sovereign, was preparing to take possession of his kingdom. On his arrival at Vittoria he issued a proclamation, announcing to the Spaniards the inestimable blessings which they were about to derive from his beneficent reign! From Vittoria he proceeded to Burgos, and from thence to Madrid. By a very singular coincidence, king Joseph made his public entrance into his capital on the 20th of July, the identical day that was signalized by the defeat and surrender of general Dupont and his army. His accession was solemnized with illuminations, and other external demonstrations of joy, such as power may always extort, but which would not have given the new monarch much pleasure, had he been apprised at the moment of what was passing in the vicinity of Andujar. The splendid illusion, however, was not of long duration! Successive accounts of the disasters of the French armies in Spain, and of the approach of the patriots towards Madrid, indicated that his crown was likely to prove a crown of thorns, and warned him of the propriety of a timely flight. After a short stay of seven days, on the 27th of July he began his retreat from Madrid, carrying off with him the crown jewels, and all that was most valuable, from the palace of the ancient sovereigns, and retired precipitately towards France, while the patriots advanced and took possession of the capital.

Finding themselves defeated in every part of Spain, the French now began to retreat from the different provinces towards Vittoria; and having left a garrison in Burgos, and seized on Bilboa, they concentrated the remainder of their forces on the banks of the Ebro. Their numbers, as well as the strength of the Spanish patriots, it has always been difficult to ascertain. Collecting their different losses in Valencia, before Saragossa, with the destruction of their army in Andalusia, and those that fell in a variety of less important actions, it has been thought that fifty thousand may be regarded as a fair estimate. The successes of the Spaniards during the month of June and July were certainly important and brilliant; while the losses of the French were greater than they had ever been in so short a period of time since the accession of Napoleon to the throne of France.

About the middle of August an event took place which brought to the patriotic cause a considerable accession of strength. Several bodies of Spanish troops had been furnished by the court of Madrid as auxiliaries to the French emperor: of these, eight thousand were stationed in the Danish island of Funen, and two thousand in that of Langeland. A negotiation being entered into between their commander, the marquis del Romana, and admiral Keats, then commanding a British squadron in the North Seas, in order to effect their liberation, the Spaniards in Funen seized the vessels and small craft, the Danish troops in that island being inadequate to oppose them, and conveyed themselves to Langeland, where their countrymen had seized the battery at the mouth of the harbour. By this excellent manœuvre ten thousand Spanish troops were rescued from the power of Buonaparte, and conveyed by the British ships to Spain, where they joined their brethren in arms in maintaining the cause of their country.

The patriotic spirit by which Spain was so gloriously animated, was now communicated to Portugal. A general insurrection took place in the provinces of Tras los Montes and Entre Doura e Minho, which rapidly spread throughout the whole kingdom. After some severe contests, the French under general Loison were driven out of Oporto, and nearly cut off in their retreat towards Lisbon. The clergy, and particularly the monks of Oporto, distinguished themselves by their courage and patriotism; and partly by their exhortations, and partly by their example, encouraged the people to take up arms against their invaders, the plunderers of their churches, and the oppressors of their country. The result was, that the French were expelled from Coimbra and several other places, and general Junot was obliged to concentrate his troops in and about Lisbon.

The British government had resolved to render every possible assistance
to the Spanish and Portuguese patriots; and its intentions met with the entire approbation and applause of the public. Seldom, indeed, has the British nation appeared more interested in any cause, or more unanimous in approving the measures of government, than on this occasion. A large quantity of arms had early been shipped off for the use of the patriots of Spain; and the ministry made no delay in preparing to furnish them with more effectual succours. The most sanguine hopes were consequently now entertained, that a successful stand would be made in the Peninsula against the domineering conduct of France. But these bright and animating prospects were soon belied; for a system of mismanagement was introduced which proved highly detrimental to the common cause. The different provincial juntas of Spain, acting independently of each other, without any supreme authority or centre of union, resembled so many different states confederated for the common interest, rather than one united nation; and this precarious and intricate state of things prevented any effectual plan from being concerted between the patriots and the British government. Besides this difficulty, it appears that the Spaniards, elated with their important and brilliant successes, considered themselves to be fully adequate to the task of expelling the enemy from their country, which a little time convinced them was a fatal delusion.

Had the patriots concerted with the British government a bold and commanding plan, and as the result of that a large British force had been poured into Spain, as near as possible to the seat of war and the source of danger, the French might, in all probability, have been completely expelled, or forced to surrender. The passes of the Pyrenees might have been secured, and the entrance of fresh armies from France might have been, at least for sometime, effectually opposed. The Spaniards would have gained leisure to establish their government, and organize their military system; and the national spirit being kept buoyant by national union, the martial bands of a patriotic people would have composed a formidable phalanx. But it was unfortunate for Spain that things were quite differently managed. The patriots seemed to decline the assistance of the British forces in the north, and recommended in preference an expedition to Portugal, while a French army still occupied the banks of the Ebro, and the road from Bayonne to Madrid was left entirely open.

In compliance with the representations of the juntas, Great Britain adopted the plans which they had suggested. About the end of July a force of fourteen thousand men, under the command of sir Arthur Wellesley, was dispatched to Portugal, the expulsion of the French from that country being the primary object of the expedition. Having effected a landing, only a few days elapsed before they commenced military operations. The French general Laborde was strongly posted on the heights near Roleia; and as there was reason to apprehend he might be joined by general Loison, who was then at Rio Major, the British general resolved to attack his position before the junction could take place. The army advanced from Caldas in three columns, the right being composed of the Portuguese, and the two others of British troops, led on by major-generals Ferguson and Hill, and brigadier-generals Nightingale, Crawford, and Fan. The enemy's positions were formidable, and defended with great bravery and skill; but the attack made by the British columns proved irresistible. After an obstinate engagement, the French were compelled to retire with the loss of a considerable number of men, and three pieces of cannon. The loss of the English was four hundred and seventy-nine killed, wounded, and missing. Lieutenant-colonel Lake fell gallantly in the heat of the action. In the course of the succeeding night, the French generals Loison and Laborde effected a junction at Torres Vedras, and both began their march towards Lisbon. The British army was also reinforced by a body of troops commanded by brigadier-general Anstruther, being part of a force sent from England under brigadier-general Ackland.

The moment was now approaching which was to decide the fate of the French army in Portugal, and of the Russian fleet in the Tagus. Genera.
Junot, on whom the emperor of France had conferred the title of d'Abrantes, having collected all his detachments, attacked the British army, on the 21st of August, in its strong position at the village of Vimeira. The attack was made by the French in several columns, and with great impetuosity, till they were driven back by the bayonet; and being at the same time annoyed on their flank by a cannonade from the artillery placed on the heights, they were obliged, after a severe contest, to retire in confusion. A vigorous attack was also made by a considerable body of the enemy's infantry and cavalry on major-general Ferguson's brigade, who bravely repulsed the assailants, and afterwards attacked them, being supported by the brigades of brigadier-generals Nightingale, Bowes, and Ackland, while general Crawford's brigade and the Portuguese troops, in two lines, advanced along the heights on the left. General Ferguson led on his troops with a degree of courage and judgment superior to all praise, and was supported in the ablest manner by general Nightingale. At length the enemy, being everywhere repulsed, was obliged to retire with the loss of about three thousand five hundred men killed, wounded, and prisoners, thirteen pieces of cannon, and twenty-three tumbrils of ammunition. One French general, Beniere, was taken prisoner, and another, supposed to be general Thebauld, was found dead on the field of battle. The loss of the English, as stated in the returns, was seven hundred and forty men killed, wounded, and missing, in which were included many valuable officers.

On the day after the battle of Vimeira, general Dalrymple landed, and took the chief command of the army. On the 30th of August a cessation of hostilities was agreed on, and eight days afterwards a definitive convention was signed by the French and British commanders. By this treaty the French were to carry off all their arms, ammunition, artillery, carriages and horses, with their military chest, and all the plunder acquired by contributions, and to be conveyed to France in British vessels, without any restrictions in regard to future service. The Portuguese artillery, &c. with the military and naval arsenals, were to be surrendered to the British army and navy. No Portuguese was to be molested on account of the part which he had taken with the French invaders; and the British commanders engaged to prevail on the Spaniards to release all the French who were arrested in Spain, and were not bona fide military men. The Russian fleet in the Tagus, consisting of nine ships of the line and a frigate, surrendered to the British government as a deposit, to be given up six months after the conclusion of a peace; but the officers and seamen, above five thousand six hundred in number, were to be immediately carried to Russia.

The reasons assigned for consenting to this extraordinary convention were, the apprehended difficulty of obtaining provisions, and the importance of time, on account of the season of the year, the approach of the equinox, and the means which the enemy had of protracting his defence. These reasons, however, were far from being satisfactory either to the British or Portuguese nation. The people of England considered the convention as a disgraceful contrast to the glorious victory of Vimeira, and the Portuguese general entered a solemn protest against several of its articles. A court of inquiry was instituted; but on a minute investigation of the case, nothing appeared that could have the least tendency to criminate any of the generals. Whether better terms could have been obtained is not very clear; and the critical state of Spain rendered it absolutely necessary to terminate as soon as possible the business of Portugal. It is also proper to observe, that the convention of Cintra probably saved the city of Lisbon from destruction.

The British army having consumed more than two months in Lisbon, on the 26th of October commenced its march for Spain, under the command of sir John Moore, and immediately proceeded to Salamanca. Sir David Baird had on the 13th of October, landed a strong body of troops at Corunna, and, after many delays and innumerable difficulties, on the 19th of November arrived at Astorga. In the mean while, the emperor of France had personally entered Spain, with a view of conducting the operations of the war. The patriotic armies under generals Belvidere, Blake, and Castanos,
successively defeated at Burgos, Espinosa, and Tudela, the French
forced the pass of Somma Sierra, and on the 2nd of December ad-
vanced to Madrid. That city now displayed a horrible scene of confusion.
The constituted authorities had no influence. The city was in the power of
an ungovernable rabble, consisting in part of strangers from the country;
and the opulent inhabitants dreading the alternative of seeing all their pro-
erty pillaged, either by a victorious enemy or by a licentious mob.
The populace being averse to any measures of conciliation, Napoleon gave
orders for an assault on the suburbs, and during the night his troops made
themselves masters of the Retiro and other commanding positions. An unruly
populace was ill adapted to a vigorous defence. The most turbulent
made their escape in the night; and on the 4th of December Madrid sur-
rrendered without further opposition. Don T. Morla and the prince of Cas-
tel Franco, who had the chief management of affairs, however, did not es-
cape the suspicion of having treasonably delivered up the city. The French
emperor having settled the affairs of the capital, hastened to endeavour to
cut off the retreat of the English army. For this purpose he put his differ-
ent divisions in motion, under the dukes of Dalmatia, Abrantes, Dantziec,
and Treviso, and on the 18th of December he himself departed from Ma-
drid, with an army of thirty-two thousand infantry and eight thousand ca-
valry. But the passage of the mountains of Guadarama proved extremely
difficult, being covered with a deep snow; and the incessant rains and over-
flowing torrents occasioned a delay of two days in his march.

In the mean time, the British general, being apprised of the surrender of
Madrid, meditated a junction with the marquis Roman, with the view of
making an attack on the duke of Dalmatia. He therefore marched to Ma-
jorga, where he was joined by general Baird with the troops from Corunna.
The whole British army, which was now found to consist of twenty-three
thousand infantry and upwards of two thousand cavalry, besides some small
detachments, advanced to Sahagan. But general Moore was no sooner ar-
rived at his station than he received intelligence of the movements of the
enemy; and judging it impossible to make an effectual resistance against the
formidable force that was coming against him, on the 24th of December he
commenced his precipitate retreat through Galicia. The emperor Napoleon
made forced marches as far as Astorga; but finding that his expected prey
had eluded his grasp, he resigned into the hands of the dukes of Dalmatia
and Abrantes the further operations against the English army.

The retreat of the British army was attended by the disasters inseparable
from the rapidity with which it was necessarily conducted in the middle of
winter, and by roads almost impassable. Great numbers of men, who were
unable to keep up with the rest of the army, were left on the line of march,
and many dropped down exhausted with fatigue. Many of their horses
were also left behind; and no less than one thousand four hundred were
killed to prevent them from falling into the hands of the enemy. General
Anstruther died through excessive fatigue; and some accounts state the loss
of the British army during the retreat at seven thousand men! The En-
lish were constantly harassed by the enemy's cavalry, which made frequent
attacks on their rear, though they were always repulsed with considerable
loss. The valour and perseverance of the troops were never more conspi-
cuous than on this memorable occasion, amidst so many disadvantages, and
retreating before a force greatly superior. At length, after fourteen days
of precipitate and harassing marches, the army reached Corunna on the
11th of January 1809; and, had the transports been ready, might have
embarked without further difficulty or loss. But these had been sent to
Vigo, to which place the British general had first intended to retreat; and
it was not till the 13th that the first division of transports arrived at Co-
runna.

On the 12th of January the advanced guard of the enemy arrived at Be-
tanzos, within twelve miles of that place, and their main body came up on
the following day. On the 14th and 15th the rest of the transports arrived,
and part of the troops were embarked. The French, in the mean while, had
brought up their infantry in great force; and general Moore, perceiving that he should be forced to risk an action, was obliged to suspend the embarkation. On the 15th the enemy began to harass the English with continual skirmishes, while he made his dispositions for a more serious attack. The French had occupied an advantageous position; and their object was, by an impetuous attack on the right wing, to cut off the British army from the point of embarkation. Aware of their design, general Moore took the necessary precaution to draw up his army under the walls of Corunna. In the forenoon of the next day the duke of Dalmatia reconnoitred the English army, and on the 16th of January, about 2 p.m. he gave orders for the attack, which was made with the most tremendous impetuosity. The British troops stood like a wall, and with calm intrepidity received and repulsed the repeated attacks of the enemy. A vigorous charge with the bayonet decided the affair, and compelled the enemy to retreat to the heights. In the beginning of the action, sir David Baird, an officer justly distinguished by his bravery and eminent services in the cause of his country, received a wound in the arm, which rendered instant amputation necessary. Sometime after, general Sir John Moore was wounded by a shot in the shoulder, of which he died before midnight. He fell in the flower of his age, but he fell crowned with laurels. Like Wolfe, Abercrombie, and Nelson, he expired in the arms of victory; and like theirs, his name and memory will ever be dear to his country. Several other officers of distinguished rank and merit fell on that memorable day. In this unfortunate expedition, the British army lost all its ammunition and magazines, and five or six thousand men. Even a large portion of the military chest, to the amount of a hundred and twenty thousand dollars was thrown from a precipice, that it might not fall into the hands of the enemy. The action ended about five in the evening. After general Moore had received the wound of which he died, the command of the British troops devolved on general Hope, who completed the victory, and with great ability directed the embarkation, which recommenced about ten o'clock on the evening of the battle, and before the morning of the 18th was completely effected, with a celerity of which there are few examples. Corunna capitulated soon after the departure of the army, and the French also obtained possession of Ferrol, Bilboa, St. Andero, and all the most important places on the northern coast of Spain. (1)

LETTER VII.

State of affairs in the north of Europe, A. D. 1809.—Russia and Denmark attack Sweden.—Extravagant conduct of the King Gustavus IV.—His dethronement.—Is succeeded by the duke of Sudermannia, Charles XIII.—The Pope refuses the dictation of Napoleon, who arrests him and has him conveyed captive to Avignon.—Austria takes advantage of the Peninsular war, and resumes hostilities against France.—Battles of Eckmuhl and Eslin.—Vienna a second time occupied by the French.—Battle of Wagram.—Peace again concluded at Vienna, 14th October, 1809.

It was a fortunate circumstance for the emperor of France, that Russia had remained faithful to the alliance and the engagements of Tilsit. The emperor Alexander was then in a fit of enthusiasm and affection for this powerful and extraordinary mortal, Napoleon, who, before he ventured to lead his forces into Spain, wishing to assure himself that all was secure in the North, had an interview with Alexander at Erfurth, on the 27th of September, 1808, when the two masters of the west and the north guaranteed the repose and the submission of Europe. Napoleon then marched into Spain,

(1) Southey’s History of the war in the Peninsula.—History of the war in the Peninsula, under Napoleon, by General Foy.—Recollections in the Peninsula, &c. &c.—London Gazette, and Annual Register.
as mentioned in my former letter, and Alexander took upon himself the care of Sweden. Among other arbitrary stipulations of the treaty of Tilsit, it was resolved that the king of Sweden should be compelled to exclude all British vessels from his harbours—a demand which the Russian minister insisted upon was supported by former compacts among the northern powers, by which they had agreed to an union of strength in the defence of the Baltic. The king, however, replied that these compacts had ceased to be in force, and he would only promise to prevent the British court from sending ships of war into that sea.

It was not, however, merely the subserviency of Alexander to the views of his new ally, by which his Swedish majesty was aggrieved, but also his desire of adding the whole province of Finland to his immense empire, and this prompted him to order an invasion of his Swedish territories. For the defence of Finland against this powerful enemy, Gustavus sent an army of ten thousand men into the field, with six thousand more to garrison Sweden, the Gibraltar of the north. Two of the frontier posts were not tamely yielded even to the great superiority of the assailing force. The Russians endeavoured to prevent the northern troops from joining those of the south; but the valor of the Swedes so far prevailed as to effect the desired union, and to check the advance of the enemy. Resenting keenly the hostile conduct of the Russian emperor, which had not even been preceded by a declaration of war, Gustavus gave orders for the confinement of the Russian minister at his court, as well as the consul, and threatened to banish from Sweden every subject of the Russian emperor. And as he suspected the intentions of the court of Denmark, he demanded from count Moltke, the ambassador, an explanation of the views of his sovereign. The answer was a declaration of war, in which the king’s connivance at the attack upon Copenhagen was pointedly censured, and his renewal of alliance with a power which could coolly perpetrate such an act of outrageous injustice was severely condemned. He denied the former charge, though he evidently approved the aggression; and he retorted the accusation of interested subserviency to Great Britain by a reference to the implicit dependence of Denmark upon Russia.

As the danger to which Sweden was exposed would be very inadequately repelled by the unassisted force of that nation, the king addressed a letter to his Britannic majesty, stating that he was attacked on every side because he was the friend of England, and requesting, in addition to the stipulated subsidy of one million two hundred thousand pounds, which by a new treaty he was to receive from this country, for employing his whole army and a part of his fleet, during one year against France or her allies, he might receive speedy and more powerful assistance. A promise of succour was readily given; and it was resolved that ten thousand men should be sent under the command of sir John Moore. The conditions, however, which were annexed to this grant of aid, were not altogether agreeable to the views and wishes of Gustavus. They were to be recalled at pleasure; to have as little connexion as possible with the Swedish army; to be entirely under the command of their own general; and not to advance farther from the coast, than would give them the opportunity of communicating with the fleet of Great Britain which conveyed them to the Baltic. But instead of confining their operations to the defence of Sweden, the king wished to employ them in the conquest of Norway, or in an attack on Copenhagen. Sir John Moore arrived at Gottenburg on the 17th of May, 1808, and immediately proceeded to Stockholm to concert measures of co-operation with the Swedish troops. He there found that the king, though with means very insufficient even for defence, was nevertheless bent on conquest; and refusing to concur in some of his extravagant plans, as being contrary to his instructions, the monarch’s resentment was roused against him to such a pitch, that he was obliged to escape in disguise, and he brought back his troops without landing them.

The Russians had, in the month of March, taken possession of Abo, the capital of Finland, and declared its annexation to the Russian empire; they now directed all their force by sea and land against the fortress of Sweaborg,
and so feeble was the defence which was made of it, that it induced a suspicion of treachery. The naval force in the harbour was included in the capitulation, under the singular condition that it should be restored to Sweden whenever England restored the fleet of Denmark! The Russians also made descents on the islands of Gothland and Aland, and an engagement between the flotillas of the two powers ended to the disadvantage of the Swedes.

In Finland an armistice was concluded on the 27th of September, which consigned the greatest part of the province to the possession of Russia. The king of Sweden on this gave vent to his anger and chagrin, and broke his guards to the number of four thousand, on account of their behaviour, thus throwing a stigma on many of the first families in the kingdom. A convention was afterwards entered into, by which Finland was continued in the occupation of the Russians, on condition of the unmolested retreat of the remaining Swedish troops.

Notwithstanding the ruinous condition of the Swedish army and finances, with the loss of Finland and Pomerania, the king of Sweden, with what his subjects deemed insensate obstinacy, and the British ministry "the most "honourable firmness," persisted in the war, until at length the ancient spirit of the Swedes awoke from its slumber. On the morning of the 13th of March, 1809, as the king was preparing to leave Stockholm for his country residence, he was suddenly arrested in his own palace by general Aldercreutz. He drew his sword in a rage but was instantaneously overpowered, and sent as a prisoner to the fortress of Dronningholm, near the capital. The duke of Sudermania immediately issued a proclamation declaring the deposition of the king from an incapacity to exercise the regal functions.

The Diet assembled in May, when an act of abdication, signed by Gustavus IV. was produced, and a decree was in consequence passed to the effect, that he and his issue, born and not born, were for ever excluded from the throne of Sweden. A new constitution was framed, by which the sacred rights of the nation were restored, and the duke of Sudermania, with united heart and voice, elected king, under the title of Charles XIII. ; and the latter being without children, Christian Augustus, a prince of the house of Holstein, was declared presumptive heir of the crown. A treaty of peace followed, on the 17th of September, with Russia, by which the whole of Finland, and that valuable portion of Bothnia bounded by the Torneo, with the isle of Aland, were ceded to Russia. British ships, with certain exceptions, were excluded from the Swedish ports. The deposed monarch was soon after this liberated from his state of confinement, and on the wise and generous recommendation of his successor, an ample provision was made for his maintenance on condition of fixing his residence in Switzerland, to which he readily and even gracefully acceded, contenting himself with the title of count Gottorp. An accommodation between Sweden and France took place in December 1809, in consequence of which the former recovered Pomerania and the isle of Rugen.

The peace of Tilsit had completely extended the French domination over the continent of Europe. Prussia was reduced by one half. Napoleon had instituted in the south of Germany the two kingdoms of Bavaria and Wurttemburg, against the power of Austria! He created still more in advance, in the north, the two feudatory kingdoms of Saxony and Westphalia as a counterpoise to Prussia. That of Saxony was formed of the electorate of that name and of Prussian Poland, erected into the grand duchy of Warsaw: that of Westphalia comprised the states of Hesse-Cassel, Brunswick, Fulda, Paderborn, the greatest part of Hanover, and was given to Jerome Buonaparte. The emperor Alexander, who subscribed to all these arrangements, evacuated Moldavia and Wallachia; Russia remained the only power untouched, though scathed. Napoleon followed more and more the steps of Charlemagne, he had caused, on the day of his coronation, the crown, the sword, and the sceptre of Charlemagne to be carried before him. A pope had passed the Alps to concentrate his dynasty, and he modelled his states upon the vast empire of this conqueror. The object of the revolution had been to re-establish ancient liberty; Napoleon restored the military hierar-
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MODERN EUROPE.

Of the middle age; it had made citizens, he made vassals—it had changed Europe into republics, he transformed it into fiefs. Powerful and energetic as he was, and appearing upon the stage after a shock which had shaken the world to its centre, and perfectly paralysed it, he was able to arrange it for a season as he pleased. Thus the "great empire" grew up; at home with its system of administration, which replaced the government of the assemblies—its special courts—its lyceums, where the military education was substituted for the republican education of the central colleges—its hereditary noblesse, which completed in 1808, the re-establishment of inequality—its civil discipline, which rendered France as obsequious as an army—abroad, with its secondary kingdom, its confederated states, its grand fiefs, and its supreme chief. Napoleon no longer experienced any resistance, and his commands were obeyed from one extremity of the continent of Europe to the other. The Imperial power was at this moment at its maximum. Napoleon now employed all his activity to create maritime resources, capable of balancing the power of England, which alone resisted his will, and which had then eleven hundred vessels of war of every description. He formed harbours, fortified the coasts, built ships, and prepared everything for struggling in a few years, on this new field of battle. But at this epoch was manifested the first opposition to the domination of the emperor, and to the continental system. The principle of re-action now manifested itself, simultaneously in three countries, hitherto the allies of France, and it gave rise to a fifth coalition, to which permit me now to direct your attention.

As if to manifest his contempt of all the powers of Europe, the emperor of France, at this time gave an extraordinary proof of confidence in the plenitude of his power. By a decree of the senate, the fortresses of Kehl, Wesel, Cassel, all on the right bank of the Rhine, and Flushing at the mouth of the Scheldt were annexed to the French empire. And as though this were not sufficient to mark his defiance of all the potentates whom he had subdued or gained over to his interests, he published the following decree, in May, 1809. "Whereas the temporal sovereign of Rome has refused to make war against England, and the interest of the two kingdoms of Italy and of Naples, ought not to be intercepted by a hostile power; and whereas the donation of Charlemagne, our illustrious predecessor, of the countries which form the holy see, was for the good of Christianity, and not for that of the enemies of our holy religion:—we therefore decree that the duchies of Urbino, Ancona, Macerata, and Camerino be for ever united to the kingdom of Italy: to which kingdom, all cardinal prelates and natives of these districts are commanded to return by the 5th of June, on pain of confiscation of goods." This singular effusion of undisguised despotism called forth a declaration from the Pope, in which he calmly but forcibly maintained the rights of his See, and solemnly protested against the intended spoliation. This, however, did not prevent the entry of a French army, which took possession of all the strong places in the ecclesiastical territories. And this was followed by the annexation of Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany to the French empire, under the appellation of the Taro, the Arno &c., so that the kingdom of Italy was now guarded on every side by the empire of France.

The papal protest was, after the lapse of some months, enforced by a sentence of excommunication against the authors and instruments of the act of spoliation. This was productive of new violence on the part of Napoleon—that dutiful son of the church! In the following year, the pope was brought as a captive to Avignon; a provisional government was established in the ecclesiastical states: the inquisition was abolished; many temporal and spiritual abuses were abrogated; and various civil and judicial reforms introduced. Rome itself, wonderfully improved and embellished in the hands of Napoleon, was declared the second city of the empire, and empowered to send seven members to the legislative body; and a deputation arriving from thence at Paris, presented an address of homage, to which he replied in the style and language of an emperor of the West. The Neapo-
ltan crown, vacated by Joseph Buonaparte, was conferred on marshal Murat, duke of Berg, who took the title of Joachim I. The succession of the kingdom of Italy was also at this time settled on Eugene Beauharnois, the viceroy, stepson of Napoleon, whose mild and benificent government had made him almost adored in Lombardy.

Soon after the battle of Corunna, as mentioned in my last letter, the emperor Napoleon set out on his return to France. Austria had seized the opportunity of his absence and that of his army, and resolving on one more powerful effort, levied a hundred and fifty thousand men, comprehending the landwehr, and began the campaign in the spring of 1809. The Tyrolese rose in rebellion; king Jerome was expelled by the Westphalians; Italy was wavering, and Prussia waited only a reverse in the fortunes of Napoleon once more to take up arms. But the emperor was still in the vigour of life, and in the spring-tide of his prosperity. In the month of March, orders were issued for the French armies to recross the Rhine. The troops of Austria were at the same time marshalled under the archduke Charles, as commander-in-chief. On the side of Italy, the viceroy, Eugene Beauharnois collected a numerous army. Early in April, the Austrians passed the Isis near Scharding, on which the king of Bavaria quitted his capital and retired to Augsburg. On the 18th, Napoleon arrived at Ingolstadt, and the campaign commenced. The first considerable action took place at Ebensberg, where the archduke Louis was surprised, and his division of troops dispersed or destroyed. In the mean time, the grand army under the command of the archduke Charles took possession of Ratisbon, making the French garrison prisoners of war. On the 22nd of April the two armies met at Echmuhl. The battle commenced at two in the afternoon, and was long and obstinate; but towards evening the Austrians were driven from their positions in confusion, and the darkness alone rescued them from ruin. The vanquished attempted to take refuge under the walls of Ratisbon, but the city was forced by the French with great slaughter, and the Austrians precipitately retreated to the left bank of the Danube. Napoleon following the course of the river, advanced rapidly to Vienna, into which capital, on the 10th of May, he once more entered as conqueror, the emperor Francis having previously retired to Moravia. From Vienna Napoleon issued a proclamation inviting the Hungarians to shake off for ever the yoke of the house of Austria; assuring them, that under the sanction of France they might preserve their territory inviolate, and either regain their ancient liberty or modify it according to their judgment. But, from the auspicious era of the empress Maria Theresa, the policy of Austria respecting Hungary had been entirely changed, and this call upon them produced no effect.

The archduke Charles, having collected his scattered troops, now proceeded by forced marches towards Vienna, hoping to save that capital; but finding that it was already in the possession of the French he moved down the northern bank of the Danube, and took a position between Vienna and Pressburg. In the mean time the French army proceeded along the southern bank, purposing to cross the river two leagues below Vienna, the stream being there broken by two islands. Having constructed proper bridges, Napoleon fixed his head-quarters on the farther and larger island which was called Lobau, thence by a third bridge communicating with the northern bank. Meeting no interruption, he chose a position for his army, the right wing extending to the village of Eaising, the left to Asperna. At day-break on the 21st of May, the archduke appeared on a rising ground opposite to the enemy, separated only by an extensive plain. A battle ensued, and the contest was obstinate and bloody. Towards evening the French had been driven from Asperna, but still retained possession of Eaising. During the engagement the archduke had sent fire-ships which succeeded in destroying the bridges communicating with the southern bank. On the next day the conflict was renewed with additional fury. At length the Austrian's left under general Belling, gained the right flank of the enemy, who then retreated towards the Danube, and on the following night recrossed the river to Lobau. The Austrians confessed to the loss of twenty thousand
men in the battles of Eslung, but they could boast of having captured eight thousand prisoners. The loss of the French in killed and wounded was immense, and among the slain was marshal Lannes, duke of Montebello, much regretted by his comrades in arms; he had acquired by his heroism the appellation of the Orlando of the French army.

The eyes of all Europe were now fixed on the situation of Napoleon, who, it was generally supposed, was thus reduced to a most perilous plight:—shut up with his main force in an island of the Danube, a victorious army facing him on the opposite bank, and the Austrians masters of the navigation of the river: and in this state, for several weeks, a scene of total and surprising inaction ensued. In other places, however, the contest was far from languishing. At this critical juncture the inhabitants of the Tyrol, who in courage and loftiness of spirit much resembled the Swiss and Grisons, were roused to action. They had indignantly seen themselves transferred from the government of Austria, which had always respected their privileges, to the despotic dominion of Bavaria. Scarcely had the archduke Charles commenced the campaign, when the Tyrolese rose in arms, under their heroic countryman, Hoffer, who without having been bred to the profession, displayed wonderful military talents. And though, subsequent to the battle of Eckmuhl, the duke of Dantzig (marshal le Febvre) and the Bavarian general Wrede, were sent to reduce the country, and prosecuted a savage warfare with that intent, the Tyrolese persevered with unconquerable valour in its defence; and on the recall of le Febvre, after the battle of Eslung, these enraged mountaineers retaliated by destructive inroads into Bavaria.

In the north of Germany also a strong disposition to rise in opposition to the tyranny of France at this time manifested itself. Colonel Schill, an officer late in the Prussian service, raised the standard of independence at Luneburg, and was joined by considerable numbers; but he was opposed and overpowered by a far superior force under Jerome Buonaparte. He then retired to Stralsund, in which place he sustained a siege, and lost his life in the defence of it. The duke of Brunswick, too, whose efforts, combined with those of Schill and supported by Great Britain, might have been attended with the happiest results, took up arms when the cause was hopeless, and after some temporary success, found himself compelled towards the end of August to embark on board a British squadron which was cruising at the mouth of the Weser. In Poland, the archduke Ferdinand being resisted by a very inferior force under prince Poniatowski, nephew to the late king Stanislaus, and whose great qualities made him the object of his country's secret hope and warm attachment, took possession of Warsaw, but was recalled in consequence of the early disasters of the Austrian arms. The Russians then joining the Poles, occupied nearly the whole of the Austro-Polish provinces; but the emperor Alexander shewed no disposition to push the war with vigour. In Italy, where the archduke John commanded, the first operations of the Austrians were also successful, and he captured the cities of Padua and Vicenza; but, subsequent to the battle of Eckmuhl, he was also recalled to the defence of Austria. In his retreat, the archduke was closely followed by prince Eugene Beauharnois, who obtained several advantages over him; and on the auspicious anniversary of the battle of Marengo, the two armies coming to a general engagement near Raab in Hungary, the Austrians were totally defeated, and that great bulwark of the kingdom fell into the hands of the enemy.

During the interval of dread repose which succeeded the battle of Eslung, all the demonstrations of the French seemed to be pointed against that position, which was, in the expectation of attack, rendered almost impregnable by redoubts and intrenchments. But on the night of the 4th of July, a bridge of vast dimensions was thrown across the river, with almost magical expedition and skill, opposite the left wing of the Austrians stationed at Wagram. Early next morning the whole French army had crossed the river, and appeared in the order of battle. Thus surprised and disconcerted the
archduke Charles spent the day in manoeuvring and altering his dispositions. On the 6th of July, at sun-rise, the long expected contest commenced. The French in great force attacked the centre of the Austrian army, and broke the first line by the impetuosity of their charge; but the gallant archduke exerted himself at this critical moment with such spirit and address, that the Austrians rallied, and compelled their adversaries to retreat behind a small river. Night put an end to the engagement, and the French, without just pretensions, claimed the victory. During the night, the Austrians, by an unnecessary extension of their line, occupied the country from Stammbadorf to Neusiedel. Their general had formed a scheme of concurrent attack upon both flanks of the enemy, in the hope of cutting off the communication with the Danube; but there was not sufficient time to carry into effect all the arrangements that were necessary for this purpose; and that division which had received orders before the rest could be instructed and prepared, suffered severely by a premature attack upon the right wing of the French army. It had been expected that the archduke John would be able to take part in the action; but it was not prudent to depend upon his opportune arrival. The central body passed through Wagram, and had a long contest for the possession of Aderkla which was eventually secured by the Austrians, who, forming two lines in its front, drove the French back upon Raschdorf, spreading disorder through that part of the field in which Napoleon was more especially engaged. In the mean time a part of the Austrian right which had moved towards Asperna found that village and a neighbouring wood occupied by the enemy, but a dislodgment was effected with little difficulty, and the French were pursued to their tête-de-pont on the banks of the Danube. The deficiency of cavalry prevented a due advantage from being taken of the retrograde movements of the French centre; and the same disparity was highly unfavourable to the Austrian left, which, after being recalled from its attack, could not, even with the aid which it received from the centre, secure itself from being seriously out flanked, or permanently defend Neusiedel against the vigorous assaults of Davoust. The ill success of this corps made an unfavourable impression upon other parts of the Austrian line. The centre, being exposed to a new and formidable attack, gradually retreated; and the right, threatened with the danger of being cut off by the columns marching along the river, evacuated the posts which they had recently seized, and concurred in those movements of timidity or of deficiency which not only inspired the French with the confident hope of victory, but gave them a right to claim it, though it is but due to Napoleon to add, in this place, that he afterwards confessed to his friends at St. Helena, that his victory at Wagram was less decisive than any of the others on which he plummeted himself.

The Austrians having retreated to Znaim, in Moravia, they were followed by Napoleon, who there received from the emperor Francis a proposal to treat for peace, and an armistice was acceded to, on the surrender of several fortresses. The armistice was continued from time to time till the month of October, when a definitive treaty was concluded between the two powers, and signed at the palace of Schönbrun, the head-quarters of Napoleon. The conditions of the treaty proved much less unfavourable than might have been expected from the forlorn and hopeless condition of Austria, whose armies were now dispersed and all but ruined. To Bavaria, the emperor Francis was obliged to yield the important territory of Salzburg, with other districts in the vicinity. To France were ceded Fiume and Trieste, with the entire line of coast connecting the dominions of France on both sides of the Adriatic. In Poland the king of Saxony obtained, in addition to the provinces constituting the duchy of Warsaw, the western Gallicia, with the city of Cracow. Another portion of Austrian Poland was assigned to Russia, which had derived advantages from the misfortunes of every other nation. The title of Joseph Buonaparte as king of Spain, was recognized. The Tyrolese were abandoned to their fate; that heroic people still maintaining an unsavailing resistance. At length, overwhelmed rather
than vanquished, an end was put to hostilities in that quarter, and the blood-stained triumph of Bavaria was crowned by the barbarous execution of the patriot Hoffert. (1)

LETTER VIII.

Review of the affairs of England, 1809—10.—Treaty of alliance between Great Britain and Spain.—Parliamentary proceedings.—Charges against the duke of York.—Expedition to the isle of Walcheren.—Discontent in the British cabinet.—Violent agitations of party.—Brilliant exploits of the British Navy.—Dispute with the United States.

Before we resume the narrative of the peninsular war, which, from the period at which we are arrived, became a prominent object in the political events of Europe, I must detain you a moment, my dear Philip, while we take a cursory survey of the domestic occurrences of our own country. The British parliament was convened for the dispatch of public business on the 19th of January, 1809. The speech from the throne, which was delivered by commission, adverted to an overture for peace which the emperor of France had tendered from Erfurt, in relation to which his majesty expressed his persuasion that the two houses would participate in the feelings expressed in his declaration on the occasion which should be laid before them. He informed them that his engagements with Spain were now reduced into the form of a treaty of alliance. The peculiar claim of the king of Sweden to his majesty's support was insisted on; and the vigorous prosecution of the war earnestly recommended. Some very animated debates ensued on this occasion in both houses of parliament. The assistance afforded to Sweden; the expedition to Portugal; the convention of Chiltra; the disasters of Spain; and the American embargo, which had now been confirmed by a non-intercourse bill passed in the new congress, prohibiting the entrance of the ports of the United States to all vessels belonging to Great Britain or France, or to any of the countries under their influence, and adhering either to the Berlin decree or the British orders in council;—all these topics were brought forward and furnished materials for debate and discussion.

The debates on the affairs of Portugal and Spain took precedence in point of curiosity and interest. The earls of St. Vincent, Grenville and Moira, reproached the idea of sending an army to Portugal when Spain was at stake. "In Spain," said lord Moira, "must be fought the battle of British independence. The fall of Spain must involve in its train, the fall of this country. "Had the British government sent out in due time a proper person to concert measures with the Spanish people, and amicably to explain the motives upon which the British nation wished to act towards Spain, the Spaniards "would never have refused to accept the aid of troops from England." Lord Grenville asserted that "it was only in the north of Spain, and on the borders of the Pyrenees, that a British force could have acted with effect. "After the French had been driven from Madrid, and had retired to the frontiers, a British army had been sent to the north of Spain before the French had received reinforcements, they probably "might have been driven through the Pyrenees, those passes forced, "and the keys of their country put into the hands of the Spaniards." Lord St. Vincent pointedly condemned the plan of debarking troops in the extremity of the South, which were designed to act in the North. In answer to all these and similar complaints, lord Hawkesbury declared that the sending of a British force to Portugal in preference to Spain, was a measure adopted in compliance with the representations of the Spanish juntas; and Mr. Can-

ning, in the lower house, endeavoured to justify the principle on which his majesty's ministers had acted, by a development of the state of Spain at the commencement of the grand insurrection. "When the whole Spanish nation," said he, "rose unanimously, and with a concert almost miraculous, the consequence was, the sudden creation of various local authorities, acknowledging no head: jealous, watchful, and extremely suspicious of any attempt on the part of one to obtain ascendancy over the other. The supreme central junta was not established until the last week in September." To these circumstances Mr. Canning ascribed the direction of the expedition, and the delay of the advance of the British army from Portugal.

A very considerable portion of the present session of Parliament now became occupied with a most extraordinary investigation into the conduct of his royal highness, the duke of York, generalissimo of the British army, of which a regard to impartiality seems to demand that some notice should be taken. So early as the 27th of January, colonel Wardle, an officer of the militia service, and member of parliament, had publicly asserted the existence of a system of abuse in the military department, over which the royal duke presided. The substance of the charge was, that an intriguing female, whose name was Mary Anne Clarke, who during several years had been a favourite with his royal highness, but who was then discarded, had carried on a traffic in commissions, not only with the knowledge, but also the participation of the commander-in-chief; and he concluded by moving for a committee of inquiry.

The introduction of the subject gave rise to a considerable discussion, and when various observations had been offered by different members, Mr. Perceval, chancellor of the exchequer, to the surprise and regret of the more considerate members, proposed that the inquiry should take place in a committee of the whole house, which was accordingly carried. This ill-advised measure gave occasion to some of the most indecent scenes ever witnessed in that assembly. The daring evidence of Mrs. Clarke was corroborated from various quarters, and fully proved the fact of her own profligate traffic. That she had actually received sums of money for her interest in obtaining promotions and other appointments, was proved beyond all reasonable doubt; but the duke's knowledge of her transactions, and participation in her gains, were circumstances, the proof of which depended chiefly on the testimony of Mrs. Clarke herself.

The defenders of his royal highness were, for the most part, members of administration and the crown lawyers; whereas, on the other side, were many of the most independent members, who did not always vote with the opposition. Testimonies the most respectable, however, were given by several distinguished persons to the excellence of the duke's general conduct in his high office, and the improvements which the military system had received under his management. Nor was it alleged against him that in any of the instances adduced, promotion had been bestowed on the undeserving, or, yet, that any pecuniary consideration had been actually received by the commander-in-chief. On the 23d of February, his royal highness addressed a letter to the speaker of the house of commons, in which he not only denied all personal participation, but the slightest knowledge of these abuses, adding, that, if upon such evidence as had been adduced against him, the house of commons could think his innocence questionable, he claimed of their justice that he should not be condemned without trial, nor be deprived of the benefit and protection which is afforded to every British subject, by those sanctions under which alone evidence is received by the ordinary administration of the laws.

It now became necessary to put an end to these anomalous proceedings, or to frame regular articles of impeachment. With a view to the first alternative, Mr. Perceval on the 17th of March, moved a resolution, that the house having examined the evidence, and having found that personal corruption, and connivance at corruption, had been imputed to the duke of York, were of opinion that the imputation was wholly unfounded,—which was carried by two hundred and seventy-eight against one hundred and
ninety-six votes. But though the general conduct of his royal highness as commander-in-chief was not denied to be highly meritorious, the current of national opinion was so adverse, and the public indignation at the discoveries which had transpired so vehement, and so plainly indicated in the numerous addresses presented to colonel Wardle, that the royal duke found it expedient to resign his high office, which was transferred to the hands of sir David Dundas. On the notice of this resignation, a final resolve passed, that under existing circumstances the house did not think it necessary to proceed farther with the minutes of evidence taken before the committee, which was carried by a large majority. Thus terminated a discussion which, whatever may be thought of its origin, was rendered important in its progress by the unusual interest taken in it throughout the country, and the freedom of debate with which it was conducted; and if its issue be regarded as a proof of the preponderating influence of the ministers in parliament, it also furnishes demonstrative evidence, that the most elevated rank cannot, under the British constitution, shelter abuses from detection, or protect those concerned in them from the effects of the public displeasure. During this ferment of the public mind, a charge of corruption, though of a very different nature, was brought against lord Castlereagh. While that nobleman presided at the India board, he had been complimented by the company with the disposal of a writership; and being desirous of a seat in parliament for a friend, he was recommended to a “trafficking broker,” who professed to be able to obtain one as an equivalent for the writership. With this man and for this purpose, lord Castlereagh most imprudently assented to an interview. But the writership, estimated by good judges at three thousand guineas, being a certainty, and the seat in reversion a great uncertainty, the treaty broke off. Though trafficking for seats in parliament was a practice of common occurrence, it was confessedly unconstitutional; and the requisite attention to decorum would not permit any individual occupying a high and responsible office to be personally concerned in any such transaction. Lord Castlereagh, in his defence, disclaimed being actuated by any corrupt motive, or the exertion of any official influence, though he much regretted that he had inadvertently been led to converse on such a subject with such a man as Reding. He further added, that if the house deemed the action, or rather intention, which was all that the accusation amounted to, unparliamentary, he should bow to any censure which he might be thought to deserve.

A resolution of censure was accordingly moved by lord Archibald Hamilton, on the 25th of April, which gave rise to a long debate. But as the offence was only contemplated, and attended with palliating circumstances, the chancellor of the exchequer moved the order of the day, in voting for which, Mr. Canning took occasion to remark, “that he would by no means be understood in giving his vote, as thereby pronouncing the case submitted to them as not of very serious importance.” This opinion, having apparently more weight than the vote, the order of the day was negatived, and Mr. Canning himself moved “that the house, on considering the whole of the case, saw no necessity for a censuring resolution,” which was carried by a majority of two hundred and fourteen to one hundred and sixty-seven voices. Before the close of the session, Mr. Curwen obtained leave to bring in a bill for securing the independence and purity of parliament, by preventing the obtaining of seats by improper means; and also to extend the laws against bribery. While the bill was in progress, the speaker of the house of commons made a strong appeal in its favour. “The question,” said this distinguished personage, “is no less than this: whether seats in this house shall henceforth be publicly saleable? A proposition, at the sound of which, our ancestors would have started with indignation; but a practice, which in these days, and within these walls, in utter oblivion of every former maxim and feeling of parliament, has been avowed and justified. If we forbear to reprobate this traffic, we give it legality and sanction. That it is a parliamentary offence, every page of our history,
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"our statutes, and our journals, bear evidence." The bill, after various modifications, passed by a small majority.

In defiance, however, of these domestic feuds, and disgraceful scenes, the exertions of England, at this period, were of a nature and upon a scale to surprise the world. It seemed as if her flag literally overwhelmed the whole sea on the coasts of Italy, Spain, the Ionian islands, and the Baltic sea. Wherever there was the least show of resistance to the yoke of Napoleon, the assistance of England was appealed to and as promptly afforded. In Spain, particularly, the British troops led by a general whose name now began to be weighed against those of the ablest of the French commanders, displayed their accustomed gallantry under auspices which no longer permitted it to evaporate in actions of mere eclat. Yet the British administration, while they had thus embraced a broader and more adventurous, and indeed a far wiser system of conducting the war, nevertheless evinced in one very important instance, that they were not free from the ancient prejudices which had so long rendered the energies of the country almost useless to the liberties of the world. The general principle was indeed adopted, that the expeditions of Britain should be directed where they could most benefit the cause of Europe, and most injure the interests of Buonaparte; but it was not difficult to perceive a spirit of national selfishness pervading their councils and mingling itself with their proceedings. Besides the forces already in the Peninsula, Great Britain had the means of disposing of forty thousand men, with a fleet of thirty-five ships of the line, and twenty frigates to assist on any point where their services might be useful. Such an armament on the coast of Spain might have brought to an early issue the long and sanguinary contest in that country, saved much British blood which the protracted war wasted, and struck a blow, the effects of which, like the battle of Trafalgar, Napoleon might have felt on the banks of the Danube. Such an armament, if sent to the north of Germany prior to the destruction of Schill and the defeat of the duke of Brunswick’s enterprise, might have been the means of placing all the northern provinces in active opposition to France, by an effort for which the state of the public mind was already prepared. A successful action would even have given spirits to Prussia, and induced that depressed kingdom to resume the struggle for her independence. In fact, Britain might have had the honour of kindling the same flame, which, when excited by Russia in 1813, was the means of destroying the French influence in Germany, and breaking up the confederation of the Rhine. But, unhappily, neither of these important objects seemed to the planners of this enterprise to be connected in a manner sufficiently direct, with objects exclusively interesting to Britain. It was therefore agreed that the expedition should be sent against the strong fortresses, swampy isles, and dangerous coasts of the Netherlands, in order to seek for dock-yards to be destroyed, and ships to be carried off. Antwerp was particularly aimed at; but although Napoleon attached great importance to the immense naval yards and docks which he had formed in the Scheldt, yet, when weighed with the danger and difficulty of an attack upon them, the object of destroying them seems to have been very inadequate. Besides, before Antwerp could be attacked, the islands of Beveland and Walcheren were to be taken possession of, and a long amphibious course of hostilities was to be maintained, to enable the expedition to reach the point where alone great results were expected.

Early in the month of May, 1809, preparations commenced for fitting out this expedition, and towards the end of July, an army of forty thousand men was collected, to be assisted by a fleet of thirty-nine sail of the line, and thirty-six frigates, besides numerous gun-boats, bomb vessels, and small craft. The command of the whole armament was entrusted to the earl of Chatham, son of the great minister of that name, who, far from inheriting the talents of his father, was signalized by nothing so much as a spirit of inactivity and procrastination, the consequences of which had been felt in all the public offices which he held, and which therefore were likely to be
peculiarly fatal in an expedition requiring the utmost celerity and promptitude of action. The armament set sail on the 28th of July, and on the 1st of August invested Flushing. A tremendous cannonade and bombardment commenced on the 13th, which two days afterwards produced from general Monnet, the commander of the garrison, a request for a suspension of arms. This was followed by a surrender of the place, with its garrison consisting of about five thousand men who were sent to England prisoners of war. But here terminated the success of the British. The French, who had at first been much alarmed, had time to recover from their consternation. Fouché, then at the head of the police in Paris, and it may be said of the government, being then minister of the interior, lost no time in collecting and getting under arms about forty thousand national guards, to replace the regular soldiers, of which the low countries had been drained. The command was given to Bernadotte, now created prince of Ponte Corvo, who availed himself of the time afforded by the English, to put Antwerp into a complete state of defence, and to assemble within and under its walls more than thirty thousand men. The country was inundated by opening the sluices; strong batteries were erected on both sides of the Scheldt, and to ascend that river became almost impossible. In addition to all this the spirit of discord began to manifest itself between the British naval and military officers. The troops likewise were becoming very sickly, from their position in these low and marshy grounds, in the most unhealthy season of the year. The final objects of the expedition were therefore abandoned; and on the 14th of September, lord Chatham was induced to depart for England, with the greatest part of his army. The remainder were left to keep possession of Walcheren, for the purpose of blocking up the Scheldt, and affording an inlet for British commerce into Holland where the people were well disposed to admit colonial produce and other commodities. To the troops, however, this determination was extremely fatal. Among the marshes, stagnant canals, and unwholesome trenches of the isle of Walcheren, there constantly broods a fever of a deeply pestilential and malignant kind, and which, like most maladies of the same description is more destructive to strangers than to the natives, whose constitutions become by habit proof against its ravages. This dreadful disease broke out among the British troops with the force of a pestilence, and numbers died on the spot, while others who escaped with life brought back with them chronic disorders, and shattered constitutions which long rendered the name of the Walcheren fever a subject of terror to Englishmen. The joy with which Napoleon saw the army of his enemy thus consigned to an obscure and disgraceful death, broke out even in his bulletins, as though the pestilence by which they fell had been caused by his own policy, and was not the consequence of the climate and the ill-advised delay which prevented the soldiers from being withdrawn from it. “We are rejoiced,” said Napoleon, in a letter to the minister at war, “to see that the English have packed themselves in the moors of Zealand. Let them be only kept in check, and the bad air and fevers peculiar to the country will soon destroy their army.” At length, after the loss of more lives than would have been wasted in three general battles, the fortifications of Flushing were blown up, and on the 23d of December, Walcheren was completely evacuated by the relics of the British army, nearly one half of which was either dead or on the sick list. Such was the termination of an expedition which after so prodigious expense, totally disappointed the public hopes and afforded a subject of mockery to the enemies of the country. But the evil did not terminate here; the mode in which it had been directed and conducted, became a source of dissolution in which Mr. Canning who was severely wounded in the affray. It also occasioned the temporary secession of Mr. Canning, unquestionably the most able and eloquent of its members, who was thus withdrawn from public affairs at a moment when his talents could be least spared by his country. In some measure, however, to counteract this unhappy state of affairs, the marquis of Wellesley was appointed to the situation of secretary at war, a circumstance
which gave, in the estimation of the public, a strong pledge that the efficient measures suggested by the talents of that noble statesman, would be supported and carried through by his brother sir Arthur Wellesley, to whom alone, as a general, the army and the people began to look with hope and confidence.

In this distracted state of the cabinet, the duke of Portland thought proper to retire from his eminent station as head of the administration assigning as a reason for it his growing infirmity; and lord Castlereagh also relinquished the seals of office as secretary at war. On the 23d of September, Mr Spencer Perceval, upon whom, in consequence of the resignation of the premier and the two secretaries, nearly the sole weight of the government now devolved, wrote to earl Grey and lord Grenville, stating that, “his majesty had authorized the earl of Liverpool (late lord Hawkesbury) and himself, to communicate with their lordships for the purpose of forming an extended and combined administration and requesting their presence in London.” As under the actual circumstances of the case no such overtire could have been hazarded without the determination to allow the whigs a decided lead in the combined administration, a very favourable opportunity, as was generally thought, occurred of uniting and reconciling the two great opposing parties in the state. Yet this advance was received with a coldness which can only be accounted for by calling to mind the circumstances under which they had formerly quitted office. Lord Grenville indeed repaired to town, in obedience to what he considered to be the king’s pleasure; but in his answer to Mr. Perceval dated 29th of September, he peremptorily declined the communication proposed, declaring “that it could not be considered in any other light than as a dereliction of public principle.” Earl Grey, writing from his seat in Northumberland, declared “his attention was fixed in town unnecessary, unless he had received the king’s commands to that effect.” and in terms equally strong with those of lord Grenville, asserted “an union with the present ministers to be, so far as regarded himself, impossible; and that the proposed communication could lead to no useful result.” Mr. Perceval in reply explained, that “the proposal was not for the accession of their lordships to the present administration, but for the formation of a combined and extended one.” Here the correspondence ended; and the ministers then in office, finding themselves compelled to act with energy or resign at discretion, Mr. Perceval accepted the office of first lord of the treasury; marquis Wellesley received the seals of the foreign department; lord Liverpool succeeded Castlereagh as minister at war; and the honourable Richard Rider, took the place of lord Liverpool in the home department. If the administration were injured in their popularity by the late train of events, no part of this displeasure fell upon the king, who seems to have gained upon the affections of his subjects, in proportion, as advanced years and infirmities (for he had now become almost blind) excited the feelings of commiseration in his behalf. The 23th of October 1809, being the fiftieth celebration of his accession to the throne, was distinguished throughout the united kingdom as a Jubilee, and was marked by every demonstration of loyal attachment and reverence.

Before we take our leave of the affairs of Great Britain during this trying crisis, it will be proper to glance at the success which attended her arms and councils in quarters to which we have not yet adverted. In the month of January, 1809, an expedition, under the command of general Prevost, and admiral Cochrane, appeared off the island of Martinique; and a landing was effected on the following day. After some severe actions, in which the French were driven from various strong posts, they withdrew their troops to Fort Bourbon, which was immediately invested by the British. The place was captured on the 24th of February with little farther loss, and all resistance ceasing, the island was reduced under the dominion of his Britannic majesty. The French colony of Cayenne was about the same time, captured by a combined force of English and Portuguese; the former under the command of captain Yeo of the navy.

A French fleet of nine sail of the line, lying in the road of Aix, near Ro-
challe, protected by the forts of that island, lord Cochrane, who was acting under the orders of admiral Gambier, proposed to make an attack upon, with a squadron of five ships, a few frigates, and some smaller armed vessels. Standing in with a favourable wind on the 11th of April, a boom laid across the entrance was broken through by the leading ship, on perceiving which, the greater part of the French ships slipped their cables and ran for the shore. On the following day lord Cochrane gave instruction by telegraph to the admiral, that seven of the enemy's ships were on shore, in a situation which afforded an opportunity of destroying them. It being found, however, that the state of the wind rendered it hazardous to enter the roads, in which the water was shallow, with large ships, admiral Gambier, who had unmoored, anchored again three miles from the forts, and sent all the small vessels to the attack. Lord Cochrane, leading the way, opened a fire on a ship of fifty-six guns, which struck, and this was followed by three others of the line, which were also forced to strike; all of which were set on fire and destroyed. The other French ships being got into deep water, moved up the river Charente, where it was impracticable to molest them, but it was doubtful whether they could be again got out to sea.

Lord Collingwood, who had succeeded Nelson, in the chief command of the Mediterranean fleet, having proposed to general Stuart an expedition against the islands of Zante, Cephalonia and others, while the French were occupied with the defence of Naples, a joint force from Messina, Malta, and Corfu, was arranged for this purpose, and on the 1st of October it anchored in the bay of Zante. On the following day a capitulation was agreed upon, by which all that group of islands surrendered to the British arms, and the government of the Septinsular republic was restored.

On the 23d of October, three French ships of the line and four frigates, with a convoy of about twenty vessels were descried on their passage from Toulon. Lord Collingwood directed rear admiral Martin to proceed with a squadron in chase of them; and on the 25th, off the mouth of the Rhone, two of the French ships of the line were chased on shore, and set on fire by their own crews, while a third, with a frigate, ran on shore at the entrance of the port of Cette, with little chance of being got off. The convoy mostly escaped at the time into the bay of Rosas; but on the 30th, some ships, with the boats of the fleet under orders from captain Hallowell, entering into the bay, most gallantly overcame every obstacle and all the resistance that could be made, as well from the vessels as from the castle of Rosas and the forts, and captured or destroyed the whole, though not without considerable loss. The lading of the convoy was destined for the supply of the French army in Spain.

The unhappy dispute with America still remained unadjusted. In the office of president of the United States, Mr. Jefferson, who declined a second re-election was succeeded by Mr. Maddison. The embargo, which had been severely felt from its long continuance, was repealed, and an act substituted, prohibiting all intercourse with France and England with this proviso, however, that if either nation rescinded its obnoxious decrees, the prohibition relative to that nation should cease. Mr. Erskine, the English envoy in America, was consequently empowered to promise, that if the American interdiction of July the 7th were withdrawn, the commerce of America with the French colonies should be placed on the same footing as in times of peace, the British cruisers being allowed to capture all vessels trading contrary to this restriction. But Mr. Erskine ventured also, as would seem without proper authority, to declare the orders in council rescinded from the 10th of June, 1809, on the general engagement that "an envoy extraordinary should be received by the president, with a disposition correspondent to that of his Britannic majesty." The British government, however, refused its ratification to this agreement, and the prohibitory laws were again enforced. Mr. Jackson was sent out as successor to Mr. Erskine, but his language was so offensive that congress refused to receive any communications from him, on which he withdrew from the city of Washington to New York. In my next letter, I shall resume the history of the Peninsular war.
LETTER IX.

Retrospective view of the state of parties in Spain.—Joseph Buonaparte returns to Madrid.—Second campaign in Spain and Portugal, A. D. 1809.

The political state of Spain at the moment Napoleon first marched his armies into it, and treacherously trepanned the royal family into his toils, was unquestionably deplorable in the extreme. The subject has been briefly touched upon already, but I shall not apologise to you for introducing in this place a few additional remarks.

The emperor of France having formed the determination, not only of extending his personal influence, but also of aggrandizing his family in every possible mode, had sufficient penetration to perceive a very favourable opportunity of doing it in the existing state of the peninsula. The languor and imbecility of the Spanish government, and the evident decline of the power and vigour of that monarchy, suggested to him the idea of an usurpation, and seemed to ascertain the facility of its accomplishment. Had he been as prudent as he was ambitious, he would have remained content with the power of dictating to the court of Madrid, in the great points of war and policy; but he was desirous of securing a more complete and permanent sway, by the erection of a new dynasty. With this view, he studiously fermented the dissensions in the Spanish cabinet, and encouraged the animosities of party; and the artful activity of his emissaries, aided by the intrigues of the disaffected around the court, at length produced a crisis which was suspicious to his insidious and malignant purpose.

The pernicious influence which Godoy, the prince of Peace, had acquired over the weak mind of the king, disgusted Ferdinand, the heir apparent: and this prince more particularly resented his exclusion from all concern in the administration of public affairs. His discontent was enflamed by the insinuations of the French ambassador, Beauharnois, by whose advice he rejected the proposal of the court for a marriage with one of his relatives, the minister’s sister-in-law, and secretly addressed a letter to Napoleon, offering his hand to any disengaged lady of the imperial family of France. This clandestine correspondence, and the nomination of the duke del Infantado as chief commander of the army in the event of the king’s death, furnished Godoy with a pretext for accusing Ferdinand of treasonable machinations; and the latter was arrested, imprisoned, and menaced with a criminal process; but the rising indignation and murmurs of the people, and the submissive behaviour of the royal prisoner, prompted his father to order his liberation.

To secure the subserviency of the imbecile monarch and the favourite Godoy, and at the same time facilitate the seizure of the monarchy, Napoleon, on the 27th of October, 1807, concluded at Fontainbleau, a treaty for the dismemberment of Portugal. It was stipulated, that the northern division of that kingdom should be transferred to the king of Etruria, and the southern part to the prince of Peace, under the guarantee and protection of his Catholic majesty: that the middle portion should remain in sequestration, for future disposal; and that the colonial territories of the same crown should be divided between France and Spain. By a separate convention, twenty-eight thousand French troops were allowed to enter Spain, under the pretext of proceeding to Lisbon: but a much greater number, commanded by Murat; embraced the opportunity of intrusion; since, according to general Foix’s statement, the French armies which entered the Peninsula prior to the 1st of June 1808, amounted to no less than one hundred and seventeen thousand men, divided into five corps-d’armes, under Junot, Dupont, Moncey, Bessieres, and Duhesne, with a reserve of the imperial guard: and the numbers which thus crossed the Pyrenees were followed, before the 15th of
August, by a reinforcement of forty thousand men: making a total of one hundred and sixty thousand men. (1) This immense force, once admitted, obtained, with little difficulty, possession of some of the strongest towns. These movements filled the king with serious apprehensions that Napoleon had other objects in contemplation than the marching of a small army to Lisbon, and his fears were not removed by the progressive disclosure of the emperor's views. His envoy Isquadero, informed him that he was expected by his powerful ally, to resign, for the benefit of the French empire, the provinces situated between the Pyrenees and the Ebro, in return for a more commanding influence in Portugal than was stipulated for in the late treaty. The emperor hoped to intimidate the feeble minded monarch into a retreat from his kingdom to his trans-atlantic possessions, and Charles IV. seemed disposed to copy the example lately set him by the regent of Portugal: but his subjects no sooner perceived that such an object was in the view of the royal family than they exclaimed against it so loudly that he promised to remain with them and share their fate. Not satisfied with this assurance the malecontents of the province of Aranjuez resolved to wreak their vengeance on the obnoxious favourite Godoy, whose life, however, they spared at the intercession of Ferdinand. When he had been deprived of his power and imprisoned, Charles became dejected, and despairing of ever again reigning in tranquillity, declared his intention of resigning his crown. His son did not dissuade him from his purpose, but readily accepted the offered royalty, and was proclaimed king by the title of Ferdinand VII. (2)

Such was the posture of affairs when the armies of France, professedly entering the country as an ally, began to take possession of their fortified places, and, as mentioned in a former letter, were followed by Napoleon and his brother Joseph Buonaparte. The emperor made his entry into Madrid, and presented himself to the inhabitants of the peninsula, not as a master, but as a liberator. "I have abolished," said he, "the inquisition, which Europe and the age have denounced. Priests ought to direct the conscience, but not to exercise any external and corporeal jurisdiction over their fellow citizens. I have suppressed the feudal rights, and any one may now establish inns, ovens, mills, nets, fisheries, and give free scope to his industry. The selfishness, the wealth, and the prosperity of a small number of men, are more injurious to your agriculture than the heats of the dog-star. As there is only one God, there ought to be in one state only one law. All partial judicatures have been usurped, and are contrary to the rights of the nation: I have destroyed them . . . . . . . . . . The present generation may entertain various opinions: too many passions have been put in motion, but your posterity will bless me as your regenerator: they will place among the memorable days of their history, those in which I have been amongst you; and from these days will date the prosperity of Spain."

This announcement was in itself quite sufficient to call into action all the energies of a domineering and jealous priesthood, who could not but perceive that this "liberator's" object was to undermine their influence and ruin their occupation. Spain unquestionably needed a liberator; one who by the return of civilization, should restore them to a better condition, and infuse among them just notions of their natural rights and liberties. But in such a country as Spain, this is no mere the work of a day, than was the cutting of the canal Napoleon; and when a country is immersed in ignorance, barbarism, and poverty, covered with convents, and governed by monks, it is necessary to reform its social state before we concern ourselves about its freedom. Spain had at this time many of the distinguished friends of freedom, who understood its value, and laboured to benefit their country by its introduction among them; but they did not relish the emperor Napoleon's method of forcing the boon upon them against their inclination, and they resisted his attempts to do so. The nation was divided into two classes, the

(1) See General Foy's history of the Peninsular War. London, 1827.
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advocates of civil liberty, and of slavish submission to the priesthood—that of the Curtes and that of the monks; and though aiming at very different objects, they had the skill to defend themselves in common. The one was at the head of the superior and middle, the other of the lower classes, and they vied with each other in inspiring their countrymen with the sentiments of civil independence, or religious fanaticism. You will be much amused with the following catechism which was composed for the instruction of the lower orders, and commonly used by the priests at this time:

"Tell me, my child, who art thou? A Spaniard by the grace of God.—
"Who is the enemy of our happiness? The emperor of the French.—How many natures has he? Two: the human and the diabolic nature.—How many emperors of the French are there? One, in three deceitful persons.—
"What are their names? Napoleon, Murat, and Manuel Godoy.—Which of the three is most wicked? They are all three equally wicked.—From whence did Napoleon come? From sin.—Murat? From Napoleon.—And Godoy? From the fornication of the two.—What is the spirit of the first? Pride and despotism.—Of the second? Rapine and cruelty.—Of the third? Avarice, treason and ignorance.—What are the French? Ancient Christians become heretics.—Is there any sin in putting a Frenchman to death? No, my father, we gain heaven by putting one of these dogs of heretics to death.—What punishment deserves the Spaniard who is wanting in his duty? The death and infamy of traitors.—What shall deliver us from our enemies? Confidence in each other, and in our arms."

Such was the hostile spirit which Napoleon, who does not seem to have been properly aware of the pride and jealousy belonging to the Spanish character, had to encounter when he entered the peninsula. But he had engaged himself in a tedious and perilous enterprise, in which his whole system was at fault. He appears to have become intoxicated with the height of his elevation to such a degree, as to forget that victory did not here consist in the defeat of an army and the possession of the capital, but in the entire occupation of the territory, and in that which is still more difficult, the subjection of the mind. Nevertheless, Napoleon was persuading himself that he should subdue this people when he was recalled to Germany by the fifth coalition, as stated in a former letter.—Let us now resume the narrative of the second campaign in the peninsula, the territory of which was defended foot by foot, and it was necessary to take the towns by assault. The British army having embarked from Corunna, the French bent all their efforts to the subjugation of Spain. The neighbourhood of Saragossa had constantly been the theatre of hostilities; and that renowned city, which had repeatedly baffled all the attempts of the enemy, was one of the first objects of his vengeance. A number of fugitives from the army of Castanos, which was defeated at Tudela, on the 23d of November, 1808, had retreated to Saragossa, and these added to its martial citizens and armed peasants from the country, composed a body of fifty thousand men, under the command of general Palafox. The siege was conducted by the duke of Montebello, one of the ablest of the French generals. On the 20th of January, 1809, the French made their grand attack.—About noon on the following day the breaches were practicable, and the assailants entered the city. General Lacoste, and a great number of their bravest officers and men fell in the assault. The determined resolution of the inhabitants, who disputed every inch of ground, and converted every house into a fortress, reduced the French to the necessity of mining and blowing up the houses. The Spaniards on their part, had recourse to countermining, and the effects of this subterraneous war were dreadfully destructive. During these terrible operations, the batteries kept up an incessant fire; and by mining and blowing up the houses as they proceeded, the French, on the 17th of February, at length became masters of the city. Not fewer than twenty thousand of its brave defenders were buried under its ruins, after a resistance to which history can scarcely furnish a parallel, and which will render the siege of Saragossa memorable to all future ages.

A series of disasters falling in rapid succession, now seemed to have sealed
the doom of Spain. An advantage gained by the duke of Albuquerque, on
the 22nd of February, over a corps of French at Consuegra, was but a
slender compensation for these multiplied misfortunes. The French army
in Catalonia made three powerful attacks on that of Spain under general
Reding. In the last of these actions, the Spanish general, after an obstinate
conflict in which he was severely wounded, was, on the 12th of March, driven
from his position and compelled to retire to Tarragona. Soon after this dis-
aster general Cuesta was defeated, March the 29th, at Medellin and forced
to retire to Monasterio. The patriots about this time recovered Vigo; but
their casual advantages were merged in the long train of successive disasters,
and the French having made themselves masters of the centre of Spain, were
pushing forward the different divisions of their army towards the extremity
of the kingdom.

A better understanding now began to take place between Great Britain
and Portugal. General Beresford, invested by the regency with the rank of
field-marshal, was most usefully employed in organizing a native force to act
with the British army. The duke of Dalmatia having entered Portugal at
Barga, on the 29th of March took possession of Talavera. In order to pre-
serve his communications, that general had left a garrison at Chaves; which
fortress was soon after wrested out of his hands by Don Francisco Silviera,
an active and gallant officer in the Portuguese service who continued to har-
ass the French and straiten their quarters, when, on the 22nd of April, sir
Arthur Wellesley once more landed at Lisbon with a re-inforcement of Bri-
tish troops. Instantly repairing to Coimbra, he put himself at the head of
his assembled forces, and advanced against Oporto, at the same time detach-
ing marshal Beresford to occupy the fords of the upper Douro. Marshal
Soult finding himself in danger of being insulated, judged it necessary to eva-
cuate Oporto, and to retreat with all possible expedition into Galicia, which
he did not without sustaining some loss. Marshal Victor, in the mean time,
who commanded in Estremadura, after defeating the Spanish general Cuesta,
at Medellin, had made himself master of Alcantara, on which the British
commander returned to the south, and Victor retired to his former station
at Guadiana. The operations in Galicia and the Asturias, under general
Romana, were also favourable; and the French were nearly driven from
these provinces.

On the 20th of July, sir Arthur Wellesley effected his junction with Cu-
esta at Oropesa; but Victor, aware of his danger, had by this time crossed
the Tagus, at the famous bridge of Almarez, that noble monument of Roman
magnificence. The allied British and Portuguese army marched along the
banks of the river towards Olalla, where Victor had his head quarters, and
who had now received large re-inforcements from Madrid, led on by king
Joseph in person. The British commander took an advantageous position
near Talavera de la Reyna, general Cuesta’s encampment on the right ex-
tending to the Tagus. Early on the morning of the 28th the enemy attacked
the British in force, making a demonstration at the same time on the oppo-
site quarter. The battle continued at intervals during the whole day, and
ended in the final repulse of the enemy. The French are said to have lost
on the occasion, about ten thousand men, killed or wounded, and the number
of those who suffered in the British army was between five and six thousand,
independent of twelve hundred Spaniards under Cuesta, either killed or
wounded.

This apparent victory had not the immediate effect which might have been
expected from it. The advance of Soult and Ney with twenty-five thousand
men encouraged the retiring troops to a resumption of courage and alacrity,
and they seemed inclined to force the post of Talavera, which the Spanish
general Cuesta occupied with his army. It was proposed that the passes of
Banos and Porales should be defended; but the Spanish general was so
tardy in his movements that the former position was left without succour,
and Placentia was seized by the advancing enemy, whose progress inti-
dated the Spaniards so much that they abandoned Talavera, where fifteen
hundred of the wounded were unfortunately left. Sir Arthur Wellesley, now
created lord Wellington, was displeased with this movement as it exposed
the combined troops to the risk of a simultaneous attack in the front and rear; and as he reposed little confidence in the Spaniards, and was doubtful of the practicability of a retreat in case of disaster, he resolved to make an immediate choice of a defensive position. He therefore ordered his army to cross the Tagus, at the bridge of Arcobispo, and fixed his residence at Delletosa, where he thought himself well situated for the defence of Almaraz and the lower parts of the river.

It now became daily more and more apparent that the patriotic cause in Spain was suffering greatly from the want of a regular system of co-operation, the impulsity of military command, and the continuance of abuses and grievances in every branch of the administration; and it gave particular uneasiness to the British government. To promote a change of system, the marquis Wellesley was instructed to visit the seat of the supreme junta, then sitting at Cadiz. He was received with politeness, and his suggestions met with respectful attention. He urged upon them the necessity of supplying the wants of the British troops, and of facilitating their progress, that they might not be obliged to quit the country. He hinted the expediency of appointing his brother, lord Wellington, who had so resolutely supported the cause of an injured nation, to the chief command of the Spanish army, which would thus be more effectually united with its allies. The native troops he said ought to be subjected to a new organization and to a more efficient discipline; public spirit ought to be more eagerly promoted; the ruling council, being too numerous for an executive body, might prudently be diminished; and the convocation of the Cortes ought not to be delayed. The tardiness of Spanish deliberation did not immediately adopt these prudent and useful hints; yet the wisdom of the ambassador made some impression upon the most intelligent members of the junta.

General Cuesta had presumed to remonstrate against the retreat of lord Wellington, alleging the probability of their being able to defeat the French by a strict union and concert; but his lordship was so disgusted at the conduct of the Spaniards during the late battle, that, in a letter addressed to his brother, while he acknowledged the insufficiency of his army to withstand the French without assistance, he declared it to be his opinion, that he ought to renounce all idea of co-operation with the Spanish troops. Cuesta was soon after obliged by the approach of the enemy to retreat with precipitation and loss; and sir Robert Wilson, who had recently pushed some parties of his small corps almost to the gates of Madrid, was attacked at Banos, but did not retire until he had defended the pass for nine hours. Venegas, about the same time, had an unfortunate engagement at Almonacid. He formed an extended line, in the hope of turning the flanks of the enemy, who, deriding his efforts, penetrated the line in various parts, and totally routed his army.

While the British troops remained on the defensive, some of the Spanish generals were busily employed in re-organising their respective armies. The duke del Parque was particularly active in this service; and his troops, posted on the heights of Tamames, found an opportunity for exertion, and in consequence of an attack from general Marchand, who endeavoured to turn their left. The retreat of the cavalry gave the assailants a temporary advantage; but the steady valour of the infantry at length put them to flight.

Amidst these operations the conduct of the junta was the subject of much complaint. Its attempt to array the nation against the invaders was confessed as feeble and inefficient: its direction of the disposable force pronounced injudicious, particularly in risking offensive operations in La Mancha: its inattention to that branch of the war which was connected with the defence of fortresses, also excited animadversion; and many discontented politicians demanded a more systematic display of vigour and energy than the assembly had yet evinced. A small council of regency, chosen with the most deliberate discrimination, was proposed as a substitute, until the Cortes should meet; and as this seemed to be the prevalent opinion, the members of the junta so far admitted the principle, that they named a com-
committee of six of their number for the better enforcement of decisive measures of war and policy. They found a warm opposer of their continued authority in the marquis Romana, who not only condemned their conduct, but denied the legitimacy of their power. His exertions, being strongly supported by the remonstrances of other distinguished patriots, drew forth a manifesto, dated the 26th of October, stating the exigencies and announcing the hopes of the nation, and ordaining the convocation of a representative assembly.

In this proclamation it was stated that an absurd and feeble tyranny had paved the way for French despotism, which at first appeared with a flattering exterior, promising reform in the administration, and announcing the empire of the laws; but the Spaniards were neither so deficient in penetration to be deluded by the artifices of intriguing politicians, nor so spiritless as to submit to the mandates of tyrants. They therefore rushed into arms, and, by their patriotic enthusiasm, soon obtained the honours and rewards of victory. Instead of falling into anarchy, they re-generated and re-composed the state; and established without violence or disorder, a supreme government and a commanding authority. The central junta, while the expulsion of the enemy was its first object, attended with zeal to the removal of abuses; and as soon as the turbulence of war allowed, proclaimed the revival of the Cortes, a name which recalled ideas of legitimate and constitutional sway, connecting the rights of the people with the support of the throne. Some were of opinion, that a regency of three or five persons, without a representative body, would answer every purpose of good government: but such an administration would be accessible to the intrigues of the tyrant and his emissaries, and would not be able to enforce that general submission which the imposing authority of a national council would command. Others were inclined to maintain the preference of the different junta, as representative bodies, to the proposed assembly; because they concluded that it would be constituted in the ancient mode so as not sufficiently to represent the people; but it was the intention of the ruling council to make such arrangements as would tend to remove this objection. The proposed convocation, it was hoped, would prove the best remedy for the disorders of the state; would call forth all the energies of the nation; confound the views of the enemy; and secure the triumph of the glorious cause of freedom and independence.

The inhabitants of Gerona, at this momentous crisis, gave a striking proof of their zeal in the cause of their country. Emulating the fame of the defenders of Saragossa, they long defied all the efforts of the enemy. They bravely sustained the most impetuous attacks and repeatedly compelled the assailants to retire. The neighbouring castle of Monjuich, though not strongly garrisoned, was defended with great bravery. Five assaults were repelled; and the besiegers were obliged to continue their operations for five subsequent weeks, before the danger of destruction could prompt the remaining occupants to retire into the city. General Blake who had twice contended with Suchet in the province of Arragon, and had not been able on either occasion to prevent his discouraged men from retreating, hoped to be more successful in an effort for the relief of Gerona, which was not then very closely invested. While one part of his army attacked the enemy at Brunolas, another division found an opportunity of entering the city, recruiting the garrison and supplying its wants. More than four months after the first investment, when three breaches had been made in the walls, the besiegers expected the speedy reduction of the place. On the 19th of September, three strong columns were sent forward to an assault, and vengeance seemed to impend over the patriotic defenders. To oppose the intended attack, Don Mariano Alvarez, the governor, made such dispositions as the time and his limited means allowed; and the breaches were guarded with great courage and indefatigable vigilance. The enemy entered at two of the openings, and penetrated to the nearest houses; but their intrusion was at the expense of their lives. Other attempts were made with equal audacity, city, and baffled with equal spirit. More than eight hundred of the French,
according to the Spanish account were killed; and the repulse operated for some time as a check to the invaders. As the possession of Hostalrich, and the vicinity of Blake's army, tended to prolong the defence of Gerona, general Augereau determined to possess himself of the former town and defeat general Blake; and, by the great superiority of his force, he at length succeeded in accomplishing both objects. He dislodged the Spanish corps from the heights of Brunolas, and drove them to a remote station; the gates of Hostalrich were then set on fire; the French gained admission, attacked the defenders in every street, and overwhelmed them. Precluded from further supply and hopeless of relief, Alvarez capitulated on the 10th of December, and the garrison were made prisoners of war.

In the army of La Mancha, the marquis of Ariozaga had superseded Venegas in the command, and high expectations were consequently entertained from its operations. It was confidently hoped that the new general would be able to advance to Madrid, in defiance of all opposition, and expel the usurper from the throne. But he was encountered, on the 19th of November, by a French force, under the command of king Joseph, assisted by marshals Soult, Mortier, and Victor, at Ocana, near the south bank of that river, when the action terminated in a signal victory on the part of the enemy, and the vanquished army retreated in great confusion beyond the mountains. On this occasion, however, the Spanish infantry, particularly the division of lacey, fought with great bravery, keeping the enemy in check for more than two hours, and a great part of the French line fell back in disorder; but the superiority of the enemy's artillery, and the timid and irresolute behaviour of the Spanish cavalry, whose flight had an ill effect on the rest of the army, enabled the French to triumph. More than ten thousand of the vanquished were either killed, wounded, or made prisoners. Another defeat quickly followed; the duke del Parque, being attacked at Alba, on the river Tormes, withstood repeated assaults, but he failed to derive from the cavalry the support which he expected: and the impetuous vigour of the French drove him, after the loss of many of his troops, to the mountainous confines of Galicia. And thus, at the termination of the second campaign in the Peninsula, the dark clouds of misfortune hung over the patriotic cause.

LETTER X.

The internal, or domestic Affairs of France.—Napoleon repudiates his wife, Josephine, and marries the daughter of the Emperor of Austria.—Consequences of this marriage on his politics.—Deposes his brother Louis, and annexes Holland to France.—Also the valleys of Piedmont and the Hans-Towns.—Hanover annexed to Westphalia.—Bernadotte elected to the throne of Sweden.—Political affairs of the north of Europe, 1810.

The legislative body of France assembled on the 3d of December, 1809, on which occasion the emperor Napoleon addressed them in a style of lofty congratulation. Adverting to the late expedition to Holland, he told them that "the English army had terminated its projects in the pestilential marshes of Walcheren. The pope whose weakness or treachery opposed the progress of the French arms in Spain, was striped of his temporal power and authority, and compelled to restore it to the successor of Charlemagne, from whom he received it. By the treaty of Vienna, all his allies had acquired fresh increase of territory. The Illyrian provinces stretched the frontiers of his great empire to the Saave. Holland, placed between England and France, must undergo some changes, in order to "ensure the safety of the empire, and to promote their mutual interest"—and he concluded his address with the prediction of new triumphs in the Peninsula. In the annual exposé, which immediately followed, the great works carrying on under the auspices of the emperor were particularly enumerated.
The canal Napoleon, uniting the Rhine and the Rhone; the immense works at Cherbourg; the magnificent military roads traversing the Alps, the Apennines, and the Pyrenees; the draining of the marshes of Burgundy &c. &c.—all these were indeed imperial works and worthy of his fame and power.

Such was the posture of affairs, when the ruler of France was in the Zenith of his greatness and glory, that he surprised the world, if indeed any thing in his conduct could be thought surprising, by one of the basest actions of his life, namely, the repudiation of his amiable and accomplished spouse, Josephine, and his marriage with the eldest daughter of the emperor of Austria. With the former he had now cohabited more than a dozen years, but she had the misfortune to bear him no issue. He was passionately attached to her; for her personal charms were great, and as numerous as could be possessed by a wife. She had shared his more lowly fortunes, and by her management and address during his absence in Egypt, had paved the way for the splendid success which he had attained on his return. She had also done much to render his government popular, by softening the sudden and fierce bursts of passion to which he was subject. No one could understand like Josephine, the peculiarities of her husband’s temper; no one dared, like her, to encounter his displeasure, rather than not advise him for his better interest; no one could possess such opportunities of watching the fit season for intercession; and no one, it is allowed on all hands, made a more prudent, or a more beneficent use of the opportunities she enjoyed. The character of Napoleon, vehement by temper, a soldier by education, and invested by the success of his arms with the most despotic power, required in an especial manner the moderating influence of such a mind, which could interfere without intrusion, and remonstrate without offence. It is certain that she had obtained great influence over her husband, and to maintain it, Josephine cheerfully made the greatest personal sacrifices. In all the rapid journeys which he performed, she was his companion. No obstacle of road or weather was permitted to interfere with her departure. However sudden the call, the empress was ever ready; however untimely the hour, her carriage was in instant attendance. The influence which she maintained by the sacrifice of her personal comforts was used for the advancement of her husband’s best interests,—the relief of those who were in distress, and the averting the consequences of hasty resolutions, formed in a moment of violence or irritation.

But the sterility of the empress Josephine was now rendered, by the course of nature, an irremediable evil, over which she mourned in hopeless distress; and conscious on what precarious circumstances the continuance of their union seemed now to depend, she gave way occasionally to fits of jealousy, less excited, according to Napoleon, by personal attachment, than by suspicion that her influence over her husband’s mind might be diminished, in case of his having offspring by some paramour. She, therefore, naturally turned her thoughts to seek a remedy, and exerted her influence over her husband, to induce him to declare some one his successor, according to the unlimited powers vested in him by the imperial constitution. She directed his attention towards his step-son Eugene Beauharnois, her own son by her first marriage; but this did not meet Napoleon’s approbation. A child, the son of his brother Louis, by Hortense Beauharnois, appeared, during its brief existence, more likely to become the destined heir of this immense inheritance. But the son of Louis and Hortense died of a disorder incident to childhood; and thus was broken, while yet a twig, the shoot, that growing to maturity, might have been reckoned on as the stay of an empire. Napoleon manifested the deepest grief, but that of Josephine was inexpressible.

It now became evident to the politicians of the Tuileries, that whatever attachment Napoleon might possess and feel for the empress, it was likely in the long run to give way to the eager desire of a lineal succession, to which he might bequeath his splendid inheritance. As age advanced, every year weakened, though in an imperceptible degree, the influence of Josephine, and must have rendered more eager the desire of her husband to
form a new alliance, while he was not at a period of life which authorized him to hope that he might see his son to maturity the expected heir. Fouché, the minister of police, the ablest political intriguer of his time, intuitively discovered to what point the emperor must ultimately arrive; and artfully sounding his master's disposition, he discovered that Napoleon was struggling between the supposed political advantages to be derived from a new matrimonial union on the one hand, and on the other, the strong attachment which he still retained for Josephine, whose society and habits held him, as it were, spell-bound. Fouché, therefore, craftily determined to make Josephine herself the medium of suggesting to her husband the measure of her own divorce, and of his second marriage, as a sacrifice necessary to consolidate the empire, and complete the felicity of the emperor. One evening at Fountainbleau, as the empress was returning from mass, Fouché detained her in the embrasure of a window in the gallery, while, with an audacity almost incomprehensible, he explained, with all the alleviating qualifications his ingenuity could suggest, the necessity of a sacrifice, which he represented as equally sublime and inevitable. The agitation of Josephine became excessive; but she commanded her emotions sufficiently to ask Fouché with a faltering voice, whether he was commissioned to hold such language to her. He replied in the negative, adding, that he only ventured on such an insinuation from his having predicted with certainty what must necessarily come to pass; and from his desire to turn her attention to what so nearly concerned her glory and happiness. In consequence of this interview, an impassioned and interesting scene is said to have taken place between Buonaparte and his consort, in which he disavowed the communication of Fouché, and endeavoured by every means in his power to dispel her apprehensions; but he refused to dismiss his minister, when she demanded it as a punishment due to his audacity, in tampering with her feelings. But the idea being now started, the main objection was removed, and Napoleon being spared the pain of directly communicating the unkind and ungrateful proposal to Josephine, he had now only to afford her time to familiarize herself with the idea of a divorce, as that which political combinations rendered inevitable.

The communication of Fouché was made before Napoleon undertook his operations in Spain; and by the time of the meeting at Erfurt, the divorce seems to have been a matter determined. The views of the emperor were primarily directed to the court of St. Petersburg; and negotiations were set on foot, which had a reference to one of the archduchesses, but the reigning empress and empress-mother were opposed to it. The idea was therefore abandoned and an archduchess of the house of Austria was substituted for her whose hand was refused. This project is said to have been started in the course of the treaty of Schoenbrunn and was not without its influence in providing lenient terms for the weaker party. Napoleon himself declared that he renounced his purpose of dismembering Austria when his marriage was fixed upon. It is certain that the measures for separating the amiable and interesting Josephine from the man whose fortunes she had assisted to raise, and to whose person she was so much attached, were in full operation soon after Napoleon's return from the campaign of Wagram. On the 3d of December, he attended the solemn service of Te Deum for his victories. He was clad with unusual magnificence, wearing the Spanish costume, and displaying in his hat an enormous plume of feathers. The kings of Saxony and Wurttemburg, who attended as his satellites on the occasion, were placed beside him in full uniform, and remained uncovered during the ceremony. From the cathedral, Napoleon passed to the opening of the legislative body, and boasted, in the oration he addressed to them, of the victories he had achieved, and the trophies he had acquired, as already mentioned in the commencement of my letter; and he concluded with this ominous declaration: "I and my family will always know how to sacrifice our most tender affections to the interests and welfare of the great nation"—the meaning of which was soon no riddle to the public in general. Two days afterwards, Josephine was made acquainted with the cruel certainty that the separation
was ultimately determined upon. But neither the many months which had passed since the subject was first touched upon by Fouché, nor the conviction which she must have long since received from various quarters, that the measure was unalterably resolved upon, could support her under the terrible annunciation that she was to be repudiated. The scene is thus described by an eye witness: (1)

"Their majesties sat down to table: Josephine wore a large white hat, tied under the chin, and concealing a part of her face. I thought, however, I perceived, that she had been shedding tears, and that she still retained them with difficulty. She seemed to me the image of grief and despair. The most profound silence reigned during this dinner; they scarcely touched, except for form's sake, the dishes which were set before them. The only words which were uttered, were addressed to me by Napoleon, 'What o'clock is it?' rising from table as he spoke. Josephine followed slowly. Coffee was presented, and Napoleon took his cup himself from the page on duty, motioning that he desired to be alone. I withdrew very quickly; but uneasy, anxious, and abandoned to my own sorrowful reflections. In the waiting saloon, which usually served as their majesties eating room, I threw myself into an armed chair, beside the door of the emperor's saloon, and was mechanically looking at the attendants as they cleared away the service that had been used at their majesties dinner, when, all at once, I heard from the emperor's saloon, the empress Josephine utter the most piercing cries. The groom of the chamber, imagining she must be ill, was on the point of opening the door: I prevented him, remarking that the emperor would call for assistance if he found it necessary. I was standing near the door, when Napoleon himself opened it, and perceiving me, said hastily; come in B....... and shut the door. I entered the saloon, and beheld the unhappy empress stretched on the carpet, giving vent to an agonizing burst of grief, and exclaiming, 'No, I shall never survive it'...........I pass over the affecting detail of poor Josephine's sufferings, on the occasion, and shall merely add Napoleon's remarks to his "Prefet," when Josephine had a little recovered herself. "His unceasing and agitation," says Mons. B. "were extreme. In the grief which he felt, he told me the cause of all that had happened, and used these expressions: "the interest of France and my dynasty has done violence to my heart, the divorce has become an imperative duty upon me: I am so much the more afflicted at the scene which Josephine has just exhibited, because, three days ago, she must have known from Hortense the unhappy necessity which condemns me to separate from her. "I pity her with all my heart, I thought she had more strength of character, and I was not prepared for the burst of her grief."——

The preparations for the separation went on without delay. On the 15th of December, just ten days after the official communication of her fate had been given to the empress, Napoleon and Josephine appeared in the presence of the arch-chancellor, the family of Napoleon, the principal officers of state; in a word, the full imperial council. In this assembly, Napoleon stated the deep national interest which required that he should have successors of his own body, to occupy the throne on which providence had placed him. He informed them, that he had for several years renounced the hope of having children by his well beloved empress, Josephine; and that therefore he had resolved to subject the feelings of his heart to the good of the state, and desire the dissolution of their marriage. He was, he said, but forty years old and might well hope to live to train up such children as providence might send him, in his own sentiments and arts of government. Again he dwelt on the truth and tenderness of his beloved spouse, his partner during fifteen years of happy union. Crowned as she had been by his own hand, he desired she should retain the rank of empress during her life. Josephine then arose, and with a faltering voice and eyes suffused with tears, expressed

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in few words sentiments similar to those of her husband. The imperial pair then demanded from the arch-chancellor, a written document in evidence of their mutual desire of separation; and it was granted accordingly in all due form with the authority of the council. The senate were next assembled; and, on the 16th of December, pronounced a consultum, or decree, authorizing the separation of the emperor and empress, and assuring to Josephine a dowry of two millions of francs, and the rank of empress during her life.

The routine of ceremonies being completed, Napoleon retired to St. Cloud, where he lived in seclusion for some days. Josephine, on her part, took up her residence in the beautiful villa of Malmaison, near St. Germain. Here she principally dwelt for the remaining years of her life, which were just prolonged to see the first fall of her husband; an event which might have been averted had he been content to listen more frequently to her lessons of moderation. Her life was chiefly spent in cultivating the fine arts, of which she collected some beautiful specimens, and in pursuing the study of botany; but especially in the almost daily practice of acts of benevolence and charity, of which the English who had been detained at the breaking out of hostilities, of whom there were several at St. Germain, frequently shared the benefit. Napoleon often visited her, and uniformly treated her with the respect to which she was entitled. He also added to her dowry another million of francs, that she might feel no inconvenience from the habits of expense to which it was her foible to be addicted.

The necessary formalities relating to his new espousals were discussed and adjusted in little more than twenty-four hours; and on the 11th of March, 1810, their nuptials were celebrated at Vienna. The person of Napoleon was represented by his favourite Berthier, while the arch-duke Charles assisted at the ceremony in the name of the emperor Francis. A few days afterwards, the youthful bride, accompanied by the queen of Naples, proceeded towards France. Napoleon met them at Soissons and accompanied them to Paris where the marriage ceremony was again performed by the emperor's uncle, the cardinal Fesch. The most splendid rejoicings, illuminations, concerts, festivities, took place on this occasion, though the general joy was much abated by a great calamity which threw a shade over their rejoicings. Prince Swartzenberg, the Austrian ambassador, had given a distinguished ball on the occasion, when the dancing room, which was temporary, and erected in the garden, caught fire. No efforts could stop the progress of the flames, in which several persons perished, and among others the sister of the ambassador himself. This tragic circumstance struck a damp on the public mind, and was considered as a bad omen, especially when coupled in recollection with the marriage of Louis XVI. with a former princess of the house of Austria, which had been signalized by a similar disaster, as mentioned in one of my former letters.

As a domestic occurrence, nothing could contribute more to the happiness of Napoleon than his union with Maria Louisa. He was accustomed to compare her with Josephine, by assigning to the latter all the advantages of art and grace; to the former the charms of simple modesty and innocence. Both were excellent women, of great sweetness of temper, and fondly attached to Napoleon. As a political occurrence, however, his marriage with the arch-duchess of Austria, has by many been regarded as a grand error. He abandoned his position and his part of an upstart and revolutionary monarch, who was labouring in Europe against the ancient courts, as the republic had done against the ancient monarchies. He placed himself in an awkward position in respect to Austria, which he should either have crushed after the victory of Wagram, or have re-established after the marriage of the arch-duchess. Solid alliances repose only on real interests, and Napoleon did not know how to deprive the Austrian cabinet either of the desire or the power to combat with him again. This marriage also changed the character of his empire, and separated it still more from the popular interests. He now sought for ancient families to grace his court, and he did all in his power to amalgamate the ancient with the new noblesse, as he had already done with respect to the dynasties. Austerlitz had consecrated the plebian
empire; Wagram was to establish the noble empire. The birth of a son, in March 1811, who received the title of king of Rome, seemed to consolidate the power of Napoleon by assuring him of a successor. It is time, however, that we quit this subject.

The emperor of France at this moment beheld the whole continent of Europe, Spain and Portugal excepted, either as his allies, or his obsequious vassals. Proceeding in his plan of annexation by which he laboured to round his “Empire of the West,” he now took within his grasp the seven Dutch provinces, of which he had recently constituted his brother Louis, king. They had indeed been a mere dependency of “the great nation,” from that period; but in the month of December preceding, an intimation had been given, of rendering them a component part of the French empire, to which it was pleaded, they naturally belonged, as being no more than an alluvion of the Rhine, the Maese, and the Scheldt. Forty thousand French soldiers were, therefore, gradually, but unceremoniously introduced into Holland, and troops were quartered at the mouths of the rivers, accompanied by French custom house officers, in order to prevent all commerce with England. On the 29th of June, notice was given to king Louis, that the emperor insisted on the occupation of Amsterdam, which was to be made the French head-quarters. Louis, justly regarding himself as no longer king, resigned that nominal dignity in favour of his sons and declared his queen regent. On the day of his abdication, he published a farewell address to the legislative body, in which he stated the circumstances that had rendered it necessary for him to sign a treaty with his brother the emperor, whereby he had been deprived of all authority; and he advised them to receive the French troops with all cordiality and respect. He expressed a warm affection for his late subjects; and indeed his conduct during his short reign had been such as to show himself the real friend of the people upon whom he had been arbitrarily imposed, and as too much a Dutchman to retain the favour of the emperor of France. His act of abdication was considered to be of no validity, not having been previously concerted with the emperor; and the Seven Provinces were inseparably annexed to the French empire. The Valais of Piedmont were also annexed to France, for the purpose of securing the passage of the Alps by the Simplon; and possession was taken of the Hanse Towns, and of the whole course from the Elbe to the Ems,—commanded, it was said, by circumstances. The electorate of Hanover was annexed to the kingdom of Westphalia, and its very name was obliterated from the map of Europe; while, to that country and all the other dependent kingdoms, the conscription laws were extended. In France, the chains of despotic power were riveted by spies, arbitrary imprisonments, a rigorous police, and restrictions on the liberty of the press; and while the glory of the nation was raised to the highest pitch, every vestige of its freedom was obliterated.

The affairs of Sweden took a very singular turn at this period; and it may be ranked among the most extraordinary occurrences in European history. On the 29th of May, the prince of Augustenburg, presumptive heir to the crown of Sweden, died suddenly; and in August, 1810, a diet was assembled at Orebo, to supply the vacancy thus occasioned. In consequence of a strong and pointed recommendation from the emperor Napoleon, the king of Sweden proposed marshal Bernadotte, as the person on whom he wished the choice to fall. This celebrated general, who was of Protestant extraction, had for a considerable time been placed at the head of the army of observation in the electorate of Hanover, where the equity and moderation of his conduct had equalled the reputation of his talents. The king’s nomination, therefore, was unanimously approved; and on the 1st of November, Bernadotte was installed in due form. On this occasion he addressed an admirable speech to the diet, expressing in unaffected language his sincere gratitude for the high and unexpected honour conferred upon him, with his unfeigned wishes that the reigning monarch would long afford him the advantage of learning from his conduct the arduous and important lessons of government. “Sound policy,” said Bernadotte, “must have for its basis,
"justice and truth. Such are the principles of the king; they shall also be mine. I have had a near view of war and its ravages: and I know that there is no conquest which can console a country for the blood of its children shed in a foreign land. Sweden has sustained great losses, but her honour is without taint. Let us submit to the decrees of providence, and recollect that we possess a soil sufficient for our wants, and a sword to defend it." In the ensuing month a declaration of war was issued against Great Britain; but the pacific intention of the court of Stockholm was sufficiently apparent; and the war, to the disappointment of Napoleon proved little more than nominal. The hostility of Denmark was indeed real and great, but her power was circumscribed; and in the course of the summer a British squadron took possession of the Danish isle of Anholt, situated in the sea called the Cattegat. (1)

LETTER XI.

Affairs of Great Britain, A.D. 1810.—Parliamentary Inquiry into the expedition to the Scheldt.—Sir Francis Burdett sent to the Tower.—Riots in the Metropolis.—Naval expeditions and successes.—Derangement of the king, and appointment of a regency, A.D. 1810—11.

The British parliament assembled on the 23d of January, 1810, and never did the political atmosphere in this country, exhibit a deeper gloom. Russia, the only continental power which could singly cope with France, was in strict alliance with the French emperor. Austria had been once more laid prostrate at his feet. The resistance of Spain, in the general opinion, had become nearly hopeless; and all the other powers of Europe were in a state of perfect vassalage. Yet, under these unfavourable circumstances, the speech delivered by the lord chancellor, in his majesty’s name, expressed a just confidence, under divine providence, in the wisdom of his parliament, the valour of his forces, and the spirit of his people. His majesty hoped that material advantages would be found to result from the demolition of the docks and the arsenals of Flushing. The expulsion of the French from Portugal, and the splendid victory obtained by lord viscount Wellington at Talavera had contributed to check the progress of their arms in the Peninsula. The speech went on to state that his majesty had received assurances of the friendly disposition of America, and that the state of the national commerce of Great Britain was flourishing, and the produce of the revenue increasing.

The Walcheren expedition, as may naturally be supposed, constituted a prolific topic of declamation to the leaders of opposition in both houses of parliament. The appointment of lord Chatham to the command having been made one of the principal topics of blame, Mr. Perceval, in his reply, contented himself with saying, that the result of the inquiry, if any inquiry were thought necessary, would in a great measure decide the question of the propriety or impropriety of the appointment of that noble lord to the command of the expedition. Adverting to the overture made, by command of the king, to lords Grey and Grenville to form a part of the administration, he declared that he did not wish for the situation which he then occupied. The circumstances of the times required a strong and an extended administration, and he had entertained hopes that the application would have been successful. Had he been at liberty to state his proposals, the first would have been to resign the treasury to their disposal. After a variety of other proceedings, in which the same subjects were brought under discussion, lord

(1) Sir Walter Scott’s Life of Napoleon, vol. vii.—Histoire de la Révolution Francaise, par A. F. Mignet.—Sketch of the reign of Gustavus IV.—Dr. Aikin’s Annals of George III.—Edinburgh Annual Register, 1810.
Porchester, on the 26th of January, moved in the house of commons that a committee be appointed to inquire into the policy and the conduct of the late expedition to the Scheldt, which was carried by a small majority, and a committee of the whole house was fixed on for the purpose. His lordships then moved for an address to the king for copies of instructions given to the commanders, with other documents relating to this ill-fated expedition, which was also agreed to, and a secret committee was nominated for the inspection of such confidential communications as were deemed improper to be made public.

Among the papers thus submitted to inspection, there was found "A copy of the earl of Chatham's statement of his proceedings, dated October "the 15th, 1809, and presented to the king, February the 14th, 1810." This document, from its contents, appeared to be an appeal to his majesty by the commander of one part of the expedition against the conduct of the commander of another part, and the circumstance occasioned much debate in the house. Mr. Whitbread moved an address to the king, requesting that there might be laid before the house copies of all reports and other papers submitted at any time to his majesty by the earl of Chatham, relative to the late expedition, which was carried. The answer to this address, acknowledged that the king had received a report from lord Chatham on the 15th of January, which he kept till February the 10th, when it was returned to the earl in consequence of his desire to make some alterations in it; that the report thus altered having been again presented to the king on the 14th, it was, by his majesty's orders, delivered to the secretary of state, and no copy of it kept by the king. Mr. Whitbread, on the 2nd of March, moved two resolutions respecting this matter: one stating the fact, as now mentioned—the other, a strong censure of the same. After a long debate, the previous question was moved, but negatived; and the first resolution being thus carried, Mr. Whitbread consented to wave the second, admitting a modification of it proposed by Mr. Canning. It was then determined that the resolution should be entered on the Journals of the house; the result of which was that lord Chatham resigned his office of master-general of the ordnance.

When the proceedings relative to the Walcheren expedition first came before the house of commons, Mr. Yorke moved an enforcement of the standing order for the exclusion of strangers, which he continued to move from day to day. This induced Mr. Sheridan to move a revision of the standing order, so that the decision should not rest on the caprice of any individual member, which was vehemently opposed by Mr. Windham, who indulged himself in a wild and furious invective against the reporters of the debates in parliament. He professed, indeed, to know nothing of them personally; but he understood them to be a set of men who were chargeable with the most corrupt mis-representations; that among them were to be found persons of all descriptions, bankrupts, lottery-office keepers, decayed tradesmen, and even serving men. Those gentry, he said, had their favourites; and his honourable friend, Mr. Sheridan, was esteemed and hailed by them as a patron of the liberty of the press; but he exhorted the house to maintain their ancient rules and orders! This singular tirade was answered with spirit and temper by Mr. Stephens, an eminent civilian, who had himself, in his earlier days, been a reporter of the debates in parliament.

Another circumstance incidentally connected with the debates on the Walcheren expedition, was productive of consequences which rendered the present session memorable in parliamentary history. There existed at the moment, a debating society in London, under the name of the British Forum, of which the president was John Gale Jones. On the 10th of February, a placard appeared in the streets of London, informing the public that a question had been debated at the British Forum, "which was the greater outrage on the public feeling, Mr. Yorke's enforcement of the standing order of the house of commons for the exclusion of strangers, or Mr. Windham's attack on the liberty of the press? And that it was unanimously decided, that the enforcement of the standing order ought to be censured as an invidious and ill-timed attack on the liberties of the press." Mr.
Yorke was so indiscreet as to bring this paper under the cognizance of the house of commons, and an order was made for the printer of it to attend at the bar of the house, who declared that he had been employed to print it by John Gale Jones. The latter was accordingly cited before the honourable house on the 21st of February, when he avowed himself the author of the paper, and added, that he considered it to be the privilege of every Englishman to animadvert on public measures and the conduct of public men; but that, on looking over the paper again, he found that he had erred, for which he expressed his contrition, and threw himself upon the clemency of the house. It was then voted unanimously, that John Gale Jones had been guilty of a gross violation of the privileges of the house; which was followed by a motion from Mr. Yorke for his commitment to Newgate, and this also passed unanimously.

Sir Francis Burdett, who had not been present when these proceedings took place, on the 12th of March called the attention of the house once more to the subject, in a speech in which he ventured to deny altogether the power of the house to commit, and ended with moving that John Gale Jones be discharged. Mr. Sheridan said that he should vote for the release of Jones though not on the principles contended for in the speech of the honourable baronet; and he moved an amendment, that Jones should be discharged in consequence of the contrition which he had expressed and the length of his imprisonment: but neither of these was carried. On the 24th of March there appeared in Cobbett's Weekly Register, a letter, entitled "Sir Francis Burdett to his constituents, denying the power of the house of commons to imprison the people of England," detailing the arguments which he had used in his speech. This publication was brought before the house, on the 26th, by Mr. Lethbridge, at whose request the speaker put the question to Sir Francis, whether he acknowledged himself to be the author, which he answered in the affirmative. Notice was then given of a motion on the subject by Mr. Lethbridge, which he made on the following day. After reading several of the most obnoxious passages in the letter, he moved two resolutions: the first affirming that the publication in question was a libellous and scandalous paper, reflecting on the just rights and liberties of the house; the second, that Sir Francis Burdett, who suffered this paper to be printed with his name, had been guilty of a violation of the privileges of this house.

These resolutions were agreed to without a division, and a motion was then made by Sir Robert Salisbury for his commitment to the Tower. An amendment was proposed, softening the sentence to a reprimand, but it was rejected by one hundred and ninety votes to one hundred and fifty-two; and the speaker having signed the warrants for his commitment, on the 6th of April they were delivered to the serjeant-at-arms. That officer on going to the house of Sir Francis, was informed that he would be ready to receive him on the following morning, which being construed as implying that he would go with him peaceably to the Tower, the officer retired. He, however, returned, accompanied by a messenger, who said that the serjeant had been severely reprimanded by the speaker for not having executed the warrant. Sir Francis now disputed the legality of the warrant, and declared his determination not to go unless compelled by actual force, which he would resist as far as lay in his power.

Some delay now ensued in consequence of a doubt entertained by the speaker respecting his authority in this matter, which induced him to apply to the attorney-general for information on which he might proceed, but on the morning of the 9th of April, the officer of the house of commons, attended by a number of the police, and a detachment of infantry and cavalry, proceeded to the residence of the honourable baronet, to take him into custody, and convey him to the Tower. An entrance was accordingly forced into the house, through the area, and the serjeant with the police officers went up into the room, where Sir Francis was sitting in the midst of his family, and acquainted him that he was his prisoner. He repeated his objections to the warrant, and declared that he would yield only to actual force. On this the constables advanced to seize him, when his brother and a friend, each taking
an arm, conducted him to the carriage in waiting and he was conveyed to the Tower without opposition. As the escort which guarded the prisoner was returning from the Tower, a numerous mob assembled in Eastcheap, attacked them with stones and brick-bats, which they bore for some time with great patience. At length the attack becoming serious, the military fired, by which two or three lives were lost, and several persons wounded. On two preceding evenings, the mob had assembled round the house of sir Francis, in Piccadilly, committing many outrages in that and the adjacent streets, and the aid of the military became necessary to disperse them. A letter transmitted by the honourable baronet to the speaker, after his receipt of the warrant, and conceived in terms highly disrespectful to the authority of the house of commons, became the subject of animadversion in the house, on the 10th of April, and much was said as to the manner in which it ought to be treated; but ultimately a resolution was passed, to this effect; "that it is the opinion of this house, that the said letter is a high and flagrant breach of the privileges of the house; but it appearing from the report of the serjeant-at-arms, that the warrant of the speaker for the commitment of sir Francis Burdett to the Tower has been executed, this house will not at this time proceed further on the said letter."—On his liberation, sir Francis brought actions at law against the speaker for issuing his warrant, against the serjeant-at-arms for executing it, and against the constable of the Tower for keeping him in custody, in all of which he failed, on the plea of the legality of the warrant. His want of success, however, in these suits, was abundantly made up to him, by the numerous instances of attachment which he received as the champion of popular rights, in the form of addresses to himself, and petitions to the parliament for his liberation. Some of the latter, especially the petition from the electors of Westminster, and that from the free-holders of Middlesex, were so pointedly contemptuous in their forms of expression, that the house refused to receive them. His confinement was not terminated till the pro-rogation of parliament, when a triumphal procession through the city, from the Tower to his house, was planned by his friends; but on maturely deliberating the danger which might possibly ensue from collecting an immense mob in the streets of the metropolis, he prudently disappointed their expectations by returning secretly to Westminster by water.

I need not detain you long with the naval transactions of the year 1810; The isles of Bourbon and France, in the Indian Ocean, which had long been a source of considerable annoyance to the East India trade of this country, were now brought under the dominion of the crown of England. Lord Minto, then governor-general of India, laid a plan for their reduction: and to carry it into effect, a body of Europeans and Seapays, about sixteen hundred of each, sailed from Madras, and being joined by about a thousand more from the island of Rodriguez, all under the command of lieutenant-colonel Keating, accompanied by a fleet of men-of-war and transports, the expedition arrived early in July off the island of Bourbon. Dispositions were made for an attack on St. Denis, the chief town, but it was prevented by an offer to capitulate on honourable terms, which was granted. The other town, St. Paul, was then taken possession of, and the whole island submitted. In the month of November, a body of troops, consisting of eight or ten thousand, partly from India and partly from the Cape of Good Hope, commanded by major general sir John Abercrombie, with a fleet under admiral Bertie, rendezvoused at the Mauritius, or isle of France, and on the 29th, the troops effected a landing. Some skirmishing occurred until the artillery signed on the same day. By the terms of it, the island with a vast quantity of stores and merchandise, five large frigates, and some smaller ships of war, twenty-eight merchantmen, and two English East Indiamen that had been captured, were surrendered. The garrison was allowed to be sent to France, and left afterwards at their own disposal. This was the most valuable of the French possessions to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope. Three frigates were afterwards dispatched to destroy the French batteries at Tame-
tara, on the coast of Madagascar, and to root them out from some other small
nestling places, which they completely effected; and thus there was not re-
mainmg to France, at the beginning of the following year, a slip of land in
either Indies, nor a ship in the Indian seas. To countervail this series of suc-
cesses, however, on the part of the English, the following circumstances must
be placed in the reverse. Prior to the capture of the isle of France, three
French frigates had captured two English East Indiamen and carried them,
as already intimated, into the harbour of Sudest, opposite the isle of Passa;
and with the view of recovering them, four English frigates, namely, the
Sirius, Magicienne, Nereides, and Iphigenia, all on the Cape of Good Hope
station, undertook, in the month of August, to attack the harbour. The
Sirius and Magicienne unfortunately ran aground on shoals not known to
their pilots, and were burnt by their crews. The Nereides having stood in
nearer to the inner harbour, was also stranded, and though exposed to the
fire of the enemy's frigates and batteries on shore, was not surrendered by
its brave commander, captain Willoughby, until every man on board was
either killed or wounded. The Iphigenia, closely blockaded in the isle of Passa,
was afterwards liberated when the island fell into the hands of the English.
In the same quarter of the globe, farther conquests were also made from
the Dutch, the constant sufferers in all quarrels between France and Eng-
land. On the 17th of February, the Dutch settlement of Amboyna, with its
dependent islands, surrendered to a British force from Madras. A party of
seamen, commanded by captain Cole, of the Caroline frigate, on the 8th of
August, having carried a fort on Band Naira, the whole island of Banda, the
principal of the Spice Islands, with its dependencies, though protected by
seven hundred regular troops and three hundred militia, surrendered un-
conditionally, and afforded a rich prize to the captors.

The close of the fiftieth year of the reign of George III, had been cele-
brated in the metropolis as a kind of Jubilee. The king's health, considering
his advanced age, was remarkably good; but he had for some time been
suffering under a heavy domestic affliction, occasioned by the alarming, and,
as it proved, the fatal illness of his youngest daughter, the princess Amelia.
At one of his daily visits to this, his favourite and beloved child, a short
time before her decease, she placed a ring on his finger, enclosing a lock of
her hair, as a farewell token. The agitated and anxious mind of the monarch
sunk beneath the shock; nor was he afterwards found capable of transacting
business. The princess expired on the 2nd of November, 1810. Parliament
had been prorogued on the first of that month, and a commission prepared
by the lord chancellor, under an order in council, for a further prorogation
to the 29th: but as the sign manual was wanting, the two houses met on the
day previously fixed. The illness and inability of the king to open the ses-
sion being announced, an adjournment of a fortnight was unanimously agreed
to, and the members of both houses were summoned on the 15th of November—
this was followed by a second adjournment to the 29th, and again a third to
the 13th of December. The physicians, on being examined before the lords
of the council, and afterwards before a committee of both houses of parlia-
ment, accorded in their firm belief of the king's recovery, grounding this
expectation on the general state of his health, and the encouraging preced-
ents of 1788, 1801, and 1804. At length Mr. Percéval, adopting the mode
of procedure of 1788—9, moved three resolutions, affirming, 1st, The inca-
pacity of the king; 2nd, the rights of the two houses to provide the means
of supplying the defect; and 3dly, the necessity of determining upon the means
of giving the royal assent to a bill for that purpose. These resolutions were
carried in both houses, and the heir apparent was invested with the regency during
his majesty's illness. So strong indeed were the prepossessions at this period re-
specting the king's ultimate recovery, that the leaders of the opposition them-
selves were said to be indifferent to the acceptance of office, at the hazard of being
dismissed at the end of a few weeks or months. The issue, however, showed the
expectation to be ill-founded. (1) We now return to the affairs of the Peninsula.

(1) Annual Register, 1810.—Aikin's Annals of the Reign of George III.—London Ga-
rettes.—Debates in Parliament, &c. &c.
LETTER XII.

Progress of the war in the Peninsula, third Campaign, 1810.—The French reduce Ciudad-Rodrigo, and Almeida, but meet with a repulse at Buzaco.—Admirable conduct of Lord Wellington.—The French severely harried in Spain.—They capture Seville, but fail in the siege of Cadiz.—Proceedings in Catalonia, and Valencia.—Meeting of the Cortes.—Schemes of reform.—Attempted invasion of Sicily by Murat, A. D 1810—11.

At the commencement of the year 1810, the cause of Spanish independence was reduced to so low an ebb that many of its friends in England were disposed to look upon it as forlorn hope. The battle of Ocana had left no force that was competent to oppose the armies of France; and although the supreme junta at Seville published an address to the Spanish nation, calculated to rouse their patriotism and quiet their apprehensions, the forced loan which they required, consisting of half the specie possessed by individuals, with other sacrifices and exertions, were measures which their influence was inadequate to carry into effect.

About the middle of January, the main army of the French, arrived at the foot of the Sierra Morena, and on the 20th and 21st they forced their way through the passes of the mountains, almost without resistance, advancing to Jaen and Cordova, in which places they found large quantities of ordnance and military stores. General Sebastiani with his division then marched from Grenada; and having routed the remnant of the Spanish army at Ocana, entered that city, which, on the 28th, threw open its gates to him. Malaga, in which a popular insurrection had deposed the regular authorities as being favourites of the French usurpation, and the country around, which had risen in arms at the instigation of the priests and monks, was the next object of Sebastiani's operations. With his advanced guard he cleared the fastnesses of the mountains; and encountering the numerous but disorderly mass of opponents on the plain, he routed them with considerable slaughter, and entered the city of Malaga with the fugitives. For some time a contest was kept up in the streets, and from the tops of the houses; but the whole of the inhabitants ultimately made their submission, except a few who found an asylum on board three English ships of war then in the harbour. This was an important conquest, in as much as it completed a line of posts occupied by the French from the Bay of Biscay to the Mediterranean, intersecting the whole of Spain through its capital.

On the 29th of January, Joseph Buonaparte issued a manifesto to the Spanish nation, in which he affected to consider the contest as now decided, and reminded them that it was the interest of France to preserve the integrity and independence of Spain: on the contrary, if she should still remain an enemy, it must be the policy of France to weaken, dismember, and destroy her. Immediately after the issuing of this menace, marshal Victor appeared before Seville, from whence the supreme junta had withdrawn to the isle of Leon near Cadiz, on his approach. That city was surrounded with fortifications of vast extent; but the defence of them would have required an army of sixty thousand men, whereas its garrison did not exceed seven thousand.

To capitulate, therefore, appeared their only resource; and the terms offered to the garrison were, either to enlist into the army of king Joseph, or to lay down their arms and return to their homes. On the 10th of February the gates were opened to the French, who found in the place two hundred pieces of ordnance and a great quantity of arms, ammunition, and provisions.

The junta, who in this crisis of their country's fate, seemed in general to be more attentive to their own individual and personal interests than to the national cause; and who, moreover, were suspected of an intention to enter into a compromise with the usurper, had refused to admit into Seville

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and Cadiz a body of seven thousand British troops from Lisbon, though they allowed them to be disembarked in the bay of Cadiz for the purpose of being stationed in the neighbouring towns. Two English regiments had indeed been admitted into Cadiz; but it was upon a promise that they should, on no account, remain in the fortress! This jealousy occasioned a declaration from the English minister, that if the Spaniards would not consent to admit British troops into Cadiz, his majesty must for the present withdraw from the contest, and leave it to be decided by the military efforts of Spain alone.

On the irruption of the French into Andalusia, general Castanos suspecting the designs of the junta, dispatched a confidential letter to the duke of Albuquerque, then commanding the army in Estremadura, urging him to proceed with all possible celerity to Cadiz. With this he complied, and on February the 3d entered that city with his troops. Preparations for its defence were now made with the greatest activity. All persons capable of bearing arms were enrolled. Magazines were established; and the whole Spanish fleet amounting to twenty ships of the line, was moored in the harbour, under the direction of the English admiral Purvis, who brought in his own squadron. British troops from both Lisbon and Gibraltar were now received into the isle of Leon, and an English re-inforcement was admitted into the Spanish garrison of Ceuta. The suspicions which existed against the supreme junta having occasioned tumults among the people of Cadiz, in which they incurred personal danger, they found it expedient to resign their authority, which before the assembling of the Cortes they transferred to a regency of five persons; at the same time a local junta was formed for the political and military government of the city.

On the 10th of February, marshal Soult sent a summons to the duke of Albuquerque to surrender Cadiz; the latter, however, returned for answer that he was well provided with the means of defence, and was determined to make effectual use of them. A message from the usurper to the junta of Cadiz, of a similar import, produced a reply expressive of their determined attachment to Ferdinand, their rightful sovereign. The siege of Cadiz was therefore prosecuted but its progress was slow, being much impeded by the assaults of the guerilla parties, which now began to take an important part in the war. But a re-inforcement of troops, with heavy artillery, arriving at the French lines, in the month of April, the besiegers obtained possession of Matagorda, a place distant about two miles from the city, on which they erected new works, and from which the vessels entering Puntal were continually fired on. The siege was continued throughout the year 1810, and towards the close of it, the French batteries were able to throw shells into Cadiz, but the distance rendered their effect inconsiderable.

In the mean time military operations were vigorously prosecuted in the southern and eastern parts of Spain. General Blake, who was in Murcia, re-organizing the defeated army of Arzouaga, roused to arms the hardy mountaineers of Alpujarras in Granada; and a detachment of Spanish troops under general Lucy, embarking at Algeciras, marched to Ronda where a French force of six thousand men was stationed. The latter took a sudden panic and fled in disorder, leaving their arms and ammunition, which were distributed among the mountaineers, and, for a considerable time, a sanguinary warfare was kept up between them and the enemy; they were, however, ultimately driven to their fastnesses but not subdued.

The insurrection now spread to the mountains of the borders of Murcia, and in April, general Sebastiani entered that province, obliging the Spaniards, after a number of petty actions to retire to Alicat. A combined expedition consisting of Spaniards and English, sailed in August from Cadiz to Moguer, a town near the sea in the province of Seville, at which a French division was posted. The enemy was driven from the town and pursued; but upon the intelligence of a re-inforcement advancing from Seville, the troops re-imbarked and returned to Cadiz. An enterprise against Malaga, undertaken from Gibraltar, and commanded by lord Blaney, completely failed and his lordship was taken prisoner. On the eastern side of Spain, where marshall Suchet commanded, the strong fortress of Ostalric,
was taken early in the year, the Spanish general O'Donnel being defeated under its walls. Lerida, Maquinensa and Tortosa, were captured in succession; but Valencia, which was once more invested, made a furious sally upon the assailants who withdrew in great confusion. Though the regular armies of Spain seemed no longer in existence, the war of the Guerrillas, or armed peasantry, was carried on with implacable animosity and increasing effect. They everywhere attacked the detached parties of the enemy and harassed all the movements of the invaders. They intercepted their convoys, their escorts, and dispatches; so that the French could at no time, by the mere capture of towns and fortresses, be said to be in possession of the surrounding country. The regular forces of the kingdom, too, however dispersed were still numerous; and, though Spain in this war had produced no Gonzalvo, it abounded in valiant and active officers.

The most interesting events of the campaign occurred on the side of Portugal. It was evidently the grand object of Napoleon to acquire the entire possession of that country. With this view it had been determined to commence with the reduction of the strong fortress of Ciudad-Rodrigo, and Almeida, the situation of which being on the frontier between the two kingdoms, would give them the command of a free military communication from one to the other. As soon, therefore, as the capture of Oviedo and Astorga had set at liberty a part of the French troops employed to keep in check the Spaniards of the northern provinces, marshal Ney began to invest Ciudad-Rodrigo. In the mean time Massena arrived from France, to take the command of the army destined for the conquest of Portugal, amounting to about eighty thousand men. The siege of Ciudad-Rodrigo was long obstructed by various impediments, one of which was the contiguity of the combined army of English and Portuguese under lord Wellington. At length, in the middle of June, the trenches were opened, Massena having arrived at the French camp, while Ney commanded the troops on the right bank of the Agueda, and Junot those on the left. A formidable cannonade was kept up on both sides, until on July the 10th, the explosion of a mine having made a practicable breach, which the besiegers were preparing to mount, the garrison surrendered at discretion, and about seven thousand men became prisoners of war. Almeida was next invested, and the trenches were opened about the middle of August. It was garrisoned by five thousand men, partly English and partly Portuguese, commanded by British officers, at the head of whom was brigadier general Cox. The vigour of the defence would in all probability have long retarded its fall, had not a bomb alighted on the principal magazine of powder, which occasioned a terrible and most destructive explosion, involving the whole town in flames. Massena withheld his fire and sent a flag of truce offering terms of capitulation, which were acceded to on the 27th of August. The garrison were allowed the honours of war, but remained prisoners, except the Portuguese militia who were permitted to return home, but many of them entered into the French service.

A vigorous contest for the possession of Portugal was now to commence. Lord Wellington, to whom its defence was committed, had found it advisable to retire from Badajos, during the month of December, to the north of the Tagus. In February 1810, the English and Portuguese troops were posted at a number of different points in Portugal, and its frontier on the side of Spain, lord Wellington having his head quarters during the two following months at Visau. While the siege of Ciudad-Rodrigo was in progress, the principal post of the allied army was at Guarda, from which place the French lines might be descried, but nothing of importance could be undertaken for its relief. After the surrender of Almeida, lord Wellington concentrated the different divisions of the allied army, and commenced his retreat towards Lisbon. He had formed a defensive plan, to which he steadily adhered.

As the French force under Massena was much superior, at least in the number of troops on which reliance could be placed, lord Wellington determined to avoid general actions; but to take advantage of every opportunity of retarding the enemy's advance by occupying strong positions. At the same time he put fully into effect, the efficacious but severe policy, of ren-
dering all the country in the line of march entirely hospitable to the French, by stripping it of all its inhabitants, with the whole of their moveable property, and destroying the rest. He therefore issued a proclamation, dated August the 4th, by which all magistrates and persons holding offices under government, who should remain in towns and villages after receiving orders from any military officers to depart, and all persons whatever who should hold communications with the enemy, were declared traitors to their country, and as such subjected to punishment.

On the 21st of September, the whole force under Massena was concentrated at Viseu, where it halted for a time; during which lord Wellington passed to the right bank of the Mondego, and occupied with his centre and left wing, the Sierra Buzaco, which extends to that river. Massena, on arriving in front of his position, on the 26th, resolved upon an attack, which he put in execution on the following day. The French rushed up the heights with great courage in various parts, and one division reached the summit of the ridge. They were, however, met with equal resolution at the point of the bayonet, and were finally repulsed with great loss, two thousand men being left on the field of battle. The loss on the part of the English and Portuguese was also considerable. As the French had only sustained a repulse, Massena immediately turned the British position, making a circuitous march upon Coimbra. Lord Wellington, however, anticipated his object, and taking a more direct route arrived there before him: but finding that the place afforded no facilities of defence, he continued his retreat to the strong lines of Torres Vedras, distant about thirty miles from Lisbon, carrying with him almost all the population of the intervening district, including that of Coimbra, with their portable effects, and much individual distress certainly was the unavoidable consequence of the removal. The sufferings of the poor Portuguese were however alleviated by liberal contributions in the capital, and by aids, both public and private, from England. Massena, who closely followed the steps of the retreating army, having reconnoitred the position of the allies, and finding them admirably fortified and connected, contented himself with strengthening his own position, and collecting provisions for his army, which soon became very scarce. His quarters, too, were straitened by the Portuguese militia which occupied the greatest part of the north-west, and a party of which commanded by colonel Trant, had entered Coimbra and taken five thousand prisoners chiefly sick and wounded. Massena now made Santarem his head quarters, and extended his positions along the right bank of the Tagus, and from thence to Zeezere, as far as the borders of Upper Beira. He received from Spain re-inforcements of troops and convoys of provisions; but he was subject to difficulties and privations, from which lord Wellington's army, with the capital behind it, and the sea open to him for supplies of every kind, was happily exempted. Such, at the close of the year, was the posture of the two great armies which were to decide the fate of Portugal.

The Spanish Cortes, so long expected and so long delayed, at length assembled at Cadiz, on the 24th of September 1810. The members were elected by the provinces and cities, in a manner which bore an equal regard to population and property; and the elections took place even in the districts of which the fortresses were in the possession of the French. The first measure of the Spanish legislature was to swear allegiance to Ferdinand VII. as their true and lawful sovereign; declaring the renunciations which had taken place at Bayonne to be totally null and void as having been extorted by violence and without the consent of the nation. The next step was to appoint a regency, consisting of general Blake, the most popular of their commanders, Don Pedro Aguer, a naval officer high in reputation; and Don Gabriel Cisneros, governor of Carthagena, and in them was vested the executive power.

In the instructions published early in the year by the supreme junta, the primary objects which the nation had in view in assembling the Cortes are said to be "the salvation of the country, the restoration of the sovereign, "and the re-establishment of an ameliorated constitution, worthy of the
"Spanish nation." And the Cortes soon evinced that they understood both their duties and their rights—and knowing were resolved to maintain them. Great discretion was, nevertheless, necessary in the exercise of these rights. By one of their first decrees, the press was declared free; "except that all writings on matters of religion shall remain subject to the same control they have been under since the council of Trent;" thus, from the necessity of circumstances, associating religious tyranny with political liberty! Yet, in no country were there to be found persons of more enlightened patriotism than many of the Spanish ecclesiastics; and in the discussions which preceded the decree establishing the freedom of the press, Torrero, an individual of that class, had distinguished himself by a most eloquent speech in support of the measure.

The conduct of the supreme junta respecting America had not been characterized by either wisdom or justice. Soon after the commencement of the war between Great Britain and Spain, at the close of the year 1804, the celebrated general Miranda, an American by birth, had applied to the British government for an armed force which might both induce and enable the Spanish colonies in South America to emancipate themselves from the dominion of the mother-country; but not meeting with encouragement in England he embarked for the United States, and, by great exertion, succeeded in fitting out a small armament from New York. From thence he proceeded with some hundreds of his adventurous followers to the province of the Caraccas, where he erected the standard of independence; but no symptoms of that enthusiasm which he expected, he was compelled to retire to the island of Trinidad.

When the French armies invaded Spain in 1808, all the Spanish provinces in South America, had proclaimed Ferdinand VII. with great zeal and unanimity. At Buenos Ayres only a French agent was received by governor Linieres, who exhorted the people to imitate the example of their fore-fathers during the war of the succession, by awaiting the fate of the mother-country; but this temporizing policy was counteracted by the spirit of the inhabitants. As, however, the affairs of Spain soon began to wear a gloomy aspect, the Spanish American colonies were perceived to be agitated by two opposing parties—the royalists, who adhered to the government acting in the name of Ferdinand VII.,—and the republicans who fought for independence on the plan of the United States. The latter gained ground in proportion to the progress of the French armies in the Peninsula; and on the 19th of April 1810, the flourishing province of the Caraccas, with the surrounding districts, formed a union, under the name of the republic of Venezuela; and general Miranda was invited to take the command of their forces. Desirous of ascertaining the sentiments of the British government, application was made for that purpose; and a public declaration of his Britannic majesty’s intentions was communicated by the earl of Liverpool, in a letter dated the 29th of June 1810, stating "that his majesty must discourage every step tending to separate the Spanish provinces in America from the mother-country; but if Spain should be compelled to submit to the yoke of France, he should feel it his duty to afford every assistance to those provinces, in rendering them independent of French Spain." But the supreme junta, even when besieged in the isle of Leon, maintained the haughty language of sovereignty, and treated the republic of Venezuela as in a state of rebellion.

In the beginning of July, Murat, the new king of Naples, collected, on the Calabrian coast, a powerful armament for the purpose of invading Sicily. Sir John Stewart, who commanded the British forces in the Mediterranean, made the best preparations in his power for resisting the threatened attack. He disposed all his troops in a line along the shore, with a chain of communications, guarding the whole coast by means of batteries and gun-boats. In the narrowest parts of the Straits a constant firing was kept up on both sides, which was rather a spectacle than a serious conflict; but in repeated attacks upon the Neapolitan flotilla, a number of vessels were taken, destroyed, or dispersed. On the 18th of September, a debarkation of three thousand five hundred Neapolitans and Corsicans was effected near the Taro; but two
British regiments took nine hundred of them prisoners, compelling the rest to retreat to their gun-boats. On the 2nd of October, Murat proclaimed the expedition to Sicily adjourned, the experiment having sufficiently proved that the enemy's frigates could not obstruct the passage when seriously attempted. (1)

LETTER XIII.

Progress of hostilities in the Peninsula, A. D. 1811—12. Fourth Campaign.—Siege of Cadiz.—Battle of Barossa.—Retreat of the French from Santarem.—Siege of Badajoz.—Capture of Tavera by the French.—Investment of Valencia.—Proceedings of the Cortes.—State of affairs in France.—Napoleon visits Holland.—Glance at Austria,—Germany,—Sweden,—Denmark and Russia.

The Peninsula of Spain and Portugal still continued the theatre, my dear Son, on which the contest for the liberties of Europe was maintained; and it was carried on with vigour but with various success. The campaign commenced at a very early season of the year. On the 2nd of January, the French marshal Suchet, made himself master of Tortosa, a place which might have held out much longer, since its situation at the mouth of the Ebro afforded it great facilities for receiving supplies. On the 23rd of January, marshal Soult took possession of Olivenza; and on the same day the Spanish cause sustained a great loss in the death of the marquis de Romana, who expired suddenly at his head quarters at Cartaxo. The command of the army now devolved on general Mendizabel, who had scarcely put his troops in motion when he was defeated by Soult with great loss.

This was a very inauspicious opening of the campaign, but the success of the French arms soon afterwards received a check, on the heights of Barossa, near the isle of Leon. During the whole of the preceding year, marshal Victor had been occupied with the siege of Cadiz, but without effect, and even without any rational prospect of its reduction, as its insular situation, united to the continent by a long and narrow isthmus, rendered it inaccessible to an enemy which had not a fleet to attack it from the sea; and the width of the harbour secured it in a great measure from sustaining any material injury by a cannonade or bombardment from the opposite shores. On the 25th of February, an armament was sent out from Cadiz, under the command of sir Thomas Graham, who disembarked a body of English, Spaniards, and Portuguese, at Algeciras. The main object of the expedition was to attack the French army employed in the siege; and the landing being effected on the 28th, the allied army arrived on the morning of March the 5th, on the ridge of Barossa, about four miles to the southward of the river of Santo Pedro. The allied force scarcely amounted to six thousand men, of which about one half were British; while Victor had eight thousand troops in a high state of discipline and equipment opposed to them. In this situation, however, lieutenant-general Graham, and the Spanish general Las Panas, determined on an attack. In the commencement of the action, a well conducted and vigorous attack on the rear of the enemy's lines, near Santo Pedro, by the van-guard of the Spaniards under brigadier-general Ladrizabel, opened the communication with the isle of Leon. This being effected, general Graham moved down from the position of Barossa to the Torre de Bermessa, about half-way to Santo Pedro, in order to secure a communication across the river, over which a bridge had been recently thrown. While making this movement he received intelligence that the enemy had appeared in force on the plains of Chichiana and

(1) Scott's Life of Napoleon, Vol. vii.—Southery's History of the War in the Peninsula, Vol. i.—Recollections in the Peninsula, by an Officer.—Edinburgh Annual Register, 1810.
were advancing towards the heights of Barossa. In consequence of this information, and considering these heights as the key to Santo Pedro, he immediately ordered a counter march, with the view of supporting the troops left for their defence. But before this corps could completely extricate itself from the wood, the troops on the ridge of Barossa were observed to be retiring, while the left wing of the French army was rapidly advancing up the heights, their right being posted on the plain at the edge of the wood.

General Graham, aware that a retreat in the face of an enemy so superior in numbers must expose the allies to great danger, and relying on the courage of his troops, notwithstanding the inferiority of their number and the advantage which the enemy possessed in point of position, resolved on a general and immediate attack. A battery of ten pieces of cannon, under the direction of major Duncan, opened on the enemy's centre. Brigadier-general Dilkes, with a brigade supported by colonel Wheatley's brigade and three companies of the cold-stream guards under lieutenant-colonel Jackson, formed on the left and right. The infantry being thus hastily arranged, the artillery advanced to a more formidable position, and kept up a heavy and well-directed fire. The right of the allies attacked general Rufin's division on the heights, while lieutenant Barnard's battalion and a detachment of Portuguese were engaged with the enemy's tirailleurs. But general Laval's division, notwithstanding the havoc made by major Duncan's battery, advanced in imposing masses, and opened a destructive fire of musquetry. The left wing of the allies now advanced, keeping up a constant fire; and a most determined charge of the 67th regiment, and the three companies of guards, supported by all the rest of the left wing, decided the fate of general Laval's division. The eagle of one of the regiments of light infantry was taken by major Gough. The right wing of the allies was equally successful. The French met brigadier-general Dilkes on the ascent of the ridge, and an obstinate conflict ensued; but the undaunted bravery and steady perseverance of the British troops surmounted every obstacle, and generale Rufin's division being driven from the heights left behind them two pieces of artillery. In less than an hour and a half from the commencement of the action the French began to retreat; but the exhausted state of the allies prevented any pursuit. The loss of the enemy on this occasion was about three thousand men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, with one eagle and six pieces of cannon, their ammunition wagons, and a number of horses. General Bellegarde, chief of the staff, and aid-de-camp of marshal Victor, and several other officers were killed, besides a number that were wounded and taken prisoners, among whom were the general of division, Rufin, who soon after died of his wounds. The loss of the allies amounted to about twelve hundred in killed and wounded, but among these were unfortunately a number of excellent officers. Of all the actions that had hitherto taken place in the Peninsula, this was one of the most glorious to the British arms; but it was productive of but little advantage. General Graham had gained a brilliant victory, but finding it impossible to procure supplies, he withdrew the next day across the Santo Pedro, and afterwards returned to Cadiz.

About the same time that the British arms were so successful on the heights of Barossa, Massena commenced his retreat from Santarem, where he had never been able to attack lord Wellington with any prospect of success. Scarcity of provisions at length obliged him to retire. Behind him he had only a barren and exhausted country, with a hostile population, circumstances which greatly distressed his army; while the British general, having the Tagus on his right, and Lisbon in his rear, was in a commanding position which ensured ample supplies. Massena, in retreating through Portugal towards the frontier, was closely followed by lord Wellington, whose van attacked the rear of the French, on the 11th of March, and gained a considerable advantage. But this success on the part of the allies was ill compensated by the fall of Badajos, which surrendered on the same day to the duke of Dalmatia, after a vigorous resistance.

The check which the French armies received in the Peninsula, must, nevertheless, have been extremely mortifying to their leaders. Massena, on
entering Portugal had indulged in the most fantastic vaunting of his determination to "plant his eagles on the shores of Lisbon, and drive the leopards into the sea." But his retreat from Santarem, where he left behind him a part of his heavy artillery, was a retrograde movement little expected by him, and, though conducted with military skill, it is said to have been distinguished "by barbarities rarely equaled, and never surpassed." Lord Wellington accused him of acts of cruelty and wanton mischief which would disgrace a horde of savages. In the haste of retreat the French army abandoned their wounded, destroying most of their baggage and other encumbrances. They retired till the close of March a strong post at Guarda, from which, on the approach of the allied army, they retired to Sabugal on the Coa. Their position on that river, was attacked by the allies in force, on the 3d of April, and carried after a sharp action. On the following day, the French army entered Spain, and continued its retreat across the Aqueda.

Lord Wellington now made arrangements for the blockade of Almeida, and employed the interval of active operations in visiting the corps under the command of marshal Beresford, in Spanish Estremadura, consisting of an united force of British and Portuguese troops. After repulsing an attack from the French on the 7th of April, near Olivenza, he took up a position whence he could invest both that place and Badajoz. Olivenza surrendered to the marshal on the 15th; and lord Wellington, having had an interview with him, during which they established the siege of Badajoz, returned to his army. The siege of this latter place was carried on with vigour until the 12th of May, when the re-advance of marshal Soult was announced by general Blake, who joined the army under Wellington, with a body of troops from Cadiz. At a council of war then held, the three commanders resolved to give battle to the enemy. With this view the siege of Badajoz was raised, and the army took a strong position fronting the banks of the Albuera, and extending to the village of that name, on the summit of a gradual ascent from the river.

On the 16th of May, at an early hour, the French passed the stream in great force, intending to attack the Spaniards posted under general Blake on the right, and to turn the wing of the allies; and after an obstinate resistance, they succeeded in gaining the heights which commanded the whole position. But while the most strenuous efforts were making to dislodge them, and the English brigades headed by general Stewart were actually charging with fixed bayonets, they were themselves charged by a body of Polish cavalry lancers in the rear, who did terrible execution. At this critical moment, however, sir Lowry Cole, bringing up the reserve, the French were driven from the heights with great slaughter. Their attack on the village and the bridge was also successfully repelled by baron Alton, of the German legion, which, with the division of general Hamilton, defended that post; and the whole French army, after six hours fighting, repassed the Albuera with some precipitation, though a deficiency of cavalry prevented the allies from pursuing them. "Never," says marshal Beresford, "did "troops more gloriously maintain the honour of their respective countries." General Stewart, after being twice wounded, refused to quit the field. General Houghton, leading his brigade to the charge, fell at their head. The Portuguese, under general Hamilton, evinced, according to marshal Beresford's account, the utmost steadfastness and courage, and rivalled the British in their manoeuvring. The Spanish generals Blake, Castanos, and Ballasteros,信号ized their valour and intrepidity; and marshal Soult himself is said to have acknowledged, "that in the long course of his military service, he had never before witnessed so desperate and sanguinary a "contest."

It is worthy of remark, that, in this engagement, no less than six different nations were at once shedding their blood in mortal combat—namely, British, Spaniards, Portuguese, Germans, French, and Poles! The French army consisted of near thirty thousand men, of which number at least four thousand were cavalry. The allies were superior in infantry; but their cavalry did not exceed two thousand. The total loss in killed and wounded
amassed to about six thousand men on the part of the allies; that of the French must have been still greater. Before day break of the 18th, marshal Soult commenced his retrograde march to Seville.

The siege of Badajoz now recommenced under the superintendence of lord Wellington; but the fortress was of great strength, and the garrison, though with little prospect of relief, defended the place with extraordinary bravery. In two assaults on fort Christoval, the allies were repulsed with great slaughter. In the mean time, Soult, in conjunction with marshal Marmont, who had now succeeded Massena, was collecting a force for its relief; and on their approach, lord Wellington, finding himself much inferior in strength, retired to the right bank of the Guadiana, from whence, after a short interval, he removed his wearied troops, during the sultry heats of summer, into cantonments in the lower Beira. Towards the end of September, the British troops again took the field, threatening the fortress of Ciudad-Rodrigo; but before lord Wellington could complete his preparations, general Marmont collected a force of sixty thousand men with the view of turning the left of his position, and either cutting off his retreat, or forcing him to battle. His skilful opponent, however, aware of his design, made a timely movement beyond the Coa, on which Marmont withdrew towards Salamanca. During these operations, general Hill, who had been detached from the main army and joined by a Spanish force, on the 28th of October, surprised and totally defeated a corps of the French under general Girard, at Arroyo del Molino, with a loss on the part of the enemy of two thousand men, with their artillery and baggage.

In Spain, the province of Catalonia was the theatre of the most active military operations, at the close of the last, and the beginning of this year (1811). The capture of Tortosa, by the French army under marshal Suchet, has been already noticed. After the reduction of that fortress, Suchet sent a division against Fort Balanguez, at the mouth of the Ebro, and on the 9th of January, it was carried by assault. It was then determined to undertake the siege of Tarragona, and, as a preliminary step, the whole Italian division of the French army made an attack on the Spanish general Sarsfield, January the 15th, but the assailants were defeated with considerable loss, and this check deferred for some months the siege of that city. During this interval, the fortress of Figueras was recovered by a body of Catalonians who were secretly admitted into the place through a stratagem of some of their countrymen whom the French had forced into their service. The whole French garrison were taken in their beds without a shot being fired.

About the end of April, Suchet marched his army against Tarragona, resolved on the reduction of this important sea-port: and on the 5th of May he completed its investment except on the sea side. A furious assault made on the 21st, after a great slaughter on both sides, placed the lower part of the Town, into which the besiegers had got access through the capture of an out-work, in the power of the enemy. The garrison, however, still held out, until, on the 28th, a practicable breach being made, the assailants rushed in, and almost instantly carried the place. To such a pitch had their fury been roused by the long and determined resistance which had been made, that every outrage and cruelty suffered in a town taken by storm was the melancholy lot of the inhabitants of Tarragona. Multitudes endeavoured to escape into the country; and many, particularly the women and children, fled in boats to the British vessels. Amidst this confusion, the ruthless enemy perpetrated every species of outrage, on persons of both sexes, and of all ages! Suchet, in his letter to the minister of war, says that nine thousand seven hundred and eighty men were made prisoners, and that five thousand were killed or drowned after the entrance of his troops into the city. But the account given of this dreadful disaster, by the Spaniards themselves, makes the number that was butchered by the French to be six thousand, and the prisoners about five thousand. Suchet coolly remarks, that this terrible example, as he terms it, will be long remembered in Spain. And, doubtless, it will be remembered as an indelible disgrace to his character. By this conquest, the
French became possessed of the whole coast of Catalonia; and Suchet, marching into the interior of that province, dispersed the parties which the marquis of Campoverde had raised by his exertions.

In the month of September, Suchet entered the province of Valencia, and on the 27th took possession of Murviedro. He then opened trenches against its fortress, and made several attempts to carry it, which were repulsed with considerable loss. In the mean time general Blake collected all the disposable force in that quarter for its relief. He occupied the heights above the besieging army, where, on the 25th of October he was attacked, and after a well sustained engagement, was defeated with a loss, according to the French account, of six thousand five hundred men in killed, wounded and prisoners. On the following day the fortress of Murviedro capitulated, and its garrison remained prisoners of war. Suchet then advanced with part of his army to the suburbs of the city of Valencia, and made preparations for the siege of that capital. On the 26th of November, he attacked general Blake's protecting army, the cavalry of which being routed, the infantry took shelter in their entrenched camp. This was afterwards forced; and the defenders after losing their artillery and baggage, found no other retreat but into the city itself. On the 25th of December, Valencia was invested on every side; but its fall was protracted till the following year.

In the beginning of the year 1811, the Cortes issued a proclamation, declaring that they would not recognize any act of Ferdinand VII. while deprived of his liberty. In April they passed a decree abolishing the use of torture, and referred to a committee a motion for the abolition of the slave trade. Other proceedings of that assembly, tending to the removal of old grievances, were, the admission of plebeians, as well as nobles, into the military colleges: the application to the use of the military hospitals of sums destined for the use of religious fraternities; and the abolition of jurisdictional seignories and vassalage. A principal object of their attention was the formation of a constitution; and a committee having been appointed for drawing up a plan, two sections were read at a public sitting on the 19th of August, and ordered to be printed. The preliminary article ran thus: "The sovereignty resides essentially in the nation; and therefore the right belongs to it, exclusively, of establishing its fundamental laws, and of adopting the form of government which it judges most suitable." This produced a long debate, the result of which was, that the first clause of the article was voted by a large majority; the second was rejected. The doctrine of the sovereignty of the nation, however, met with opposition from the royal council, which circulated a paper expressly disavowing it; in consequence of which the Cortes instituted a criminal proceeding against such persons as concurred in that measure, and in the mean time suspended them from their functions.

The emperor Napoleon, during the summer of this year, was chiefly intent upon his grand project of totally excluding the British commerce from the continent of Europe, and of raising a navy which might in time contend with that of England for the dominion of the sea. On the 1st of January, the annexation of the great commercial city of Hamburg to the French empire, was announced by the display of the French flag, and a public proclamation. The plan of a marine conscription was, by Napoleon's order, presented to the senate, and, of course, received its ratification. It consisted in converting the military into a naval conscription, throughout the thirty maritime departments of the empire. For the purpose of recruiting the navy, youths from the age of thirteen to sixteen were to be selected and trained in the necessary manoeuvres; and a decree was passed for placing ten thousand conscripts of each of the classes of 1813, 14, 15, and 16, at the disposal of the minister of the marine. At the same time, seamen were collected from every part of the empire, to man the fleet at Antwerp. In the spirit of forcing even nature to conform to his will, this extraordinary man issued a decree enjoining the culture of beet-root and wood, to a large extent, to supply the place of the sugar-cane and indigo plant: thus hoping to supersede the necessity of colonial importation.

On the 17th of June, a French national ecclesiastical council was opened
at Paris in great form and state. Its object was to supply the numerous vacancies in the episcopal order, which had been occasioned by the peremptory refusal of the pope to induct the bishops of the emperor's nomination. It was consequently declared in the exposit of the state of the empire, that the concordat between France and the See of Rome no longer existed; and that the fate of episcopacy would henceforth be attached to the deliberations of the council of Paris. But uncontrolled as the will of Napoleon was in all other matters, it appears that he found it necessary to exercise a little management with regard to ecclesiastical affairs. With a view, probably, to conciliate the affections of his new subjects in Holland, and to accelerate his maritime preparations, he set out, in the month of September, accompanied by his amiable consort, Maria Louisa, on a tour to the coast of France, and thence to the Netherlands and Holland. At Boulogne he ordered his flotilla to make an attack on an English frigate lying off that port, which terminated only in his mortification. He proceeded to view all the works and shipping at Ostend, Flushing, and Antwerp, in which visit he is said to have found much to flatter his pride and elevate his hopes—not wholly unalloyed, however, with some mortifying circumstances. At Amsterdam, decorated with the title of the third city of the empire, he was received with all the demonstrations of joy and attachment which are so easily procured to gratify the feelings of a present master; and from the imperial palace of that city he issued a string of decrees to regulate the internal government of Holland, the intent of which was to assimilate its institutions in the most perfect manner to those of "the great nation," in which that republican country was now merged. During this time, and after his return to Paris, Napoleon was actively employed in negotiating with the northern powers, the consequences of which soon began to develope themselves. The year closed with an immediate call for a hundred and twenty thousand conscripts for the year 1812.

The humiliated court of Vienna was principally occupied at this time, with efforts for the restoration of its dilapidated resources; one of the means of doing which was the sale of ecclesiastical estates to a considerable extent. The diet of Hungary was opened in August; and in the beginning of September the emperor repaired thither, and read a paper containing the proposals of government relating to matters of revenue and finance. Some opposition beginning to manifest itself, a declaration was made on the part of the emperor, that he would not suffer any resistance to be made to his measures from his Hungarian States. His subserviency to the projects of his son-in-law, Napoleon, was evinced by a note to the stadtholder of Austria, directing that a free passage, and all necessary supplies should be granted to the French troops through his territories. In other parts of Germany, every thing was submissive to the will of the tyrant. The duchy of Oldenburg was annexed to his northern empire without opposition, on no other plea than that of convenience. Prussia was rendered almost entirely dependent; and its unfortunate sovereign was compelled to place a considerable body of troops under French command on the coast of the Baltic, and to join the confederation of the Rhine. This league, the master-piece of Napoleon's policy, was now become of vast consequence from its extent of territory and population. Its contingent of troops was fixed at one hundred and eighteen thousand, six hundred and eighty two men; and this body in the autumn was taken into the pay of France, and an army composed from it was assembled in the vicinity of Mentz.

The political state of Sweden, at this critical juncture, was of a very undecided form. The leading part in the administration, taken by a Frenchman as declared successor to the crown, naturally induced the expectation that French interests would predominate, and the declaration of war against England was apparently the result of this influence; yet the war between the two countries was rather nominal than real. The war was unpopular with the Swedish nation; and the crown prince himself began to shew marked indications of being more swayed by the consideration of his future sovereignty, than by attachment to a former master. In March, the king
issued a proclamation signifying, that, on account of ill-health he had found it necessary for the present to withdraw from public affairs, and that he had transferred the royal authority to the crown-prince. A conscription of twenty thousand men was now levied, but it was attended with insurrections among the peasantry in various parts, which were not quelled without bloodshed. Sir James Saumarez, who had the command of the English fleet in the Baltic, entered into a negotiation with the Swedish government relative to some detained ships with colonial produce, from which a mutual desire of being upon more amicable terms became apparent. And the conduct of the British admiral, in not only allowing coasting vessels to pass unmolested, but affording them protection, was highly satisfactory to the Swedish nation.

The hostility of Denmark towards England continued without abatement; and the proximity of the power of France, in consequence of the German annexations, necessarily rendered her subservient to French politics. A great proportion of the Danish seamen were allowed to enter into French service, their chief employment at home being confined to the manning of privateers and gun-boats against the British trade. The most considerable enterprise undertaken by the Danes during this year, 1811, was an attempt to recover the island of Anholt from the English. On the 27th of March, a Danish flotilla, with troops on board, constituting a force of about four thousand men, landed on the island, and made an attack on the English fortifications, garrisoned by only three hundred and fifty men. Their operations, however, were so ill directed, that, after repeated efforts, in which no want of courage appeared, they were repulsed with the loss of their commander, and many killed and wounded. Five hundred of them, in one body, unable to get back to their boats, were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war.

Russia continued throughout this year to waste its population and revenues in a contest with the Ottoman Porte, which was carried on with vigorous efforts on both sides. At the close of the year, the Russian arms had decidedly obtained that superiority which skill and discipline must always eventually obtain over blind valour. The emperor of Russia might at his pleasure disengage himself from the burden of a war of ambition; but difficulties were now impending over him of a more serious kind. He was now the only continental sovereign capable of asserting his independence against that colossal power, which aimed at nothing less than rendering all Europe subservient to its views; and his determination to maintain that dignified situation was now to be put to the proof. The scheme which Napoleon had formed for ruining the finances of England, by cutting off her communication with the continent of Europe, required an universal concurrence in the means proposed; and he had so far effected his purpose that he could not brook any obstacle to its completion. But the English trade with Russia was too important to that empire to be readily renounced. Many of the nobility derived a great share of their revenues from the sale of products of which Great Britain was the principal market, and its connexions with the mercantile interests of Russia were extremely intimate. On this account English manufacturers had never been committed to the flames in that country, as in many others, and British colonial produce was admitted into the Russian ports in neutral bottoms. The presence of an English fleet in the Baltic during the summer could not fail to occasion some relaxation of the system of commercial exclusion, which gave umbrage to the ruler of France. Other causes of difference subsisted between the courts of Petersburg and Paris, and the whole year passed in discussions between them, some of which bore the aspect of immediate hostility. On the whole, it no longer remained doubtful, that the temper of the Russian monarch at the close of the year 1811, was more friendly towards England than towards France; and a cloud was obviously gathering which in the ensuing year burst forth with great fury.(1)

(1) Southey’s History of the war in the Peninsula—Narrative of the Campaign of the loyal Lusitanian legion, and of the military operations in Spain and Portugal, by an Officer.—Sir Walter Scott’s Life of Napoleon, vol. vii.—New Annual Register, 1811.—Dr. Rink’s Annals of George III. vol. ii.
LETTER XIV.

Affairs of Great Britain, A. D. 1811—1812.—Parliamentary discussions on the king's indisposition.—Turbulent conduct of the Irish Catholics.—Reinstatement of the Duke of York, as commander-in-chief.—Lord Sidmouth defeated in his attempt to restrict the limits of the toleration act.—Affairs of Great Britain and the United States.—Naval operations.—Disturbances in the manufacturing districts of England.—Attempt on the part of the Prince Regent to conciliate the Whigs.—Assassination of Mr. Spencer Perceval.—Negotiations for a new administration.

The melancholy situation of the monarch had once more rendered the appointment of a regency necessary to the regular administration of the affairs of government. The existing ministry, willing to believe that the king's incapacity would not be permanent, continued to govern in his name for eight weeks, before any parliamentary arrangements were made for the critical occasion. The house of commons then voted, that it was their right and duty, in concert with the peers, to provide the means of supplying the deficiency of the executive power. When the lords were requested to concur in this resolution, and also in a vote for adjusting the means of giving the royal assent to a bill of temporary regulation, the duke of Sussex took up the subject with considerable spirit, and censured the ministers for their audacious and protracted usurpation of the functions of sovereignty. The duke of York also condemned the intention of applying the great seal to a bill without the king's sanction and authority; but their lordships finally agreed to the proposition of the commons. Mr. Perceval suggested the propriety of restricting the regent's power, while he expressed his conviction of the expediency of admitting the prince of Wales to the temporary exercise of the royal authority. To this restrictive scheme also a strong opposition was raised, as being both unconstitutional and impolitic, and with all his exertions, the minister had great difficulty in carrying the measure. In the progress of the scheme, Mr. Perceval and his colleagues found themselves in a minority, when they wished to grant political power to the queen, by allowing her to appoint or remove all the officers of the household; but she was permitted to retain the care of the royal person, and to receive the assistance of a council. In several divisions which took place in the house of lords, the prince's cause was carried by a small majority; but his adversaries gained the chief points at which they aimed. An opinion generally prevailed among them, that he would not retain the king's advisers in the cabinet, and they therefore resolved to diminish the power and patronage of their expected successors.

During the progress of the debates relating to the regency, in the house of lords, earl Grey had taken notice of the circumstance of the king's having been allowed to perform some of the functions of royalty in the year 1804, at a time when his mental malady still rendered him an object of medical control; and a censure on the lord chancellor Eldon was moved on that account, but it was negatived. The subject was again brought forward by Mr. Whitbread, on the 25th of February, 1811, who prefaced a motion respecting it by stating the facts of the case. The malady of the king, he said, was announced to the public on the 15th of February, 1804, and bulletins continued to be issued until March the 22nd, but it was not till April the 23rd, that his complete recovery was declared by a personal attendance at council, yet, on the 5th of March, lord Eldon mentioned that he had been with the king on the 4th and 5th of that month, and having explained to him the nature of a bill then pending for alienating certain crown lands in favour of the duke of York, his majesty had commanded him to signify his consent to that bill. On the 9th of March, a commission signed by the king was issued,
and the chancellor being asked whether he had personal knowledge of the state of the king's health, declared he was aware of what he was doing, and would take upon himself all the responsibility. Lord Sidmouth, also, on the 26th of March, brought down a message from the king. On these facts, Mr. Whitbread founded a motion for a committee to examine the lords' journals for evidence of the physicians respecting his majesty's health in 1804, and to report the same to the house.

Lord Castlereagh rose in defence of the chancellor, and declared his readiness to share with him the responsibility of the transaction referred to. The defence turned upon the unanimous declaration of the physicians as to the king's competency to transact business on February the 27th, though none was submitted to him until the 5th of March. On the 9th, it was necessary to obtain his sign-manual to the mutiny-act, which could not be deferred without danger. In these and other instances, the physicians had sanctioned the application to him. Mr. Whitbread, in reply, pledged himself to make out the entire charge, if opportunity were given him of cross examining the physicians; but his motion was negatived. The impression upon the public mind was, that, although there was no reason for supposing that the royal assent had been affixed to any measure not in itself proper, yet that the king had been made to exercise his functions of office at a time when he was not possessed of a distinguishing judgment, or free agency; and that it was highly expedient to prevent any future recurrence of a similar kind.

The Irish Catholics, at this time, manifested a very turbulent conduct, which tended much to embarrass the government, at a period when the external enemies of the country claimed its undivided attention. Influenced by their ambitious leaders, they formed a convention at Dublin, by selecting ten delegates from every county, with the view of promoting their grand object of emancipation. The lord-lieutenant was no sooner apprized of their proceedings, than he issued a circular letter commanding the sheriffs and magistrates to obstruct and prevent such elections. When the facts became known in England, lord Moira called the attention of the house of lords to the subject, condemning the interference of the court as invidious and unseasonable, at a time when the critical state of affairs would suggest to a wise government the expediency of conciliating every class and description of his majesty's subjects; but the ministry vindicated the conduct of the viceroy. Petitions prepared by the Catholic committee, were now presented to both houses of parliament; but though strongly supported by the eloquence of the earl of Dumouthmore and Mr. Grattan, they were unsuccessful. After this disappointment; a convention being held in Dublin, a proclamation was issued against such illegal assemblies, and Dr. Sheridan was put upon his trial for a violation of the statute. The judges seemed disposed to declare him guilty, but the jury gave a contrary verdict. When the earl of Fingal had taken the chair at a subsequent meeting, he was displaced by a magistrate, who did not, however, dare to apprehend him.

Although the prince regent, considering himself the possessor of only a restricted and temporary authority, declined to take any part in public transactions, at this time, and allowed the ministers whom he found in office to pursue their own plans without interference; yet one act, which soon followed his accession to power, was certainly regarded as a spontaneous exertion on his part. This was the re-appointment of the duke of York to the office of commander-in-chief of the army. As his resignation had appeared to give general satisfaction, this measure excited considerable surprise; and some of the members of the house of commons, who had stood forward in the charges which had been the cause of the royal duke's resignation, could not but feel the act of his re-appointment as conveying an imputation on their conduct, as well as a stigma on the house itself. It was under this impression that lord Milton, on the 6th of June, after various observations on the former parliamentary proceedings, the object of which was to shew, that if his royal highness had not voluntarily resigned, the house was prepared to come to some resolution which would have rendered the event necessary—
moved the following resolution: "that upon a deliberate consideration of
the recent circumstances under which the duke of York retired from the
army in March, 1809, it appears to the house to have been highly indis-
"tious in the advisers of the prince regent, to recommend to his royal high-
ness the re-appointment of the duke of York to the office of commander-
"in-chief."

The chancellor of the exchequer readily acknowledged the responsibility
of ministers for the measure in question; but he contended that when sir
David Dundas had expressed a wish to retire, they could have no hesitation
as to whom they should recommend to supply the vacancy; the duke of
York's eminent services to the army leaving them no choice, especially as
no vote had passed the house to preclude his future restoration. The duke
consequently resumed his station.

During this session of parliament, a bold attempt was made by some per-
sons connected with the government to curtail the privileges of the dissent-
ers, by altering the provisions of the toleration act. From a report recently
presented to the lords, it appeared that the number of dissenting meeting
houses amounted to three thousand, four hundred and fifty seven, while the
churches and chapels appertaining to the national establishment were only
two thousand, five hundred and forty-seven, leaving out of the account those
parishes in which the inhabitants did not exceed one thousand! This dis-
closure naturally excited a ground of alarm, at this progressive encroach-
ment upon the established church; and to counteract the increase of secta-
rianism, lord Sidmouth introduced a bill which he fondly hoped would check
the multiplication of heterodox preachers. He affirmed that the act of to-
leration was misunderstood; and that the prevailing practice of admitting to
the right of preaching the most ignorant and contemptible individuals, many
of whom could scarcely write their own names, and could with difficulty
read their native language, not only militated against the true sense of the
statute, but tended to the discredit of religion itself. He therefore proposed
that no person should be authorized to officiate in any place of worship, un-
less he should be recommended by six reputable housekeepers of the congre-
gation or church of which he was a member, and should also prove that he
was permitted to be the pastor of a particular flock. The dissenters through-
out England took the alarm at this bill, and the tables of both houses of
parliament were almost instantly loaded with petitions from all parts of the
kingdom against this encroachment on the freedom of ministerial choice,
and so appalling was the clamour, that the peers were induced to explode the
offered bill, to the no incon siderable mortification of lord Sidmouth and his
constituents, the former of whom was left to contend with the storm alone.

The state of matters between Great Britain and the United States still
remained unadjusted. Early in the year, Mr. Foster was sent over as envoy
extraordinary and plenipotentiary; but so long as the English government
was determined to abide by the fatal orders in council, nothing could be
effected. In the month of May, an accidental rencontre, originating in some
point of naval etiquette, occurred between an English and an American
frigate. The two governments equally disavowed intentional hostility, but
all these things tended to mutual irritation. On the meeting of congress
on the 4th of November, president Madison announced "the necessity of
"putting the United States into an Armour and attitude demanded by the
"crisis, and corresponding with the national spirit and expectation!" He
at the same time expressed much dissatisfaction with the court of Paris for
its delay in restoring the great amount of American seizures, and for the
restrictions imposed on their trade in the French dominions. The committee
of congress, in their report on the president's speech, expressed themselves in
still stronger terms respecting their wrongs, and recommended vigorous
measures of preparation by land and sea. Such was the menacing aspect of
affairs in that quarter with which the year 1811 closed.

The most splendid naval achievement of this year was the conquest of the
isle of Java, by an armament fitted out from Madras, under the immediate
auspices of lord Minto, who accompanied the expedition in person, the
troops being placed under the able command of Sir Samuel Achmaty. On the 5th of August, a landing was effected without opposition, a few leagues east of the city of Batavia which surrendered almost on the first summons; the Dutch forces under general Janssens, amounting to ten thousand men having retired to an entrenched camp near Cornelis. Here they were attacked by the British on the 26th, and after a gallant resistance the lines were forced, the fort of Cornelis stormed; and the Dutch army routed with terrible slaughter, the whole ten thousand men being either taken prisoners, killed, or dispersed. General Janssens fled with a few cavalry to the distance of thirty miles, where he employed himself in collecting his scattered force for the defence of the remainder of the island. Sir Samuel Achmaty, however, pushed his success with vigour; and, marching to Samarang, whither general Janssens had retired, he took possession of it without opposition. Having frustrated another attempt at composition, an armistice took place, which terminated in the surrender of the European troops, and the delivery of the whole island of Java to the British arms. The small island of Madura also submitted; and thus not a vestige was left of the eastern dominion of the Gallo-Batavian empire.

Opposing fleets were now no longer to be found upon the ocean; but in the absence of the pride and pomp of war, the public attention was arrested by a remarkably gallant action performed by an English squadron of four frigates of which captain Hoste was the commodore. It occurred off the north point of the island of Lesina on the coast of Dalmatia, which the enemy had been sent to fortify and garrison. On the 16th of March, the English commodore descried a French force consisting of five frigates and six smaller vessels, having five hundred troops on board. Confiding in his superiority, the French commodore bore down in two divisions to attack the English, who formed in a close line to receive him. The action commenced by an attempt of the French commander to practice the manoeuvre of breaking the line, in which, however, he failed: and endeavouring afterwards to round the English van, he was so roughly treated that his ship became unmanageable and ran on the rocks. The action was still maintained with great fury, till two of the French frigates struck; two others crowded all sail for the port of Lesina, and the small vessels dispersed in all directions. The result of this action, which ranks among the most brilliant achievements of the British navy, was the burning of the ship of the brave French commodore, who was killed in the engagement, and the capture of two others. A fourth, which had struck her colours, took an opportunity of stealing away, and was in vain reclaimed as a lawful prize by captain Hoste. The loss on the part of the English amounted to two hundred in killed and wounded.

In the month of May of this year (1811) a severe conflict took place in the Indian sea, off Madagascar, between an English and French squadron. Three French frigates, having troops on board, appeared off the Mauritius, but bore away on discovering that the island was in possession of the English. Captain Scomberg, of the Astra frigate, conjecturing that they would make for Tamatava, followed them thither, accompanied by two frigates and a sloop of war. On the 20th of May, the enemy was discovered near Foul Point, Madagascar, when a partial engagement took place, in which the English ship Galatea suffered so much in her masts that she could not be brought again into action. On the next day, the engagement was renewed, and the French commodore's ship of 44 guns and 470 men, of which 200 were picked troops, struck, after being reduced to a wreck. Another frigate struck, but, according to the French custom, made its escape. The British squadron then proceeded to Tamatava, which had been repossessed by the French, and compelled the fort and harbour to surrender, in the latter of which was a frigate of 44 guns that had been in the late action.

The close of this year was remarkable for violent storms, which occasioned great losses at sea, of which the British navy partook its full proportion. On the 4th of December, the Saldanha frigate, captain Fakenham, was lost off Lough Swinley, on the northern coast of Ireland, and all its crew perished. A dreadful gale in the German Ocean, on the 24th of December, was much
more extensively fatal. The Hero, captain Newman, of seventy-four guns, escorting a convoy from Wingo Sound, ran upon the Haak Sound, off the Texel, and every effort to save the crew proving ineffectual, the ship went to pieces, and the whole of the crew were lost; several vessels of the convoy sharing her fate. On the same disastrous day, the St. George of ninety-eight guns, admiral Reynolds, and the Defence, of seventy-four guns, captain Atkins, sailing home from the Baltic, were stranded on the western coast of North Jutland: the consequence was the loss of both ships, only six men being saved from one, and eleven from the other.

The operation of the Berlin and Milan decrees, enforced as they were by the orders in council, had now produced the most fatal consequences to the mercantile and manufacturing interests. The loan for the last year had sustained a ruinous depreciation: and the foreign demand for British manufactures being greatly diminished, numerous failures were the inevitable and melancholy result. A select committee was appointed to inquire into the state of commercial credit, who recommended, as a temporary expedient an issue of exchequer bills, to the amount of six millions, for the relief of such persons as could give satisfactory security for the repayment of the several sums advanced; but as this could be done by comparatively few, no extensive benefit was afforded. Bank of England notes being at this time at a discount of 20 or 30 per cent., in exchange for gold coin, an act was now passed, by which no person could be held to bail for any debt, the payment of which he tendered in Bank of England notes, or execution entered for rent; at the same time making it penal to take Bank of England notes at a value less than they nominally bore. To such evils, and to such strange and dangerous remedies for those evils, was the country now reduced. The interior tranquility of England, however, was, comparatively, but little disturbed during the greater part of the year; but as the winter approached, serious tumults arose in the districts of the hosiery manufactory, particularly in the county of Nottingham. These were occasioned by the discharge of many workmen, partly owing to a decrease in the demand for manufactured articles, and partly to the invention of a wide frame for weaving stockings, by which a considerable saving of labour was effected. The first attacks of the rioters were directed against these frames. They commenced on the 10th of November, near Nottingham, and were continued with augmented daring, attended with outrages of other kinds. The riotous spirit extended to the manufacturing districts of Derbyshire and Leicestershire, though Nottingham was still the centre of the mischief. Numbers of frames were destroyed during the month of December, and the evil went on increasing until in the following year it spread so far as to become an object of serious attention to the government.

Frame-breaking now had become organized into a regular system, which the exertions of the magistrates, even with the aid of a military force, were unable to control. On the 14th of February, 1812, two bills were introduced into the house of commons, the object of which was to add new powers to those already conferred by the laws for the suppression of tumultuous proceedings. The first of these was to render the crime of frame-breaking, hitherto punishable by transportation, a capital offence. The second was to enable the lord-lieutenant of the county, the sheriff, or five justices, where disturbances existed, to call a special meeting for the appointment of a necessary number of constables, and establishing watch and ward. These bills were made operative throughout the kingdom, but they were limited to the 1st of March, 1814.

The year 1812, on which we have now entered, will long be distinguished in the annals of British history by the extraordinary and important events to which it gave birth. The parliament of the united kingdom was opened by commission on the 7th of January. The council appointed to assist the queen, and who were required by the regency act to make a report every three months of the state of the king’s health, had hitherto encouraged the expectation of a favourable result. They now, however, acknowledged that, in the opinion of all the physicians, his majesty’s complete and final recovery was improbable. The year of restriction and
limitation was now on the point of expiring, and a strong persuasion seemed to prevail of a material change, both as to men and measures, though not the slightest intimation had been given to that effect in the opening speech from the throne. On the 13th of February, however, the prince regent addressed a letter to the duke of York, in which he declared that the restrictions of the regency act being about to expire, he must make his arrangements for the future administration; his sentiments relative to which he had hitherto withheld, from his earnest desire that the expected motion on the affairs of Ireland might undergo the deliberate discussion of parliament, unmixed with any other consideration. He declared that he could not reflect without pleasure on the events which had distinguished the short period of his restricted regency; and, in regard to the war in the Peninsula, "I shall," said his royal highness, "be most anxious to avoid any measure that can lead my allies to suppose that I mean to depart from the present system; and I cannot withhold my approbation from those who have honourably distinguished themselves in support of it. I have no predilection to indulge, no resentment to gratify. Having made this communication, I cannot conclude without expressing the gratification I should feel if some of those persons with whom the early habits of my public life were formed, would strengthen my hands, and constitute a part of my government. You are authorized to communicate these sentiments to lord Grey, who, I have no doubt, will communicate them to lord Grenville."

This letter, as might be expected, created no little surprise in all the political circles, and gave rise to much free animadversion. It seemed particularly surprising to many that his royal highness could for a moment indulge the expectation that lords Grey and Grenville, who had rejected with disdain the far more respectful overture of 1809, should now condescend to constitute a part of Mr. Perceval's administration. In a letter bearing the signature of the two noble lords, in reply to the duke of York, they say, "We must express without reserve the impossibility of uniting with the present government. Our differences of opinion are too many and too important to admit of such union. His royal highness will, we are confident, do us the justice to remember that we have already twice acted on this impression."

The existing administration now proceeded unchanged, and without any symptoms of a want of stability, till it was deprived of its leader by a most tragical and singular incident. On the 11th of May, as Mr. Perceval was entering the lobby of the house of commons, about five in the afternoon, a person of the name of Bellingham fired a pistol at him, the ball of which entered his left breast and pierced his heart. He staggered, fell, and almost instantly expired. Nothing could surpass the consternation in both houses which was excited by this horrible catastrophe: the first idea which suggested itself being that of a conspiracy against the members of administration to an unknown extent. It was, however, soon discovered that the act was merely in revenge of some supposed private injury. Bellingham, in a commercial visit to Russia, had sustained some heavy losses, for which he fancied the English government was bound to procure him redress. He had made repeated applications to them for that purpose, and their refusal to take cognizance of his case had made such an impression on a mind, constitutionally disposed to melancholy, that he resolved to make a sacrifice of some conspicuous member of the government which had neglected him. The general regard entertained for Mr. Perceval's character as a man, even by those who widely differed from him in political opinions, was testified by an ample provision voted unanimously for his widow and family. The assassin paid, with the forfeiture of his life, a deed of atrocity which would have been a national stain, had it not resulted from a mind under a degree of mental obliquity.

This event was regarded as inditing such a wound on the ministry, as would render absolutely necessary, if not a radical change, at least a very considerable alteration in its system and composition; and the earl of Liverpool, on whom the office of premier now devolved, was directed by the prince regent to endeavour to acquire an accession of strength by the association of the
marquis Wellesley and Mr. Canning. The negotiation for this purpose, however, failed; the cause of which appears to have been a continued difference of opinion relative to the measures to be pursued respecting the Catholics, and the scale on which the war in the Peninsula was to be conducted.

The house of commons now carried an address to the prince regent, praying him to take such steps as might be best calculated to form an efficient administration; and it having become apparent that the ministers were no longer supported by a majority of that house, his royal highness gave directions that negotiations should be opened for effecting the object of the address. The first person to whom this delicate commission was intrusted, was the marquis Wellesley, who, after a short time, tendered his royal highness a resignation of the proposed trust. The reason assigned by the noble marquis for his failure, as given in a speech in the house of lords, on the 3rd of June, was, "the most dreadful personal animosities, and the most terrible difficulties arising out of questions the most complicated and important, which interposed obstacles that were insurmountable to an arrangement so essential to the public welfare." These strong expressions he afterwards explained as not referring to the prince regent, but to lord Liverpool and his colleagues, who, however, disavowed the personal animosity imputed to them.

The task of arrangement was now transferred to the hands of lord Moira, whose political sentiments were known to be in unison with those of the great whig leaders, on the points then at issue; and the nation was now prepared to hail the appointment of a new administration, of which earl Grey, who beyond any individual possessed the confidence of the country, should be the head. Yet the sanguine hopes now formed were, by a strange fatality, completely disappointed. The stipulations made by the whig leaders for an entire change in the household offices of the regent were so violent, that lord Moira regarded them as bordering upon something like a contempt of the regent's feelings, and he refused to comply with it. In the issue, the prince regent appointed lord Liverpool first lord of the treasury, and Mr. Vansittart chancellor of the exchequer; lords Bathurst, Sidmouth, and Castlereagh were nominated secretaries of state; and the earl of Moira, now honoured with the garter, was appointed governor-general of India, a station for which he was deemed peculiarly well qualified. The public, sensible that the regent had not been wanting in his efforts to form such an administration, as the times demanded, acquiesced without any expressions of dissatisfaction in the present arrangement.(1)

LETTER XV.

Peninsular war in 1812, fourth campaign.—Capture of Ciudad-Rodrigo by the allies.—Surrender of Badajoz.—Retreat of marshals Soult and Marmont.—Battle of Salamanca.—The allies enter Madrid.—The French abandon the siege of Cadiz.—Lord Wellington fails in the siege of Burgos, and retreats to Freynada.—Nov. 1812.

Of the highly momentous transactions which took place on the continent of Europe in the course of this memorable year, those in the Spanish peninsula, though inferior in point of political importance to some others, will nevertheless claim our first notice, and the present letter shall be confined to a review of them.

Towards the close of the preceding year, the town of Tariffa, in the province of Andalusia, garrisoned by a thousand British infantry, with a detach...

(1) Annual Register, 1811 and 1812.—Parliamentary Debates.—Aikin's Annals of the reign of George III.—Bissett's History of the reign of George III.
ment of artillery, under the command of colonel Skerrar, and a body of Spaniards, was invested by the French with an army of ten thousand men commanded by marshal Victor. A breach being made in the wall, the enemy advanced to the assault on the 31st of December, but they were received with so much intrepidity, that, after a considerable loss, they were obliged to retreat. They continued to fire against the breach, and another attack was expected, when on the 5th of January their columns were seen retreating, having left behind them their ammunition, artillery, and stores. This defence conferred great honour on the garrison and its commander, who held out with only eighteen hundred men behind a weak wall against a marshal of France.

Lord Wellington having made his dispositions for reducing the frontier fortresses occupied by the enemy, now crossed the Agueda, and on the 8th of January invested Ciudad-Rodrigo, while general Hill, advancing from Merida, compelled Druet to retire from his position, leaving behind him his stores and ammunition. Badajos was thus reduced to the utmost extremity, the country lying between the Tagus and the Guadiana cleared of the enemy, and the communication between Sout and Marmont intercepted. The siege of Ciudad-Rodrigo was now vigorously pressed; and on the 19th an attack was made in five separate columns, which proved successful at every point. After a desperate conflict the garrison, which consisted of seventeen hundred men, besides officers, surrendered, thus placing in the hands of the allies the heavy train of the French artillery, with great quantities of ammunition and stores. The British army, however, sustained a severe loss on this occasion in the death of some of its best officers. Major-general Makin

non fell at the head of his storming party, being blown up by the explosion of a magazine, and Crauford, an officer of the same rank, was mortally wounded in his approach; besides these, many other brave men fell in the dangerous service. The total loss of the British, from the commencement of the siege to the termination of the assault, amounted to thirteen hundred and ten men in killed and wounded. Marmont was surprised at the speedy reduction of so defensible a town; for in the space of ten days the allies succeeded in recovering a fortress, which, when in a state of weakness, and garrisoned by Spaniards, resisted for a whole month the efforts of general Massena, supported by an army of a hundred and ten thousand men. Marmont, who had stationed his army on the Tagus to support the operations in Valencia, had calculated on being in time for the relief of Ciudad-Rodrigo, by the 29th of January. He had advanced to Salamanca with a large army, collected from the north and centre of Spain, when he was surprised and mortified by the news of its fall. After a fruitless attempt to allure his antagonist to a battle, he placed his army in cantonments along the Tormes.

After an interval of tranquil observation, during which lord Wellington received from England the gratifying intelligence of the grant of an earldom and an additional pension, he moved towards the Guadiana, and invested Badajos. When the siege had been carried on for three weeks, the garrison witnessed with apprehension and dismay those preparations for a general assault which had lately been so effectual. Breaches had been made in two of the bastions; and to divide the attention of the enemy, a third was effectuated before the process of storming commenced. Lieutenant-general Picton was ordered to scale the walls of the castle, while Colville and Bernard conducted those divisions which were expected to force their way through the breaches. It was now the 6th of April, and a feint attack was proposed to be made on the left, which was to become a real one if a favourable occasion should be offered. The principal fortress was defended by vigorous but fruitless exertions. So powerful were the obstacles to the ascent of the breaches, that the troops, after considerable loss, were obliged to retire. The brigade of major-general Walker, being encouraged to make an actual assault, proceeded to a bastion in which no opening had been made, and took it by escalade. Orders were now given for a renewal of the disconnected attacks, but it was rendered unnecessary by a cessation of resistance, and in the morning the governor consented to a surrender. The garrison,
which at first consisted of five thousand men, had lost twelve hundred in
killed and wounded in the previous operations, besides suffering severely in
the assault. The loss on the part of the allies, also, was dreadfully severe.
During the siege and in the assault, they lost more than a thousand men,
besides near four thousand wounded.

By the speedy reduction of this important fortress, lord Wellington once
more baffled his opponents. Marmont, after in vain attempting to surprise
Ciudad-Rodrigo and Almeida, penetrated into Portugal as far as Castello-
Branco, where he no sooner learnt the result of the siege of Badajoz, than
he commenced a precipitate retreat. Soult, who had reached Villa Franca,
fall back with equal haste, pursued by the British cavalry under Sir Stapleton
Cotton. On the 11th of April, the dragoons under major-general La March-
ant charged the vanguard of the French with such impetuosity, that he
drove them with the utmost confusion into Leeren, where the main army
was posted. On the same day Soult evacuated the place, and thus the pro-
vince of Estramadura was entirely freed from the enemy. The British com-
mmander, following up these successes, detached general Hill to destroy the
bridge of Almeraz, which was almost the only communication below Toledo
by which a large army could cross the Tagus. This bridge was strongly
defended on either side by works which the enemy had thrown up; and it
was moreover protected by the neighbouring castle and redoubts of Miras-
bedo. The extreme badness of the roads retarded this enterprise, but, on
the 19th of May, the British carried by escalade the works on the left bank
of the river. The enemy made an effort to escape over the bridge, but their
comrades on the other side destroyed it, and fled with precipitation towards
Naval Mora. Many of the fugitives whose escape was thus intercepted,
perished in the stream, and three hundred were taken prisoners. When
Marmont heard of the movement upon Almeraz, he moved to the south-east
as far as Fort Veras, where the intelligence of its success induced him to
retrace his steps, and again occupy himself in fortifying the convents of Sal-
amanca.

The caution of lord Wellington now became less scrupulous as that of
Marmont increased. He crossed the Agueda in quest of the enemy, and
advanced to the Tormes. The marshal retreated, leaving a garrison at
Salamanca, in fortified colleges and monasteries. When he found that a
siege had been commenced, he dispatched a detachment to take a forward
position; and when this had been repulsed, an attempt was made to secure
a communication with the troops in the city by the left bank; but this scheme
was also baffled by the vigilance of the besiegers. Major-general Clinton
with the sixth division was then ordered to reduce the forts, in which, after
some delay occasioned by an accidental scarcity of ammunition, he succeeded.


In storming one of the forts, major-general Bowes was wounded. He
retired for surgical aid, and hastening back to head his troops to the assault,
he perished in the fruitless attempt. The flames being now seen to rise from
the largest fort, and a breach appearing in another, the commandant of the
former entreated a delay of some hours, for the adjustment of a capitulation.
Lord Wellington refused to listen to this request, and gave orders for an
assault unless an immediate surrender should be made. The storming com-
menced, on which the garrison gave themselves up as prisoners of war.
When the allies entered the town and observed the excellence of the fortifi-
cations, they expressed great surprise at the shortness of the siege, which
had not continued beyond ten days.

Lord Wellington now put his army in motion against Marmont, but the
latter retired behind the Douro, destroyed the bridges, and concentrated his
forces at Tordesillas. His rear-guard stationed at Rueda was attacked by
the British cavalry under Sir Stapleton Cotton, and driven in great confu-
sion upon the main body. The British general now menaced the Spanish
capital; on which Marmont, who had received a reinforcement under general
Bonnet, which gave him a superiority of numerical force, extended his right
wing as far as Toro, restored the bridge at that place, and ordered a part of
his army to cross the river, as if to turn the left wing of the British: But,
hastily recalling them, he pushed on rapidly to Tordelliga, crossing at that point, and succeeded in turning the flank of the allies at Castrogren. This brilliant movement re-established his communication with Madrid and with the army of the centre. Lord Wellington having made dispositions for the retreat and junction of his different divisions, now took up a position in which he offered battle, which Marmont thought it expedient to decline, but disdaining to wait for some reinforcements that were hastening to him, he persevered in his manoeuvres on the British flanks.

A series of skilful movements now ensued on both sides until the 21st of July, when the allied army was concentrated on the Tormes. On the same day the French crossed the river, and appeared to threaten Ciudad-Rodrigo. On the two following days, Marmont had recourse to a variety of evolutions to distract the attention of the British general from his real plan, which was to enclose the allies in their position on a peninsula formed by the river, and to cut off their retreat. He threatened their left, which he found well provided with the means of defence, while their other flank, where the real attack was expected, presented a no less formidable resistance. In aiming to surround the British, he extended and weakened his own line, and lord Wellington, watching the progress of this error, seized the favourable moment of striking the decisive blow. His arrangements were soon made, and no time lost in executing them.

Major-general Pakenham, at the head of the third division, commenced a bold attack on the flanks of the enemy's left, in which he was supported by brigadier-general Bradford's brigade, by the fourth and fifth divisions, and by the cavalry under Sir Stapleton Cotton in front. The French, though finely posted and supported by cannon were overthrown. Against their centre, on the hill of the Arapiles, general Pack's attempt was at first unsuccessful, but the fifth division, after its success on their left, changed its front, and attacking their centre, drove it from the hill with precipitation. The right wing of the French being joined by the fugitives, maintained a show of resistance, but it was attacked both in front and flank, and driven in confusion from the field. The pursuit was continued until night, and renewed on the following morning, when the French rear-guard was overthrown, attacked, and put to flight, the cavalry leaving the infantry to their fate. Three whole battalions surrendered, and large quantities of stores, baggage, and ammunition fell into the hands of the allies. Eleven pieces of cannon, two eagles, and six stand of colours were taken; five generals, three lieutenant-colonels, one hundred and thirty officers of different ranks, and seven thousand privates, were made prisoners. On the part of the allies, the loss was about seven hundred killed and four thousand wounded. Major-general La Marchant, a brave and skilful officer, was among the killed. Lieutenants-generals Leith and Cole, and major-general Alton were wounded. Sir Stapleton Cotton was fired at night by mistake, by a British soldier, but happily his wound did not prove fatal. On the part of the enemy, Marmont and Bonnet were both wounded, and the command of the fugitive army devolved upon general Clausel, who for some time made a stand on the Douro, but on the approach of the allies, he crossed that river, abandoned Valladolid, and continued his retreat upon Burgos. Thus terminated the battle of Salamanca, in which lord Wellington obtained a complete victory over an army superior to his own in numbers, and commanded by one of the most skilful of the French marshals. On this memorable occasion the Portuguese bravely seconded the British troops, but the Spaniards had scarcely any concern in the contest, as they lost only two of their number.

Lord Wellington now resolved to engage the central army, should king Joseph have the courage to meet him, and compel him to quit the capital. Having, therefore, under general Paget to watch the motions of the enemy, the British commander advanced with the main body of his army towards Madrid. King Joseph, who with twenty thousand men under his command had reached Segovia, hearing of the defeat of Marmont, hastily retreated through Sego- to Almenza, a position from which he could command the heights of Suchet or Sculth. On the 12th of August the allied
army entered the capital. The Reteiro, garrisoned by fifteen hundred men, immediately surrendered, and Guadalaxara was, at the same time taken by the army of Empecinado. At this time intelligence reached lord Wellington, that an army of British and Neapolitan troops from Sicily, under the command of general Maitland, with some Spaniards from Majorca, had arrived at the port of Alicante. Expectations were consequently formed that this force, uniting with the patriots of Murcia and Valencia, might favour the operations of the grand army by a powerful diversion; but unfortunately the defeat of general O'Donnel by the French troops under Harispe, combined with other reverses, disabled the Spaniards from acting, and, in a great measure, deranged the plan of the campaign.

Aware that their losses had been aggravated by a want of concert, the generals who commanded the armies of France now endeavoured to cooperate with the view of retrieving them. On the 24th of August, Soult abandoned the siege of Cadiz, and began to evacuate the province of Andalusia, for the purpose of uniting his forces with those of king Joseph and maréchal Suchet, for the recovery of the capital. The French troops in Biscay, also evacuated that province, and joining the wreck of Marmont's army under Clause, moved in the direction of Burgos, to watch the British troops destined for the siege of that place. By thus threatening Madrid and reinforcing Burgos, they hoped to compel the British either to fight at a disadvantage, or to retreat. They had strongly fortified the latter place, and made it the centre of their operations in the north of Spain. On the 1st of September lord Wellington quitted Madrid, and advanced to Valladolid, the enemy retiring before him across the Puyercera. He pursued them to Burgos, through which city they retired during the night of the 17th, leaving a strong garrison in the castle. Preparations were immediately formed by the allies for besieging this strong fortress; and as the heavy artillery had not arrived, recourse was had to the slow and uncertain process of sapping. On the 11th of October, a mine was successfully sprung; the breaches were instantly stormed and the lines escalated, part of the British army actually entered the works; but the fire from the garrison was so heavy, that after sustaining some loss they were compelled to retire. Preparations were then made for renewing the assault; but at this critical period the British army had to encounter a series of disappointments. They had been led to calculate on the support of a Gallician army, thirty thousand strong, in the highest state of order and equipment; whereas this army was found to consist of only ten thousand undisciplined troops. General Ballasteros, instead of obeying the orders of lord Wellington to harass the retreat of Soult into Valencia, made an appeal to the Spanish army and the nation, against the Cortes who had invested lord Wellington with the chief command. A French army under Souham approached for the relief of Burgos, and after sustaining a spirited repulse, appeared in great force, on the 19th, in the vicinity of the besieged fortress. On the 21st, advices were received, that an army of seventy thousand men, under the command of maréchal Soult, of Suchet, and king Joseph were fast approaching the passes against general Hill, whose force was totally inadequate to oppose them. This intelligence induced lord Wellington to raise the siege of Burgos, to retire towards the Douro, recall his troops from Madrid, and give directions to general Hill to proceed northward to join him. He moved upon Salamanca, where he hoped to establish himself; but Soult advancing from Madrid, and uniting his forces with Souham, obliged him to continue his retreat. On the 24th of November he fixed his head quarters at Freynada, on the Portuguese frontier, after a masterly retreat before an army of ninety thousand men, against which he could oppose only fifty-two thousand. The campaign might have had a far different issue, had it not been for the miserable jealousy of Ballasteros, who was arrested by order of the Cortes, and banished to Ceuta. The retreat of lord Wellington, however, like most other retreats when pressed by a superior force, was characterized by disorder and rapine, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the commander, who indig-
nantly complained in his public conduct of the discipline, greater than that of any army which he had ever seen, or of which he had ever read.

**LETTER XVI.**

**Encouragement of hostilities between France and Russia, 1812.**

*Immensely***

Nations of Napoleon for the campaign.—Retreat of the Russian army from the Vistula to the Dvina.—Advance of the French army to Smolensk.—Conflagration of the town.—Battle of Borodino.—Napoleon advances his army on to Moscow.—The Russians set fire to the city.—Dreadful proceedings there.—Distress to which the French army is reduced for want of supplies.—Napoleon sues for an armistice, but in vain.—The grand army commences its retreat—pursued by the Russians.—Annihilation of the French army.

Having pursued the narrative of the fourth Peninsular campaign to its termination; I shall now, my dear Philip, revert to the affairs of the north of Europe, where the contest between France and Russia attracted the attention and involved the interests of all the continental powers. Almost from the commencement of the year 1812, the eyes of all Europe had been directed towards a new scene which was opening in the north, and which gave rise to a variety of political conjectures. For some time the two powerful emperors, who from the treaty of Tilsit had maintained a state of strict amity and alliance, now exhibited indications of misunderstanding and even of approaching hostilities.

The appointment of a French general to the Swedish succession had apparently formed an insuperable union of interests between Sweden and France; but circumstances arose which broke this connection. In the month of February, 1812, the emperor Napoleon had seized upon Swedish Pomerania; and this unprovoked aggression incited the crown-prince to assert the independence of his expected throne. The dispute between Russia and France originated chiefly in the commercial restrictions which the continental system, established by the French emperor, had imposed upon Europe. The emperor Alexander, indignant at the ruin of the trade of his empire, disdained any longer to submit to the restraints of a system, which, though planned solely for the impoverishment of Great Britain, was highly injurious to his subjects, destructive to the commerce of the continent, and wholly unprecedented in the annals of the world.

A train of negotiations now commenced between Russia, Sweden, and England, and also between the two former powers and France. While the political affairs of Europe were thus in a state of suspense and uncertainty, speculative politicians amused themselves and others with numerous and various conjectures. By some, a new continental system was fully expected; by others, it was considered as a case of the highest improbability that Russia should hazard a war with the French emperor, who would be supported by Austria and the confederation of the Rhine. It was alleged that Russia, by engaging again in a war with France, would be stopped in her progress towards the conquest of European Turkey, and even lose all that she had recently gained in that quarter. It was observed, that two more campaigns would bring the Russian armies to the shores of the Propontis, and the gates of Constantinople; and the inference was, that it could not be expected that Russia would sacrifice her hopes of conquest for the barren and dangerous glory of a war with France.

In regard to Sweden, it was considered as highly absurd to suppose that the crown-prince would engage in a war against the French emperor. Besides, it was deemed very improbable that Napoleon should provoke a war
with Russia, since he would ruin his cause in Spain and Portugal, and lose all his speculations and conjectures of the cabinets of St. Petersburg, Stockholm, and St. Cloud, appeared to be widely different from those of news-writers and political pamphleteers. The great features of The emperors of France and Russia were known to be men of widely different characters. Alexander, beneficent and pacific, might be ranked among the few princes whose virtues adorn an hereditary throne, and promote the prosperity and happiness of mankind. Napoleon, enterprising and turbulent, nurtured in camps, skilful in tactics, and inured to war, which seemed to be his element, was by nature and education admirably fitted for scenes of confusion and carnage, and for disturbing the peace of the world. The support of the continental system, contrived for the purpose of annihilating The overthrow of this system was evidently the interest of Russia, Sweden, and Prussia: but the resources of Sweden were inconsiderable, and Prussia was in vassalage to France. Russia was the only power that could take the lead in an attempt of that nature, in which, however, she was certain of being supported by Great Britain. The emperor of the French, with the forces of Prussia and those of the confederation of the Rhine at his command, and with every reason to expect the assistance of Austria, might probably suppose that his appearance in the field, with so vast a display of military strength, would intimidate Russia into a compliance with his demands; or, calling to mind the ensanguined fields of Austerlitz and Friedland, he might flatter himself that one successful campaign, or one decisive victory, would enable him to dictate the conditions of peace.

But whatever might be the views and expectations of the emperor of France, he began very early in the spring of this year to move numerous bodies of troops into the interior of Germany. The Russian monarch, in the meantime, prepared to meet the impending storm; and after issuing a declaration of war, put his armies in motion, and by an imperial ukase, dated the 23d of March 1812, ordered a levy of two men in five hundred throughout his extensive dominions. During the months of February, March, and April, great numbers of French troops were continually marching through Germany; and being joined by the contingents of the Rhenish confederation, proceeded towards the Vistula, after placing garrisons in the principal cities and fortresses of Prussia. Preparatory to the great contest which was about to commence, the emperor of the French concluded treaties of alliance with Prussia and Austria, by which these two powers engaged to assist him with very considerable forces. The emperor of Russia also concluded a treaty of peace with the Ottoman Porte, to which he restored the conquests recently made in Moldavia and Wallachia, thus enabling him to withdraw his armies from the banks of the Danube. All matters of dispute were also settled between Russia and Great Britain.

Such were the preparations made for the decisive contest, which was destined to produce events contrary to all expectation, and wholly unparalleled in history. On the 8th of May the French emperor, accompanied by his august consort Maria Louisa, set out from Paris, and on the 11th of that month arrived at Mentz, where they received the grand-duke and duchess of Hesse Darmstadt, and the prince of Anhalt Goethen. On the 13th they proceeded to Wurzburg, where they were received by the king of Wurttemburg and the grand-duke of Baden. On the 16th they arrived at Freyberg, where they were met by the king and queen of Saxony, and were received with the highest honours. From thence they proceeded to Dresden.
where they were met by theirkranz* emperor and empress of
Austria. The emperor of Russia remained in command of the first army
under the command of count Bessarab, which preceded.

On the 29th of May the emperors of Russia and Austria departed from
Dresden: the former proceeded towards the head of the army, the command
of his army, the latter returned to Vienna.

The empress of France, who had
attended at this interview, left that city on the 29th of May, the empress
of France never returning any days at Dresden before June 1st. On the
10th of June Napoleon passed the Vistula, and issued a declaration
announcing his determination to restore Poland, and
inviting the Poles to rally round his standard. This declaration was attempted
to the last moment to bring the Russian government to treaty by negotia-
tion: the latter, however, adhering to his firme engagement made by prince
Kurakin, insisted on the evacuation of Prussia by the French troops as the
basis of negotiation; on which Napoleon ordered all to march for the
purpose of crossing the Niemen.

In commencing the campaign, the emperor of France endeavoured to ex-
cite the courage of his troops by issuing a proclamation, in which he mani-
fested his usual confidence as to the success of the operation. "Russia," he
said, "is dragged along by a fatality! her destinies cannot be accomplished.
"Should she consider us as degenerated? Are we no longer to be regarded
"as the soldiers of Austerlitz? She offers us the alternative of dishonour
"or war. The choice cannot admit of hesitation. Let us, then, march for
"ward! Let us pass the Niemen! Let us carry the war into her territory!
"The second war of Poland will be as glorious to the French arms as the first."

In placing before the eyes of his followers a prospect of splendid success, the
calculations of the French emperor had frequently proved correct, and
his promises had often been realized; but he had now attained to the meri-
dian of his glory: a tide of prosperity and success, flowing for so many years
without interruption, had induced him to imagine that victory was insepara-
bly attached to his banners; and he seems to have thought it impossible
that fortune ever could frown where she had so long been accustomed to
smile.

This proclamation was issued on the 29th of June, and on the following
day the army was put in motion. At two o’clock in the morning the empe-
or Napoleon, accompanied by a general of engineers, inspected the banks
of the Niemen; and on the same day Murat king of Naples, who command-
ed the cavalry, advanced within six miles of that river. The different
corps commanded by the viceroy of Italy, the prince of Echmi, the duke d’El-
chingen, the duke de Reggio, the duke of Tarentum, and prince Poniatows-
aki, made corresponding movements; and the pontoon train also arrived
within six miles of the Niemen. The 5th, 7th, and 8th corps, commanded
by the king of Westphalia, had proceeded no farther than Novgorod, about
half way between the Vistula and the Niemen; and the first Austrian corps,
under prince Schwartzenberg, was near Lublin, at an almost equal distance
between Lemburg and Warsaw. The duke of Belluno, with the 9th corps
and some other troops, remained in reserve, occupying the country between
the Elbe and the Oder.

At this crisis a Polish diet was held at Warsaw under the sanction of the
French emperor, which resolved itself into "a general confederation of
Poland," published on the first of July a memorable declaration, announcing
that the Diet of Prussia and the Polish nation were re-established, and
appointed a council of state, consisting of eleven members, for the adminis-
tration of affairs. By one of the articles the king of Saxon, as grand-duke
of Warsaw, was invested by deputation to accede to the confedery; and by
another, the emperor Napoleon was antipated "to encircle reviving Poland
with his powerful protection. It would disclaim all vindictive retrospec-
tion; saying that it cannot recur. Whosoever shall search
"into the pastapeutics of assassination and sedition." The deputies sent by
the diet to the Polish empress at Wilna, in the audience with which they
were favoured, Japan had "the honour and interest of France required the return an answer. "To this bold truth Napoleon repatriotism of the day, and he reigned during the first, second, or third partition, he would have used all his people in their support, but in his situation he had many doubts to conciliate, and many duties to perform: he notwithstanding supported the efforts they wished to make; and if they were unanimous, he conceived the hope of reducing their enemies to acknowledge the services he had guaranteed to the emperor of Austria the integrity of her dominions. "Be animsted," said he, "with the same -spirit that animated the Polish brave, and Providence will crown with success your efforts, and recompense that devotion to your country which has cost you so many claims to my esteem and protection."

A more favorable opportunity could never occur of restoring Poland to its just rank among the nations; but Napoleon merely aimed to gain the aid of the Polish army at first. A few years; and though he subsequently affirmed it to have been his intention to re-establish the kingdom of Poland, and to place Prince Potocki upon the throne, "in order to oppose a barrier to that formidable empire which threatened to overwhelm all Europe," there exists no trace of any such design in his language or conduct at this period.

The plan which the Russians had formed, and according to which they resolved to conduct the present campaign, was, to resist the progress of the invader at all points where a stand could easily be made without risking a general engagement; to lay waste the country through which he should aim to penetrate; to harass him as he advanced; and to cut off his supplies. Napoleon encountered no formidable resistance in his rapid advance to Wilna, the capital of Russian Poland, which he entered on the 28th of June, and from whence he issued the proclamation above-mentioned; but a division of the French army under Macdonald received a severe check from general Essen, to whom the defence of Riga was intrusted. Count Witgenstein also defeated marshal Oudinot and the Bavarian general Wrede, at Polotsk, after a conflict of twelve hours, in which the enemy lost ten thousand men in killed and wounded: thus were they foiled in their attempts to open a passage to St. Petersburgh.

While these things were transacting, the emperor of France directed his attention to the main Russian army, which, on the 17th of August, he attacked at Smolensko. After a furious contest, the Russians retired from the city, which the French on their entrance found burning and in ruins. Napoleon gave vent to his chagrin by exclaiming—"Never was a war prosecuted with such ferocity; never did defence put up so hostile a shape against the common feelings of self-preservation. These people treat their own country as if they were its enemies!" He certainly had encountered no such obstacles in either of his marches to Vienna.

The Russian army now retired upon Viasma followed by the rear-guard, which had been nearly intercepted by marshal Ney; but having received a seasonable reinforcement, they were enabled to repulse him. Viasma not being considered tenable, every thing in it which could be considered of use to the enemy was destroyed, and the army took up a position near Moscow. At this juncture the veteran general Kutusoff was called from his retirement at St. Petersburgh to take the chief command of the army. On his way to head-quarters he passed through Moscow, where he had an interview with count Rostophchin, the governor. Arriving at head-quarters on the 29th of August, he put the army in motion, and halted it on the 31st near the village of Borodino, on the great road leading to the capital, where he determined to hazard a battle.

The French entered Viasma on the 30th of August, and did not advance till the 4th of September. It was remarked that Napoleon, on being apprised that Kutusoff was opposed to him, became more cautious in his movements, and that he was more than usually anxious for the arrival of reinforcements. The interval of preparation, however, was no longer than was necessary for a conflict between two armies, each amounting to more than
120,000 men. It commenced on the 1st of September, by a tremendous attack on the Russian left, and, although one-half of the French force was directed upon the centre, and Beauharnois assailed the right, Kutusoff made a stand on his left, after a combat of three hours, when he was able, reinforced by new battalions and cavalry from the reserve, to recover the lost position, from which the French were on the point of gaining. Beauharnois made repeated efforts to carry the village of Borodino, the redoubt which covered it, but he was ultimately repulsed with great loss. The Russians were then enabled to reinforce their own forces, and battle raged with great fury until night, when the French were left masters of the field. They estimated the loss at forty thousand in killed and wounded, and fourteen thousand. Napoleon himself, however, gave 10,000 the loss was far greater. In this action to O'Meara at St. Helena: "I attribute victory to your arrangements," whose army was two hundred and fifty thousand, which was to the numbers of seven thousand. And Russians lay upon the field." Among the French generals Touchkoff and Konovitzen; Prince Bragration after the death of his wounds. Of the French generals, Monthbrun was killed, and twelve others dangerously wounded.

After this dearly purchased victory, Kutusoff found himself unable to make head against the fresh troops which his antagonists was soon enabled to bring forward. He therefore ordered Moscow to be evacuated, and retired with his army beyond it, to protect the rich province of Toulia and Kaluga, where he maintained an uninterrupted communication with Tschikago; while to the north of the capital, Winningrode, by the occupation of Twer, completed the line which was thus extended round the enemy. The painful but necessary measure of withdrawing from their homes in Moscow two hundred thousand human beings of both sexes, and of every age, was carried into effect by count Rostopchin, who placed himself at the head of forty thousand of its brave inhabitants, and proceeded to join the Russian army.

Rostopchin had a villa in the neighbourhood of Moscow, to which he set fire with his own hands, having affixed the following notification to one of its gates: "FRENCHMEN! for eight years I found pleasure in embellishing this country retreat. I lived here in perfect happiness within the bosom of my family, and those around me largely partook of my felicity. But you approach; the peasantry of this domain, to the number of seventeen hundred and twenty human beings, fly for mercy, and I set fire to my house. We abandon all, we consume all, that neither ourselves nor our habitations may be polluted by your presence. FRENCHMEN! I left to your rapacity two of my houses in Moscow, full of furniture and valuables, to the amount of half a million of roubles. Here you will find nothing but ashes."

The advanced guard of the French, under Murat and Beauharnois, entered Moscow on the 14th of September, and soon overpowered the small band which had lingered in the ancient palace of the caars, called the Kremlin. The deserted city was discovered to be on fire in several places; and the French soldiers, eagerly seeking their long promised plunder, rather increased than checked the conflagration. The French emperor was waiting at the barrier on the Temploiki road, to receive the homage of the constituted authorities as he made his triumphal entry. A Polish general, whom he sent to receive citizens of their duty, returned with information that there were no constituted authorities, and that Moscow would soon be a heap of ruins. The mortified conqueror entered without parade on the following day, and took up his residence in the Kremlin. At this moment the second hostilities (for such he affected to be thought) had reached the zenith of their fortune. From the elevated heights of the Kremlin the French emperor held, as he thought, the rewards and termination of his labours; and when he the golden domes and spires of Moscow rose to his view, he
is said to have exclaimed, "All this is yours!" The splendour of the scene appeared to have taxed his faculties; and his pride and presumption overbalanced the considerations of prudence, he persisted in maintaining his station amidst the ruins of Moscow. Of the consequences which now ensued, Napoleon himself has left us a narrative sufficiently interesting to insert in this place.

"I was now in a fine city, provisioned for a year; for in Russia the preparations for several months before the frost sets in. The inhabitants were in plenty. The houses of the inhabitants were well provisioned, and many had even left their servants to attend upon us. In many houses was a note left by the proprietor, begging of the French soldiers to be careful of their furniture and effects, they had left every article necessary for our wants, and hoped they would be happy to see us. Many ladies remained behind, and knew that I had been in Berlin and Vienna with my armies, and no injury had been done to the inhabitants; and, moreover, they expected a speedy peace. We were in hopes of enjoying ourselves in winter quarters, with every prospect of success in the spring.

"Two days after our arrival a fire was discovered, which at first was not thought to be alarming, but to have been caused by the soldiers kindling their fires too near the houses, which were chiefly of wood. I was angry at this, and issued every strict order to the commandants of regiments and others. The next day it had increased, but still not so as to create serious alarm. However, afraid that it might gain upon us, I went out on horseback, and gave every direction to extinguish it. The next morning a violent wind arose, and the fire spread with the greatest rapidity. Some hundred miscreants, hired for that purpose, dispersed themselves in different parts of the town, and with matches, which they concealed under their cloaks, set fire to as many houses to windward as they could, which was easily done, in consequence of the combustible materials of which they were built. This, together with the violence of the wind, rendered every effort to extinguish the fire ineffectual. I myself narrowly escaped with life.

"In order to shew an example, I ventured into the midst of the flames, and had my hair and eye-brows singed, and my clothes burnt off my back; but it was in vain, as they had destroyed most of the pumps, of which there were above a thousand: out of all these, I believe that we could only find one that was serviceable. Besides, the wretches that had hired by Rostopchin ran about in every quarter, disseminating fire with their matches, in which they were but too much assisted by the wind. This terrible conflagration ruined every thing. I was prepared for all but this: it was unforeseen: for who would have thought that a nation would have set its capital on fire? The inhabitants themselves, however, did all they could to extinguish it, and several of them perished in their exertions. They also brought before us numbers of the incendiaries with their matches, and I caused about two hundred of these wretches to be shot.

"Had it not been for this fatal fire, I possessed every thing my army wanted: excellent winter quarters, stores of all kinds were in plenty, and the next year would have decided it; Alexander would have made peace, or I would have been in Petersburg. Several of the generals were burnt out of their beds. I myself remained in the Kremlin until surrounded by flames. The fire advanced, seized the Chinese and India warehouses, and several stores of oil and spirits, which burst forth in flames, and overwhelmed every thing. I then retired to a country house of the emperor Alexander, distant about a league from Moscow; and you may figure to yourself the intensity of the fire, when I tell you, that you could scarcely bear your hands upon the walls or the windows on the side next to Moscow, in consequence of their heated state. It was the spectacle of a sea and billows of fire, a sky
and clouds of flame; mountains like immense waves of
the sea, alternatingly bursting for a moment above the levels of skies of fire,
and then sinking into the ocean of smoke——the most sublime, the most grand
the most sublime, and the most terrible scene ever beheld.”

This event was evidently a severe disaster to the French emperor, who lingered about this devoted city as if it were to retain his allegiance; however, the unshaken valor of the Russians to persist in a system of making all sacrifices entailed upon them to a conqueror; the assemblage of fresh bodies of the troops of Moscow, and the approach of inclement seasons, reminded him of the danger of prolonging his stay. By a prompt retreat he removed winter-quarters in Poland; but his pride revolted at a negociation alike by policy and humanity. Urged at last by his soldiers, he sent Lauriston with a flag of peace to the head-quarters, announcing his readiness to treat. The terms offered were such, that he terms could be entered into while an enemy was in the Russian territory. The roads leading to Moscow were now full of detached corps, who cut off the supplies, dispersed the straggling parties of the French, and took many prisoners. Napoleon sent Lauriston a second time to demand, that if the Russian general would not listen to a negociation, he should forward a letter to the emperor Alexander. “I will do that,” replied Kutusoff, “provided the word Peace is not expressed in the letter. I would not be a party to such an insult on my sovereign, by forwarding a proposal which he would order to be instantly destroyed. You already know on what terms offers of peace shall be attended to.” The clamours of the French soldiers still increased; their foreign auxiliaries deserted by thousands, and made known the extent of their distresses. Lauriston was sent a third time to the Russian head-quarters, with proposals for an armistice, and an offer that the French should evacuate Moscow, and take up a position in the neighbourhood, where the terms of a treaty might be afterwards arranged. The answer was, “It is not time for us to grant either armistice or negotia-
tion, as the campaign on our part is but just opening.” Thus foiled in all his attempts at procuring an armistice, Napoleon soon afterwards announced his intention of leading his army into other provinces until the return of spring, when he would advance on St. Petersburg, and erase the name of Russia from the list of European nations. He then indulged his soldiers with an eight day’s pillage of Moscow; and having wasted five irreparable weeks in that scene of desolation and despair, he commenced his retreat, leaving a force to blow up the Kremlin. General Illievasky, however, arrived in time to prevent the completion of this outrage; and on the 23d of October the exiled inhabitants of Moscow began to return to their desolated city.

Dividing his forces, Murat and Beaucharnois, with fifty thousand men, were ordered to attack the grand army of the Russians under Kutusoff; while the emperor himself, with the remainder, took the route to Minsk. The former met with a severe repulse; and nothing was now thought of but how to quit a country which they had so lately entered in triumph. Scarcely could they hazard a march without a battle; and thus harassed, retreat became more and more difficult. Minsk itself was obliged to surrender. A stand was attempted at Viasma, but without success; and the French, dispirited and weary, were driven from their positions with much slaughter. The ensuing night was rendered dreadfully memorable by a prodigious fall of snow; and from this period ensued a series of terrible disasters. His own account of this matter, dictated while at St. Helena, will best describe the shocking events, and you shall have it in his own words.

“I was now days too late—I had made a calculation of the weather for

Before, and the extreme cold had never commenced until

December, twenty days later than it began this time.

“Moreover, at Moscow, the sun was at three of the thermometer, and

the air as the French could with difficulty bear. But on the march the

temperature sank eighteen degrees, and consequently nearly all the
horses perished. In my army I lost forty thousand. The artillery of which I had five thousand, was, in a great measure obliged to be abandoned: neither ammunition nor provisions could be carried. We could not, for want of reconnaissance, or send out an advance party to recover the way. The soldiers lost their spirits and fell into confusion. The most trifling circumstance of four or five men were sufficient to terrify a whole body of soldiers, if keeping together, they wandered about in search of means of warming themselves in the houses. They slept on the ground, became helpless, and fell an easy prey to the enemy. When down, fell asleep, a little blood came from their nostrils and they died. In this manner thousands perished. The French lost their horses and artillery, but the French, and the soldiers of the Empires were no longer the same men. In particular the cavalry suffered. Out of forty thousand, I do not think that three thousand were saved.

Napoleon reached Smolensko on the 9th of November, and remained there until the 15th, when he set out for Krasnoi. Davoust, who followed him, after blowing up the ramparts, was beaten by Milarodavich on the 15th, and escaped with the loss of four thousand killed and wounded, and nine thousand taken prisoners, with seventy pieces of cannon. He also lost the whole of his baggage, three standards, and his bâton de maréchal. Ney, who left Smolensko with the rear-guard on the day of battle, was surprised by the victorious Russians, and compelled to fly with a small proportion of his staff, leaving eleven thousand of his troops in the hands of his pursuers. In the mean time, the Russian general Witgenstein, after a series of successes against the corps of St Cyr, Oudinot, and Victor, advanced from Polotsk, and on the 8th of November reached Vitebsk, where he was informed of the retreat of the grand French army. On the 18th he was informed of the flight of the Austrian and Saxon auxiliaries, and of the rapid advance of the Russians in pursuit. Witgenstein was soon in communication with Platoff and the commander-in-chief, so that the whole force of the Russian empire was now directly co-operating against the retreating enemy.

After quitting Krasnoi, the French emperor was informed that his stores at Minsk were in the hands of the Russians; that his Polish general Dom- broski was routed; that the corps of Oudinot and Victor were dispersed; and that the Russian grand army, the army of the Dvina on its left and that of the Danube on its right, were closing upon him. To secure his escape he ordered two bridges to be thrown over the Beresina at Studenzi and Vaselova. Scarcely had he passed the river with his guard at the latter point, when Witgenstein opened a cannonade on the troops who were preparing to follow. They rushed in crowds towards the bridge: it was blown up by Napoleon’s order. A shout of despair followed the explosion. Numbers plunged into the stream and disappeared amidst the floating masses of ice: five thousand lost their lives, and thirteen thousand were taken prisoners. The artillery, baggage, and ammunition, fell into the hands of the Russians, who on this occasion recovered the greater part of the plunder which the French had taken from their cities.

Having repaired the bridges the Russian armies advanced, and on the 12th of December prince Kutusoff established his head-quarters at Wilna. The retreat of the French from the Beresina to the Niemen was attended with horrors, to which no parallel can be found in the annals of the world. For weeks before they quittd Moscow, they had no regular supplies of food; they were now exhausted by long marches; harassed by an indefatigable foe, and exposed to the severity of a Russian winter, with scarcely a garment to protect their freezing limbs. Their route might not improperly be traced by the dead bodies, which appeared like the mounds in a sardinian yard when covered with snow. The scene of a night-watch often exhibited at dawn a circle of the dying and the dead wrapped in rags, matting, old canvass, and even of raw hides stripped from the perished horses. The fugitives
set fire to houses and villages; and often, in the points were racked by the sudden transition from cold to heat, and fell into the flames. Numbers, with their feet frozen and paralysed, were left to perish in the snow. To pursue the detail of these complicated miseries would be tedious: the result may be calculated to be known, that of the three or four hundred thousand men who formed the invading army, not more than fifty thousand including the officers, reached the Russian frontiers. Their total losses by capture and death of December, as stated in the accounts published at St. Petersburg, were forty-one generals, one thousand two hundred and ninety-eight officers, one hundred and sixty-seven thousand, five hundred and ten non-commissioned officers and privates, and one thousand, one hundred, and thirty-two pieces of cannon.

Napoleon did not remain to witness the last scene of the tragedy. He reached Wilna on the 17th of December, and having transferred to Murat the chief command of the army, he took his departure for Warsaw, accompanied by Caulincourt, from whence he made a rapid journey to Paris. He was the herald of his own discomfiture; and he proclaimed with circumstantial precision the results of a campaign, which did equal credit to his foresight as a politician, and to his skill as a general. He had lost an army the most formidable, perhaps, that any nation ever brought into the field, if we take into consideration not only its numbers, but also its complete organization and equipment, the perfection of its military discipline, and the talents and experience of its generals. The wars of Modern Europe had furnished no instance of so extensive and complete a destruction; and history records no similar event since the invasion of Greece by Xerxes.\(^{(1)}\)

**LETTER XVII.**

Progress and termination of the War, 1812–1814.—Lord Wellington prosecutes his successes in Spain.—fifth campaign, 1813—drives the enemy before him, and enters the French territory.—Re-action in the internal state of France.—Symptoms of a falling empire.—Glance at the affairs of Sweden.—Denmark.—Norway.—Prussia,—and Austria.—Defeat of the French armies by the Russians, who now invade France.—Discomfiture of Napoleon, who rejects overtures of peace from the allies, and dissolves the legislative assembly, December the 31st, 1813.—Campaign of the first three months of 1814.—Progress of the allied arms.—Surrender of Paris.—Abdication of Napoleon, who retires to Elba.—Reflections.

The conflagration of Moscow, and the destruction of the French army, were made known to the people of England while engaged in the ferment of a contested election. The sensations of astonishment and awe produced by these events gave place to a hope that the Russians, after making so tremendous a sacrifice, would follow up their victories and extricate the nations of Europe from the galling yoke with which they had now been so long oppressed. Subsequent events soon heightened this hope into confidence; and the new parliament assembled on the 24th of November, 1812, under happier auspices than the most sanguine politician could have ventured to anticipate. One of its first measures was to vote the sum of one hundred thousand pounds to the duke of Wellington, as a reward for his military services; and two hundred thousand pounds for the relief of the sufferers in Russia.

The campaign in Spain, of the year 1813, commenced under favourable auspices. The enemy not being able to obtain reinforcements from France, was reduced to the necessity of acting on the defensive, a plan always ru-
inuous to an invasion. After the battle, he made a general attack on the line of the allies, in which they were repulsed with loss, and compelled to retire upon Vittoria, which was invested. On the 2nd of May, Lord Wellington moved in great force by Genoa, and advanced towards Madrid, on which the new king once more abdicated, and retired to Burgos. On the approach of the British army, they continued their march towards the Ebro, without making any attack on the city or even the citadel of Burgos, upon which immense force of allies was concentrated. The allies, by a sudden movement to the left, made an attack on the Ebro near to its source; in their pursuit the French met a body of light dragoons, under the command of General Mathieu de Montminy, composed of four thousand horse, and three thousand foot, who charged them with great activity, and compelled them to retreat. As Vittoria was the principal depot of the French, a great quantity of cannon, and stores of every description, fell into the hands of the allies. After the defeat which they had sustained, the retreat of the French became so rapid as not to permit them to carry off their artillery and baggage, the whole of which, amounting to a hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, with four hundred and fifty waggons of ammunition, fell into the hands of the allies, whose loss on this occasion was about seven hundred killed and four thousand wounded, the greater part of whom were British. Such was the battle of Vittoria, which added fresh laurels to the illustrious commander. The French retired by Pampeluna on the road of Roncavallos, and, being driven by Sir Thomas Graham, who had taken Tolosa, from all their strong posts, they at length crossed the Bidiscoa by the bridge of Irun, and entered the French territory.

On the eastern coast of Spain, events of a different kind were in the mean time passing. On the 31st of May, Sir John Murray embarked his force on board the English fleet which was cruising on that station; and on the 3d of June invested Tarragona. Having possessed himself of fort St. Philip, on the Col de Balanegra, which blocks the direct road from Tortosa to Tarragona, and advancing his batteries against the besieged place, he received intelligence that marshals Suchet was marching from Valencia for its relief, with a force superior in number and quality to his own. Without waiting for any certain tidings of the enemy's approach, or information of his actual strength, he determined to avoid all conflict by a timely retreat; and accordingly re-embarked his army, leaving his cannon in the batteries, though admiral Holloway gave it as his opinion that they might have been brought off had he remained till night. The expedition then sailed to Alicante, and Suchet did not fail to triumph in the result.

The centre of the French retreating army, having still maintained itself on the Spanish side of the frontier, General Hill, made an attack upon it with a combined force of British and Portuguese, and obliged it to retire into France. Such, who had now returned to the Peninsula, and constituted commander-in-chief of the French troops in Spain, and the southern provinces of France, re-joined the army on the 13th of July. On the 24th he collected his right and left wings, and a part of his centre, at St. Jean Pied de Port, amounting in the whole to thirty or forty thousand men, with which he made an attack on an English post at Roncavallos, in which he succeeded; and other posts were consequently whitewashed. Various operations of attack and defence were now carried on during some successive days, and after considerable loss on both sides, the allied army, which 1st of August,
was nearly in its first position. The siege of St. Sebastian had, in the mean-
time, been advancing under the conduct of sir Thomas Graham; and an un-
successful attempt to storm had been made on the 25th of July, which oc-
casioned a severe loss. On the 31st of August, another attempt was un-
dertaken by order of lord Wellington, which, though attended by peculiar
and unseen difficulties, succeeded, at the expense of two thousand three
hundred men in killed and wounded. The importance of the place was
proved by a vigorous effort that was made to relieve it, but which was re-
pelled by the Spanish troops alone. The strong castle of St. Sebastian
was taken on the 18th of September, in the operations against which the British
navy rendered efficient aid.

On the 7th of October, lord Wellington entered France, by crossing the
Bidassou, which was performed at different fords, by a series of spirited ac-
tions against the enemy’s defences. The strong fortress of Pamplona,
which had been in a state of blockade from the time of the battle of Vittoria,
was induced to accept of a capitulation on the 31st of October, the garrison
remaining prisoners of war. This event having disengaged the right wing
of the allied army from the service of covering the blockade, lord Wellin-
gton put in execution a plan which he had projected against the enemy, the
object of which was, to force their centre and establish the allied army in
the rear of their right. The attack was made by different columns on the
10th of November, and after various actions, which occupied the whole day,
the purpose was attained at night. The French during the night quitted
all their works and posts in front of St. Jean de Leon, and crossed the Ni-
velle: and being pursued on the following day, they retired to an entrench-
ced camp in front of Bayonne. The result of this operation was, the expul-
sion of the French from positions which they had been fortifying with great
labour for three months, and taking from them fifty pieces of cannon, and
fourteen hundred prisoners. On the 9th of December the river Neve was
crossed by a part of the allied army: and on the four following days several
desperate attacks were made by the French during the completion of this
passage; but they were finally repulsed, and the enemy, after great loss,
withdrew to his entrenchments. The British and Portuguese, during these
few days, lost between four and five thousand men in killed, wounded, and
missing. Thus the year 1813 closed with lord Wellington’s obtaining a firm
footing on the French territory.

But the time was now cast; the tide of events was now turned. Since his
retreat from Moscow, Napoleon had entered upon a new series of events.
The decline of his empire was now manifest; all Europe had become weary
of his domination; and all those by whose concurrence he had been raised
took part against him. At home the priests had secretly conspired since his
rupture with the pope; eight state prisons had been officially erected for the
dissatisfied of this party. The mass of the nation also shewed itself as weary
of his conquests as it had been formerly of factions. It had expected from
him attention to private interests, the increase of commerce, respect for the
interests of humanity; and it found itself oppressed by conscriptions, by im-
posts, by the blockade, and by the “consolidated taxes,” the inevitable re-


result of his conquering system. He had no longer for adversaries merely
the small number of men who had remained faithful to the revolution, and whom
he called ideologists, but all those who, without any precise opinions, wished
to realize the tangible benefits of a better state of a civilisation. Abroad
the people groaned under a military yoke, and the humiliated dynasties aspired
to restore themselves. The whole continent of Europe was ill at ease, and
a check naturally led to an universal insurrection. “I triumphed,” said
Napoleon himself, when speaking of the preceding campaigns, “in the midst
of perils always springing up again. As much address was necessary as of
“force. If I had not conquered at Austerlitz, I should have had all Prussia
“in arms. If I had not triumphed at Jena, Austria and Spain would have
“declared themselves upon my rear. If I had not fought at Wagram, which
“was not so decisive, I should have feared that Russia would have abandon-
ed me; that Prussia would have risen up against me, and the English
were before Antwerp."(1) Such was his actual condition; the more he
advanced in his career, the more necessary did it become for him to conquer,
and that decisively. Thus, when defeat and disaster overtook him, the kings
whom he had subdued, and the kings whom he had created, the allies whom
he had ascendantized, the states which he had incorporated with the empire,
the senators who had flattered him so lavishly, and even his companions in
arms abandoned him.

The field of battle which in 1812, Napoleon had conveyed to Moscow, was
transferred to Dresden in 1813, and was around Paris in 1814—so rapid was
the reverse of fortune. The cabinet of Berlin began the defection. On the
1st of March 1813, Prussia re-united its arms with those of Russia and England,
which formed the sixth coalition, and Sweden shortly after was added to
the confederacy. The emperor, whom the allies considered to be crushed,
opened the campaign with new successes. The battle of Lützen, gained on
the 2nd of May, with raw conscripts; the occupation of Dresden; the vic-
tory of Bautzen; and the war carried to the banks of the Elbe, astonished
the coalition. Austria, which was placed in 1810, on the footing of peace,
was again about to take up arms: it already meditated a change of alliance,
and proposed itself as mediator between Napoleon and the confederates. Its
mediation was accepted; an armistice was concluded at Plesswitz on the 4th
of June, and a congress assembled at Prague to negotiate the peace. The
views of the parties, however, were soon found to be strangely at variance
with each other. Napoleon would on no account consent to a diminution of
his power, and Europe would no longer remain subject to him. The confed-
erated powers, in concurrence with Austria, demanded that the empire of
France, should be bounded by the Rhine, the Alps, and the Meuse; which
was disdainfully rejected, and the negotiators separated without coming to
any conclusion. War alone could terminate this grand debate. But the
power of France was now become greatly diminished. Napoleon had only
two hundred and eighty thousand men against five hundred and twenty
thousand. He wished to drive the allies beyond the Elbe, and dissolve as
usual this new coalition by the promptitude and vigour of his measures; and
for a short time victory still clung to his standard. He beat the united al-
lies at Dresden; but the defeats of his lieutenants deranged his plans.
Mac Donald was vanquished in Silesia; Ney near Berlin; Vandamme at
Kulm. Finding himself unable to make head against the enemy, which was
now ready to burst upon him from every quarter, Napoleon began to think of
retreating. The princes of the confederation of the Rhine chose this mo-
moment to desert the French empire. A sanguinary engagement took place
between the two armies at Leipsic, and the Saxons and the Wurttemburgers
passed over to the enemy on the field of battle. This defection and the
augmented force of the allies, whom experience had now taught to make war
more compactly and skillfully, compelled Napoleon to retreat after a struggle
of three days. His army marched in the greatest confusion towards the
Rhine, of which the Bavarians, who had also revolted, wished to prevent the
passage; but the French crushed them at Hanau, and re-entered upon the
territory of the empire on the 30th of October, 1813. The end of this cam-
paign was almost as disadvantageous as that of the preceding. France was
menaced within its own frontiers as in 1799, but it had no longer the same
enthusiasm of independence; and the man who had despised it of its rights
found it at this trying crisis incapable of supporting him and defending it-
self. Thus is expired, sooner or later, the enslavement of nations.

Napoleon returned to Paris on the 9th of November, 1812, and having ob-
tained from the senate a levy of three hundred thousand men, he made with
the greatest ardour preparations for a new campaign. He convoked the leg-
islative body in order to associate it in the common defence. He communi-
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hitherto silent and obedient, chose this critical moment to resist the emperor's demand. The allied sovereigns had issued a declaration from Frankfort, on the 1st of December, explaining their views and policy; and the laudable moderation which it displayed, considering that it was put forth in the height of their successes, had made a deep impression on the minds of the legislative body, and convinced them that it was the wish of France to negotiate a peace, and not grant Napoleon the desired levy. "Victory," they said, "had conducted them to the banks of the Rhine, and the first use which they made of it was to offer peace. They desired that France might be great and powerful, because in a state of greatness and strength she constituted one of the foundations of the social edifice of Europe. They wished that France might be happy, that her commerce might revive, and that the arts might again flourish, because a great people can only be tranquill in proportion as they are happy. They offered to confirm to the French empire an extent of territory which France, under kings, never knew, because a valiant nation does not fall from its rank by having in its turn experienced reverses in an obstinate and bloody contest, in which it had fought with its accustomed bravery. They desired a state of peace, which, by a wise partition of strength, by a just equilibrium, might preserve their people from the numberless calamities which had overwhelmed Europe for the last twenty years."

This was, indeed, language so different from what had been previously expected: it was so just and reasonable, so equitable and generous, that it diffused a spirit of unanimity unknown since the commencement of the war. The conduct of Napoleon, on the other hand, was such as to cause universal indignation and astonishment. He seemed to be incapable of forming an estimate of his own perilous situation. The treaty of Lunéville was the basis modified according to circumstances, to which the allied sovereigns were disposed to revert; but the words and actions of the French emperor breathed nothing but war. Alarmed at the dangers impending over the country, the legislative body ventured to suggest, through the medium of a committee of deputation, who waited on him on the 28th of December, that the declaration of the allies should be met by a counter-manifesto on his part, distinctly avowing the sacrifices which he was willing to make for the repose of Europe." To this counsel, enforced by the urgent remonstrances of Talleyrand, he returned a haughty answer, accusing them of drawing a line of distinction between the interests of the sovereign and the people, and forbade the printing of the report. To the council of state he complained in angry terms of this application of the legislative body. "They stun me," said he, "with their clamorous demands for peace. Instead of assisting me with all their efforts, they seek to obstruct mine." On the 31st of December, 1813, he suddenly dissolved the assembly. This beginning of resistance was the harbinger of internal defection. After having extended itself from Russia over the whole of Germany, it was now going to pass from Germany to Italy and France. In the latter country, Napoleon, without being aware of it, was now under the influence of the royalist party, which had been secretly conspiring since the decline of the empire, and had once more revived its hopes. But now all depended on the fate of the war, which even the winter had not suspended. Napoleon derived all his hopes from this source, and set out from Paris on the 25th of January, 1814, for this immortal campaign.

In the meantime the allies were invading the empire at all points. The Austrians were advancing into Italy, while the British troops, who had made themselves masters of the entire peninsula during the last two years, had, as already mentioned, passed the Bidasco under the victorious Wellington, and had crossed the Pyrenees. Three large armies were hanging on France to the east and the north. The grand allied army, of a hundred and fifty thousand men, under the command of prince Schwarzenberg, was entering on France by way of Switzerland; that of Silesia under Blücher, consisting of a hundred and thirty thousand men, was entering by Frankfort; and that of the north, of a hundred thousand men, under Bernadotte, the crown prince of Sweden, had invaded Holland and penetrated into Belgium. Disregard-
ing in their turn the fortified places, and instructed by Napoleon in the principles of carrying on war upon a grand scale, the allies determined to march upon the capital. At the moment when the emperor was setting Paris to put his troops in motion, the two armies of Schwarzenberg and Blucher were on the point of effecting their junction in Champagne. Deprived of the heart of the people, who were now mere spectators of the last act of the drama, Napoleon stood alone against the world, with a handful of veteran soldiers, aided by his genius which had lost nothing of its audacity and vigour. It certainly is an interesting spectacle to contemplate him at this moment, no longer an oppressor, no longer a conqueror, defending, foot by foot, the soil of his country, his empire, and his renown.

Under these circumstances he marched into Champagne against the two grand armies. General Maison was instructed to stop the career of Bernadotte in Burgundy; Augereau the Austrians at Lyons; Soult the English upon the Spanish frontier; Prince Eugène was to defend Italy; and the empire, although assailed at its centre, still extended its vast arms to the heart of Germany by its garrisons beyond the Rhine. Napoleon did not despair of hurling back, by means of a powerful military re-action, this multitude of enemies out of France, and of again raising his banners upon the soil of the enemy. He dexterously placed himself between Blucher, who was descending the Marne, and Schwarzenberg, who was descending the Seine: he flew from one army to another, and beat them both in succession. Blucher was defeated at Champaubert, at Montmirail, at Château-Tierry, and at Vaucamps; and, when his army was destroyed. Napoleon returned upon the Seine, overthrew the Austrians at Montereau, and drove them before him. His combinations were so powerful, his activity so great, and his manœuvres so certain, that he appeared on the point of entirely disorganizing these formidable armies, and by the annihilation of them to put an end to the coalition.

But if he conquered wherever he was present himself, the enemy gained ground wherever he was absent. Lord Wellington had entered Bourdeaux, where the white flag, the standard of the Bourbons, was erected. The Austrians occupied the city of Lyons. The army of Belgium was united to that of Blucher, and presented itself upon the rear of Napoleon. The spirit of defection entered into his own family, and Murat imitated in Italy the conduct of Bernadotte and joined the coalition. The great officers of the empire still served him, but their support was feeble; and he did not find in them that zeal and unshaken fidelity of the inferior generals and his indefatigable soldiers. Napoleon had to march anew upon Blucher, who escaped him three times upon the left of the Marne, by a sudden frost which hardened the mud, in the midst of which the Prussians were set fast, and on the point of perishing; again, upon the Aisne by the defection of Soissons, which opened a passage to them at the moment when there seemed no chance of escape; and thirdly, at Craonne, by the fault of the duke of Ragusa, who prevented a decisive battle by allowing himself to be taken by surprise in the night. After all these fatalities which disconcerted his plans, Napoleon, badly supported by his generals, and surrounded by the allied armies, conceived the bold design of marching upon St. Dizier, in order to close the outlet of the enemy from France. This bold and finally conceived march alarmed for a moment the generals who commanded the confederated armies, to whom it shut out the chance of retreat; but stimulated by secret encouragement, without permitting themselves to be disturbed by manœuvres in their rear they boldly advanced upon Paris.

This great city, the only one of the capitals of the continent which had not been invaded during this horrible war, now beheld the troops of all Europe entering upon its plains, and was on the point of undergoing the common humiliation. It was abandoned to itself. The empress Maria Louisa, who had some months before been nominated regent, quit it and took up her residence at Blois. Napoleon was at a distance. There was no longer that desperation and enthusiastic ardour for liberty and the glory of "the great nation," which stimulates the people to resistance. The war was no
longer between nations, but governments; and the emperor had taken upon himself alone all public interest, and placed all means of defence upon mechanical troops. There was a general and general exhaustion: a sentiment of pride alone inspired their grief at the approach of the enemy, and naturally wounded the heart of every Frenchman at trampling the national soil trampled upon by armies which had been so frequently vanquished: but this sentiment was not sufficiently powerful to arouse the masses of the people against the enemy; and the intrigues of the royalist party, at the head of which was the celebrated Talleyrand, prince of Benevento, summoned the allied forces to the capital. On the 30th of March they were under the walls of Paris, posted with their right towards Montmartre, and their left towards the wood of Vincennes. Prince Schwarzenberg now addressed a proclamation to the people of Paris, in which, acquainting them with the presence of the army of the allies before their city, their object being a sincere and lasting reconciliation with France, he added, that "the attempts hitherto made to put an end to so many calamities have proved fruitless because there exists in the very power of the government which oppresses you, an insurmountable obstacle to peace." He further hinted the expectation which was entertained by the allied powers that the people of Paris would declare in favour of "a salutary authority," and alluded to the conduct of the inhabitants of Bourdeaux; concluding with an assurance of paying every attention to the preservation and tranquillity of the city.

But the fate of the French emperor was not to be decided without another struggle. On the memorable 30th of March, a French army under the command of Joseph Buonaparte, the ex-king of Spain, assisted by marshals Marmont and Mortier, took a position on the heights near Paris, the centre of which was protected by several redoubts, and along which upwards of a hundred and fifty pieces of cannon were planted. An attack was immediately determined on by the allies, and it was commenced by the two princes of Wurtemburg. After an obstinate resistance the opposite heights were carried. The success of the day, however, was for some time retarded by an accident which delayed the advance of Blucher's army. Ultimately the positions gained by the allies, and the loss which the French had sustained, induced the latter to send a flag of truce, proposing the cessation of hostilities, on condition of yielding all the ground without the barrier of Paris. The terms were accepted, and in the evening count Nesselrode, the Russian minister, entered Paris. This was followed by a capitulation, and on the morning of the 31st of March, the troops of Marmont and Mortier marched out, carrying with them all their military appurtenances. The national guard, and the municipal gendarmerie, was entirely separated from the troops of the line; the arsenals and magazines were left in their existing state. On the same day the allied sovereigns entered Paris, attended by their guards, the greatest order being every where preserved.

The emperor of Russia now issued a declaration, expressive of the intentions of himself and the other allied sovereigns. It affirmed that they would no more treat with Napoleon Buonaparte, nor with any of his family; that they respected the integrity of France as it existed under its legitimate kings, and they would recognize and guarantee the constitution which France should adopt. On the list of April the senate assembled pursuant to an extraordinary convocation. Talleyrand was appointed president, and its first act was to nominate a provisional government, consisting of five persons, the president himself being at the head. It then passed a decree, declaring that "Napoleon had forfeited the throne, that the right of inheritance was abolished in his family, and that the French people and army were absolved from their oath of fidelity to him." It proclaimed that man a tyrant, whose despotism it had so long facilitated by its adulation.

While these extraordinary proceedings were transacting in Paris, Napoleon, urged by the advice of others, had abandoned his march upon St. Dizier and at the head of fifty thousand men marched upon Paris, in the hope of still preventing the entrance of the enemy. On his arrival, on the 1st of April, he learned that Paris had capitulated, and he took up a position at
Fontainebleau, where he was informed of the defection of the senate and of his forfeiture of the crown. It was then, when he saw every thing shrinking from him, under his adverse fortune, the people, and the senate, and the generals, and the countries, that he resolved to abdicate in favour of his son. He sent the duke of Wiesenza, the prince of Moskowa, and the duke of Tarrentum, as plenipotentiaries to the allied sovereigns, and they were to take with them, on their road, the duke of Ragusa, who covered Fontainebleau with a division of his army. Napoleon, with fifty thousand men and his strong military position, might possibly have still imposed the sovereignty of his son upon the coalesced powers; but the duke of Ragusa abandoned his post, treated with the enemy, and left Fontainebleau exposed. He was then compelled to submit to the conditions of the allies, whose pretensions expanded with their power. At Prague they were disposed to cede to him the empire within the Alps and the Rhone. After the invasion of France, they offered him at Châtillon the possession only of the ancient monarchy. Subsequently they refused to treat with him for himself, but only in favour of his son. But now resolved to exterminate the last remains of the revolution in Europe, his conquests, and his dynasty, they compelled him to an unconditional abdication. On the 11th of April, 1814, he renounced for himself and his children the thrones of France and Italy; and in exchange for his vast sovereignty, the limits of which had recently extended from Cadiz to the Baltic sea, he received the small isle of Elba, in the Mediterranean, opposite the grand duchy of Tuscany. On the 20th of the same month, after an affecting farewell to his veteran companions in arms, he set out for his new principality.

Thus fell this extraordinary man, whose name for twice seven years had filled the world with wonder and amazement. His enterprising and organizing genius, his restless desires, his unbounded ambition, his dauntless energy, his love of glory, and the immense disposable force which the revolution had put into his hands, had rendered him the most gigantic being of modern times. That which would have rendered the destiny of another man extraordinary, was scarcely observed in his. Sprung from obscurity, elevated to the supreme power, from a simple officer in the artillery become the leader of the greatest of empires, he had dared to conceive the idea of universal monarchy, and, for a moment, he may be said to have realized it. Having obtained the empire by his victories, he set out himself to subdue Europe by means of France, and to reduce England by means of Europe. This design succeeded for several years, and from Lisbon to Moscow he subjected the people and their potentates to his general orders, and to the vast sequestration which he had prescribed. In exercising for his own advantage the power which he had received, in attacking the liberties of the people by his despotic institutions, the independence of states by war, he dissatisfied both the opinions and the interests of mankind, he excited universal hostility, and the nation withdrew itself from him. After having been long victorious, having planted his standard upon the walls of every capital, after having for ten years augmented his power, and gained a realm at every battle, a single reverse united the world against him, and he fell, exhibiting a striking proof of the instability of human greatness, and a proof of the impracticability of despotism in the present times. (1)

(1) History of the wars in Spain and Portugal, by General Sarrazin.—Jones’s Journals of the sieges in Spain.—London Gazette, and the New Annual Register, 1813, 13, 14.—Porter’s Narrative of the Campaign.—Life and Campaigns of Blucher.—Phillipart’s History of the Campaign in Germany and France.
Affairs of Great Britain.—War with the United States. Restoration of the Bourbon family. Napoleon’s exile to Elba. His return to France and the return to Madrid. Unwise measures pursued by the State of France to the reappearance of Napoleon in that country, A.D. 1814-1815.

The unhappy differences which had arisen between Great Britain and the United States, in consequence of the Berlin decrees, had more subsisted for some time; and at the commencement of the year 1812, the tone and temper of the government of the latter country, rendered it but too apparent that nothing could prevent hostilities between the two countries, but a repeal on the part of the former of the orders in council. The spring of that year passed away in the consideration of various measures of preparation by the congress, in all which the war party displayed a manifest preponderance. An act for an embargo on all the shipping of the United States, for the term of ninety days from its date, passed the congress in the beginning of April, the purpose of which was to expedite the fitting out of the American ships of war, and to prevent any more pledges from remaining in the power of the enemy on the commencement of hostilities.

On the 1st of June, the president sent a long message to both houses of congress, enumerating all the provocations received from England, and recommending the subject to their early deliberation; and on the 4th he laid before them copies of the correspondence between Mr. Foster and Mr. Munroe, in which no expectation was held out of any relaxation of its orders by the British government. The result of the subsequent discussions in congress was an act passed on the 18th of June, declaring the actual existence of war between the United States and Great Britain. The different feelings with respect to this event, were manifested by the tokens of mourning displayed on the day of the declaration of war at Boston, in which city the commercial connexion with England, and an abhorrence of French principles, rendered the breach extremely unpopular; whereas, at Baltimore, where a number of privateers were fitting out to commit depredations on the British West India trade, a furious mob perpetrated cruel atrocities against some of the opposers of the war.

The conquest of Canada was an object which the American government evidently had in view when they declared hostilities, regarding it no doubt of easy attainment, the British force in that country being small, and the attachment of the people equivocal. Their operations against it commenced early in July 1812. General Hull entered the province of Upper Canada, above Fort Detroit, and issued a proclamation to the inhabitants, in a style expressive of his high confidence of success. He proceeded to attack Fort Malden, but failed in his attempt; and the British general Brock having collected a force for its relief, the Americans retired to Detroit. Hull was there besieged in his turn; and on the 16th of August entered into a capitulation, in virtue of which he surrendered the Fort with two thousand five hundred men, and thirty-three pieces of ordnance, to a much inferior force of British and Indians. This was a severe mortification to the American government, which in its suavine hopes of conquest, had refused to continue an armistice that had been temporarily agreed upon, between general Pro-voost, the governor-general of Canada, and general Dearborn, commander-in-chief of the American forces in the northern states. The plan for the invasion of Canada, though disconcerted by this event, was by no means removed, and a considerable American force being assembled in the neighborhood of Niagara, general W. Hull, on October the 13th, made an assault upon the British position at Queenstown. General Brock, who hastened to his defense, was killed while cheering on his men, and the position
was for a time taken; but a re-inforcement being brought up by major-general Sheaffe, the Americans were defeated, and general Wadsworth with nine hundred men surrendered themselves prisoners of war.

These disasters to the American arms by land were in some degree compensated by their success at sea. Their navy consisted in a few frigates, of a rate corresponding to the largest British, but in size, weight of metal, and number of men, nearly equal to ships of the line. Hence, when encountered by British frigates, the latter found themselves, as it were, surprised into a conflict with antagonists of much superior force. The first action of this kind took place on August the 19th, between the English frigate Guerriere, Captain Dacres, and the American frigate Constitution, captain Hull, in which the former, being soon totally disabled by the enemy's very superior fire, was obliged to strike. The injury she had received was so great, that the captured ship set her on fire. On October the 25th, the Macedonian English frigate, captain Carden, descrying a large frigate under American colours, bore down, and an action ensued which was continued with great bravery for more than two hours; when the English ship being reduced to the condition of a perfect wreck, and having incurred a heavy loss of men, to save the rest it was found necessary to surrender. Her antagonist proved to be the United States, commodore Decatur, ranking as a frigate, with the scantling of a seventy-four gun ship. In an action between two sloops of war, the advantage also was on the American side; and these events, so unusual to the British navy, though easily to be accounted for, were the source of so much mortification to one party as of triumph to the other. Numerous captures made by the American privateers among the West India islands, gave rise to complaints from the merchants and planters of Jamaica. Such were the principal circumstances of the first year of this new American war.

Eager to retrieve the disasters of the former campaign, the American general Winchester, in the month of January 1813, advanced again with more than one thousand men to the attack of Fort Detroit. Opposed to him was colonel Procter, with five hundred regulars and militia, and six hundred Indians; when about five hundred of the Americans, with their commander, surrendered prisoners, and the greater part of the rest, on their retreat, were cut off by the Indians. This misfortune, however, was compensated to them by the capture of York, the capital of Upper Canada, on Lake Ontario. General Dearborn arriving by water at the place on the 27th of April, landed his troops, and commenced an attack on the works, defended by general Sheaffe at the head of seven hundred regulars and militia, and some Indians. At the same time the American flotilla, under commodore Chauncy, opened a fire on the British batteries from the harbour. An explosion took place, which obliged general Sheaffe to march out with the regulars, leaving the others to capitulate. Considerable public stores were taken with the town.

The lakes of Canada now became the most active scene of warfare, and a number of spirited actions took place on their coasts and waters. On the 23d of April colonel Procter embarked with a force of regulars, militia, and Indians, to attack a post of Americans at the Rapids of the Miami, a river flowing into Lake Erie. While engaged in battering their defences an American re-inforcement of thirteen hundred men, under the command of brigadier-general Clay, coming down the river, made an attack upon him, aided by a sally of the garrison. After a severe action they were repulsed, and the greater part killed or taken prisoners. Colonel Procter, however, was not able to maintain his position.

The Americans, in force, made a landing on the 27th of May at Fort George, on the Niagara, and proceeded to an attack of the place. After a gallant defence, it was evacuated by the commander, colonel Vincent, who retreated to a position near the head of Lake Ontario. In the meantime, the American army pushed forwards in a large body, which rendered them masters of the Niagara frontier. They, however, met with several checks in attempting a further advance; and in June general Dearborn concentrated his forces at Fort George, where he remained in a strongly intrenched camp.
On Lake Ontario, the British naval commander Sir James Yeo, and the American commodore Chauncey, kept each other in check, without any decided superiority on either side. A British expedition to Lake Champlain was successful in destroying a number of military buildings, and a great quantity of naval and other stores. In the month of September, the Americans accomplished the object of gaining naval possession of the lakes, as far as concerned Lake Erie. Their commander on that station, commodore Perry, on the 10th of that month brought to action the British, or rather the Canadian squadron, commanded by captain Barclay, and compelled the withdrawal of it to surrender. The consequence of this disaster was the relinquishment by the British of the Michigan territory, with the exception of Fort Michilimackinac, and the abandonment of the posts in Upper Canada beyond Grand River.

In the autumnal months a powerful effort was made by the Americans for the invasion of Canada at different points. It commenced with the advance of major-general Hampton to the frontier on the Montreal side. Sir George Prevost repaired to the spot, bringing a re-inforcement to sir R. Sheaffe, commander of the district. Hampton passed the boundary into Lower Canada on the 21st of October, and proceeded along both banks of the Chateaugay river against the British advanced posts. On the 26th he was engaged by a much inferior force of British and Canadians, and so effectually checked, that he recrossed the frontier, and retreated to his former position. The American general Wilkinson, in co-operation with this attempt, embarked ten thousand men on Lake Ontario, and proceeded in batteaux down the St. Lawrence, with the intention of reaching Montreal. Sir G. Prevost, however, had placed a corps of observation to watch the movements of the Americans whom they attacked and entirely defeated the assailants with considerable loss, after which they returned to their own shores. The final result of this combined expedition was, that both the provinces of Canada were freed from their invaders, who withdrew in December to winter-quarters within their own territories.

A successful attempt by the British against Fort Niagara, was the latest occurrence in these parts. On the 19th of December a body of about five hundred men, under colonel Murray, was landed early in the morning near the fort, which by escalade carried the works, with a trifling loss, killing or taking prisoners all the garrison, and making prize of a large quantity of arms and stores. The American general Hull, arriving soon after at the town of Buffalo to check the farther progress of the British, was attacked on the 30th by general Riall, at the head of one thousand regulars and militia, and four hundred Indians, and entirely routed. Buffalo, and the village of Black-rock, were afterwards committed to the flames, and the whole of the American frontier was left naked; sir George Prevost, in a proclamation, represented these severities as a measure of retaliation for the destruction practised by the Americans in their invasion of Upper Canada, particularly their conflagration of Newark, a place containing one hundred and fifty houses.

During the time that these transactions were going on in the northern part of America, a desultory warfare was maintained in the south by the British blockading squadrons, which sent their light vessels up the rivers at the head of Chesapeake Bay, and made occasional attacks on the small towns and repositories of stores on their banks. These were generally successful, though the objects were of inconsiderable value. A more important enterprise was undertaken against a post at Hampton, in Virginia, defended by a considerable corps of troops. On the 26th of June sir S. Beckwith, who had embarked with the troops under his command on board admiral Cockburn’s light squadron, turned the flank of the Americans unobserved, and, after a brisk action, gained possession of their camp and batteries. In the following month, the islands of Ocracoke and Portsmouth, on the coast of North Carolina, were captured by the squadron of admiral Cockburn.

The enterprising spirit of the British navy was displayed, not only in occasional attacks on the towns situated on the American coast, but also in some
contests with the enemy's vessels of war. His Majesty's frigate the Shannon, captain Brooke, stationed off the port of Boston, had been brought to a state of the most perfect discipline by her commander, who assiduously exercised his men in the use of great and small arms. On the 1st of June captain Brooke stood close in with the Boston light-house, by way of a challenge to the United States' frigate the Chesapeake, a fine ship of forty-nine guns, full manned. The American accepted the proffered combat, and standing out of the harbour, confidently bore down on his foe. The ships were soon in close contact, when captain Brooke, perceiving a favourable opportunity, gave orders to board the Chesapeake, himself setting the example. The conflict was severe, but short: in two minutes the American's decks were cleared, her colours were hauled down, and the British flag hoisted over them; and she was led away in triumph, in the sight of a number of the inhabitants of Boston, who witnessed the action, and were expecting her victorious return.

The French navy was at this time so much reduced, that scarcely any opportunity was given during the year to the British seamen of displaying their superiority, in the combats of squadrons or single ships, against their accustomed foe; and their spirit of enterprise was chiefly exercised in attacks upon harbours and batteries on the sea-coast. Several spirited and successful actions of this kind in the Mediterranean and its branches were reported, of which one of the most considerable was the capture of Fiume, in the Gulf of Venice. Admiral Freemantle, with a squadron under his command, on the 2d of July anchored opposite to this town, which was defended by four strong batteries. On the following day the ships weighed to attack the batteries, while a detachment of seamen and marines was sent to storm the mole-head. This party succeeding, they dashed into the town, drove before them the garrison, with the governor at its head, and with a very inconsiderable loss gained complete possession of the place. It was highly to the honour of the victors, that although the town was stormed in every part, not an individual was plundered, nor was anything carried away except the goods afloat and the government stores. Of ninety vessels captured, more than half were restored to their owners.

Before we turn our attention to the continent of Europe, it may perhaps be as well to pursue the narrative of the war with America, during the year 1814, when happily it was brought to a termination. On the 7th of January, the president communicated to congress copies of letters which had passed between lord Castlereagh and Mr. Munroe, in which the former proposed the appointment of plenipotentiaries to treat on terms of peace, either at London or Gottenburg; which proposal was accepted by the president, who made choice of Gottenburg as the place. Such a step was rendered the more expedient to the American government, by the open opposition to the war manifested in the northern States, of which a specimen was given in a very forcible speech delivered by governor Strong before the legislature of Massachusetts. That the discontents occasioned by the restrictions on commerce, and their effects on the revenue of America, had made a serious impression, appeared from an act passed by the congress, in consequence of a message from the president, for the repeal of the embargo and non-importation acts. The expectations of a consequent revival of trade were, however, in a great measure frustrated, by the extension of the British blockade along the whole coast of the United States, announced in April by admiral Cochrane.

Early in the month of February the American general Wilkinson abandoned his position on the frontier of Lower Canada, and moved his headquarters to Burlington and Plattsburg, after partially destroying block-houses and barracks erected at a great expense, the destruction of which, with a quantity of stores, was completed by a pursuing British detachment. Wilkinson afterwards made an attack on a British post commanded by major Hancock, but was repulsed with considerable loss.

The fort of Oswego, situate on Lake Ontario, was reduced by sir James Yeo and general Drummond early in May; an achievement which was
chieflly serviceable as it retarded the equipment of the enemy's armament on that lake. The English commodore had blockaded Sackett's-harbour, in the vain hope of co-operation from the commander-in-chief, general Prevost; but on the return of Chauncey, his able opponent, with a superior force, he reluctantly retired to Kingston. On this the Americans became the assailants: a formidable force under general Brown crossed the Niagara river, and compelled the garrison of Fort Erie to surrender prisoners of war. He then attacked the British lines at Chippawa; and after a warm action, in which the American troops appeared to have improved much in courage and discipline, the British commander, general Riall, whose strength was greatly inferior, retreated upon Fort George. The latter officer, however, being joined by general Drummond on the 25th of July, the Americans were in their turn defeated, and compelled to take refuge under the cannon of Fort Erie.

Large reinforcements arriving from Europe about midsummer, sir George Prevost, after much consideration, determined upon an expedition to Plattsburg, on Lake Champlain. At the head of twelve thousand excellent troops the commander-in-chief ventured to enter the American territory; and, cautiously traversing the banks of the lake without seeing the face of an enemy, he arrived at his destination early in September. The defences of Plattsburg were no better than slight field-works, still unfinished, and the garrison consisted of about four thousand men, chiefly raw militia; but he was in vain urged to an immediate assault, alleging the necessity of naval co-operation. Captain Downie, who commanded the flotilla on the lake, reached Plattsburg on the 11th of September, and immediately commenced the attack, in full confidence that the land-works would be assailed at the same time; but his signals were not answered. That brave officer fell early in the action; but the squadron maintained the fight, till, completely overpowered by the naval force of the enemy, combined with the incessant fire from the works, the ships were either destroyed or compelled to strike.

The commander-in-chief at length commenced his reluctant and long protracted attack; but almost immediately withdrew his troops, and, amidst the loud reproaches of the soldiery, ordered a general retreat, leaving behind him a vast quantity of stores; but his whole loss in killed and wounded did not exceed two hundred men. This disaster closed the campaign, if such it could be called, in Lower Canada; and by the exertions of general Drummond, wholly unaided by the commander-in-chief, the Americans were finally compelled to evacuate Fort Erie, and the whole of the Niagara shore in Upper Canada. Sir James Yeo did not hesitate to prefer a direct accusation against sir George Prevost for neglect of duty and misconduct. That commander was consequently recalled, but did not live to await the issue of an inquiry into his behaviour.

The military operations on the coasts of the southern American states had hitherto been rather of a harassing and predatory kind, than directed to any important purpose; but it was now resolved to strike a blow in this quarter, which might exert an influence on the fate of the war. A large naval force under the command of vice-admiral sir Alexander Cochrane, having on board a strong body of troops commanded by major-general Robert Ross, was in the Chesapeake the beginning of August, waiting for the arrival of rear-admiral Malcolm with an expedition from Bermuda. On their junction the admiral was informed by rear-admiral Cockburn, that the American commodore Barney, with the Baltimore flotilla, had taken shelter at the head of the Patuxent. Of this circumstance they determined to take advantage for ascending the river, with the declared purpose of an attack upon Burney, while their real object was the city of Washington, the American capital, not far distant from a port on the Patuxent.

On the 10th and 20th of August, the army being landed at that place, general Ross began his march to Washington, the force of the Americans for its protection having been ascertained to be such as would justify an attempt to take it by a coup de main. Arriving on the 24th within five miles of the capital, he found the Americans, to the number of eight or nine thou-
and, strongly posted to dispute its advance. An attack on them was immediately directed; and it was made with so much impetuosity, that they were in a short time wholly dispersed, and the British army reached Washington in the evening of the same day. No time was lost in commencing the work of destruction, which was the main purpose of the expedition. The public buildings committed to the flames were, the capitol, including the senate-house and house of representatives, the president’s palace, the arsenal, the dock-yard, treasury, war office, rope-walk, and the great bridge across the Potomac. A frigate ready to be launched, and a sloop of war, were consumed in the dock-yard. Private property was respected, and strict discipline was observed among the troops. On the following night a retreat was commenced, and the army having met with no molestation on its return, was on the 30th embarked.

Connected with this enterprise was the destruction of Fort Washington on the Potomac, below the city. This was effected on the 27th by captain Gordon of the Seahorse, accompanied by other vessels; and by its fall the town of Alexandria, on the same river, was left without protection. Captain Gordon then advanced to Alexandria, and placed his ships so as to force compliance with any terms he chose to propose. The conditions at length agreed on were, that the town should be spared with the exception of its public works, and the inhabitants unmolested on giving up all the naval and ordnance stores, public and private, all the shipping and their furniture, and merchandise of every description. Twenty-one of the vessels were fitted for sea, and loaded on the 21st, when captain Gordon being informed that preparations were making to oppose his return, quitted Alexandria without waiting to destroy the stores which he could not carry away, and brought back all his squadron and prizes in safety to the Chesapeake.

The American president on this issued a proclamation, in which he spoke of the devastation at Washington as a measure of extreme and barbarous severity; and mentioned that the British naval commander on the station had avowed his purpose of destroying and laying waste such towns and districts on the coast as should be found assailable, under the pretext of retaliation for the ravages committed in Upper Canada, though none such occurred but what had been shewn to be unauthorized. He then called upon all officers to be alert and vigilant in providing the means of defence.

Admiral Cochrane and general Ross next concerted the plan of an attempt against the town of Baltimore, one of the most considerable ports in the United States. On the 12th of September the troops were landed about eighteen miles from the town, whence they advanced along a peninsula between two rivers. As the vanguard was engaged with the enemy’s riflemen covered with woods, general Ross received a mortal wound in the breast. He instantly sent for colonel Brooke, the second in command, to whom he gave some instructions: Recommending his young children to the protection of his country, and exclaiming, “My dear wife!” he expired. Few men ever fell in battle more generally beloved in their private character, or admired in their professional capacity.

The van now pressed on, driving the enemy’s light troops before them, till they arrived within five miles of Baltimore. A corps of six thousand men was there descried, posted behind a palisade across the road. They were immediately attacked and dispersed with great loss, and the army halted for the night. On the next day they advanced, and took a position a mile and a half from Baltimore. The hills surrounding the town were found occupied by a chain of palisaded redoubts and other works, defended, it was said, by fifteen thousand men. An attack was, however, planned by the British commander, when a message arrived from the admiral, acquainting him that the harbour was closed in such a manner by sunken vessels defended by batteries, that it was impossible to bring up his ships to co-operate as had been intended. It was therefore the opinion of both commanders, that the chance of success in further operations was not adequate to the hazard; and after the army in retreating had halted some time, to give the Americans an opportunity of following, which they declined doing, it was again
THE HISTORY OF

PART IV

embarked. The principal loss in this expedition was that of the lamented commander.

The negotiations for peace, which had been moved from Gottenburg to Ghent, commenced in August, 1814; and in October an account of the proceedings was laid by the American president before the congress. From this it appeared that the British government had advanced certain demands respecting the integrity of the Indian territory, the military possession of the lakes, and the settlement of the boundaries, which the American plenipotentiaries did not hesitate absolutely to reject. The congress almost unanimously confirmed this rejection; and measures were determined on for defensive preparations, on the supposition of a continuance of the war adequate to the emergency. At the same time, the impossibility of negotiating loans in the existing state of public credit, occasioned the adoption of a system of taxation which could not fail of adding greatly to the unpopularity of the war. Happily, however, its inutility to both countries was become sufficiently apparent; and the restoration of peace in Europe had removed most of the causes of difference. The commissioners at Ghent, therefore, came to an agreement before the year had expired, and on the 23th of December a treaty of peace and amity between Great Britain and the United States was signed, which afterwards received a ratification from both governments. The articles of this treaty chiefly related to the disputes respecting boundaries, for the determination of which it was agreed that commissioners should reciprocally be appointed. Each nation engaged to put an end to all hostilities that might be subsisting between them and the Indian tribes, and to restore to them all the possessions and privileges which appertained to them previous to such hostilities. Both parties likewise covenanted to continue their efforts for the abolition of the slave trade. No notice whatever was taken of the circumstances which occasioned the war. We now return to the affairs of France.

It was naturally to be expected that upon the abdication of Napoleon, the friends of the Bourbon family would be inspired with confident hopes of the elevation of Louis to the throne of France. They did not long conceal their sentiments, and an address was signed by a great number of the Parisians recommending the royal exile to the patronage of the allied sovereigns, and urging them to complete by his enthronement, the liberation of France. Talleyrand, who had been long disgusted with the government of Napoleon, and had particularly disapproved of his conduct towards Spain, promoted this object of the address by all the weight of his authority; and this wish soon became general. Some days of suspense intervened, and during that time tranquillity prevailed in Paris. On the 6th of April a new constitution was announced by the senate. The first article recognized the French government as monarchical and hereditary, and the second declared that the people freely called Louis Stanislaus Xavier to the throne. The count d'Artois came first into France in the quality of a lieutenant of the realm, and on the 23d of April signed the convention of Paris, which reduced the territory of France to its limits of the 1st of January, 1792, and by which Belgium, Savoy, Nice, Genoa, and an immense military material ceased to belong to it.

Louis XVIII, who had long lived in England in tranquil retirement, roused himself from the indolence of a private life, and made all due preparation for undertaking the arduous task of governing a kingdom. He repaired forthwith to London, where, at the request of the prince regent, he made his public entry into Westminster with the pompous parade of a sovereign and having received from the good citizens of London the most gratifying marks of respect, he proceeded to Dover, and on the 24th of April embarked in a royal yacht conveyed by the duke of Clarence. At Calais he was hailed with the loudest acclamations, and on the 2nd of May published a declaration from St. Ouen, a pleasant village about four miles from the capital, in which adverting to the constitutional act passed by the senate on the 6th of April and which the allied powers had solemnly engaged to guarantee, "he now cognized that its basis were good: but that a great number of the articles bearing the marks of the precipitancy with which they were drawn up..."
Lekt. XVIII. Modern Europe.

"could not, in their present form, become fundamental laws of the state; and he convoked for the 10th of June the senate and the legislative body, engaging to lay before them the result of his labours." This declaration was by no means calculated to excite the national confidence! On the following day, however, he entered Paris, where he was received with some tokens of applause, partly voluntary and partly extorted, but none from the military.

Napoleon, "fallen from his high estate," professed to be gratified with a treaty, by which it was agreed that he should not merely reside on the island of Elba, but that he should exercise supreme sway over a whole territory, comprising a district of sixty miles in circumference, and having a population of fourteen thousand inhabitants! That he should retain the imperial title, and annually receive from France, for the support of his rank, two millions of francs, a moiety of which should at his death be transferred to the empress Marie Louise, to whom, and to her issue, the duchy of Parma and its dependencies would be immediately assigned in full sovereignty; that his mother, and his brothers and sisters, should be accommodated with a liberal allowance; that his private property in France should, to a certain extent, be reserved as a fund for the occasional gratification of such friends as he might recommend to the notice of the government; and that he might take four hundred men to Elba, and retain them as defenders of his person. With these concessions he pretended to be satisfied; and taking leave of the imperial guard at Fontainebleau, he was escorted to the south of France by a detachment of the military, attended by commissioners from the allied powers. His progress was marked by alternate applause and reproach. At Valence he had an interview with marshal Augereau, duke of Castiglione, not of the most flattering kind. The marshal, who was a high spirited officer, is reported to have reproached him severely as a traitor to the army and to France—as destitute of courage, and not daring to die the death of a soldier. But this was not the only mortification which he experienced during his journey. At Avignon he was in danger of personal violence, and he with difficulty escaped the effects of popular resentment. On the 28th of April, he embarked at St. Pre jus on board an English frigate for Porto Ferrajo, where he landed, in a few days, and where he had leisure to reflect on the extraordinary vicissitude which his fortunes had undergone.

Previous to the allies reaching Paris, the impossibility of preserving Spain had prompted Napoleon to release Ferdinand from his captivity, and to conclude a treaty with that prince for his restoration to the throne of Madrid. In announcing this convention to the regency, Ferdinand expressed his gratitude for the unalterable attachment of his countrymen to his interests, and also for the persevering courage and energy of his British allies. He at the same time acknowledged his obligations to the emperor of France for the comforts which he had enjoyed during his exile, and the spontaneous offer of an advantageous pacification. The answer which he received was respectful and polite; but it was accompanied by a former decree of the cortes tending to annul every convention which he might have been induced to sign while in a state of captivity. In reply to another communication, the regents, evading the solicited ratification of the late treaty, informed Ferdinand, that an ambassador had been deputed in his name to assist at the proposed congress of the chief European powers, the result of which would probably be a general peace. The council of state, moreover, declared that he ought not to be allowed to resume his authority without binding himself by an oath to an observance of the constitution; and the cortes confirmed this arrangement, adding, that no Spaniard who had obtained any employment, received any mark of honour, or enjoyed a pension by the grant of Napoleon, or of Joseph, or who had retired from the kingdom with the French retreating armies, should be allowed to accompany Ferdinand on his return. Trusting, however, to his authority and influence, he disregarded these attempts to control him, and resolved to pursue his own inclinations, or follow the advice of his favourites. He secretly entered Spain by a different route from that which the regency had recommended, and proceeded,
to Valencia, where he issued two decrees intimating an intention of sacrificing the interests of the two parties which divided the nation, to the benefit of a third set of men, then beginning to take the form and consistence of a party. These advisers were the friends of the ancient system, the slaves of superstition and deeply rooted prejudices, who had temporized during the residence of the royal family at Bayonne, and opposed the constitution which was adjusted at Cadiz. Influenced by these unenlightened counsellors, the king stigmatized the existing cortes as illegally constituted, and having condemned the new constitution, dissolved the assembly with a promise of convoking a regular national council. By another decree, Ferdinand restrained the liberty of the press, declaring that the censor should be such individuals as were not attached to the cortes, neither had been in the service of Joseph Buonaparte. Forgetting or neglecting the protest against despotism, which was included in the former of these decrees, he ordered the commandant of Madrid to seize two of the members of the regency, several of the members of the cortes, and some editors of periodical journals, without stating their specific crimes or delinquency, and many other arbitrary arrests and imprisonments speedily followed. Intent on the restoration of monasteries, he ordained the restitution of the estates belonging to these foundations without making compensation for the purchase or for the subsequent improvement of the property. He concurred with the late assembly in withholding the confiscated or sequestered lands and goods of supposed traitors, and thus enforced a decree which he ought rather to have annulled. The restoration of the pope's authority was almost as agreeable to Ferdinand as the grant of his own return to power; and the former, like an incorrigible bigot, exhibited the same superstitious zeal which characterized the Spanish monarch, instead of displaying a proper regard for incorrupt religion and enlightened government.

In France matters proceeded with as much tranquillity as, under existing circumstances, could reasonably be expected. The senate and the representative body had connected the acceptance of the new constitution with the inauguration of Louis, ordering that he should not be proclaimed king until he had sworn to the observance of the code; but, though a mild and moderate prince he was unwilling to be fettered; and, trusting to his own judgment, and to the good sense and patriotism of his friends, he declared that he would present to the people such a constitution as they should have no reason to disapprove. Aware of the influence and power which Napoleon's companions in arms, the marshals, had obtained, Louis endeavoured to conciliate them by respectful attention; and by a general confirmation of their honours and emoluments; and to extend his own interest among the troops, he gave to his brother, his two nephews, the duke of Orleans, the prince of Condé and his son, the command of regiments, subjecting the former colonels to the authority of these princes, with the title of inspector-general. At the same time, he gratified both the army and the people by expediting the departure of the foreign troops, whose presence, notwithstanding their orderly and exemplary behaviour, unavoidably excited unwelcome sensations.

The negotiations between France and the combined powers were conducted without acrimony. Louis and Talleyrand were sensible of the necessity of abandoning Napoleon's conquests, and of restoring the kingdom to moderate limits. Great Britain agreed to yield all her conquests in the West Indies, except Tobago, St. Lucia, and the Spanish part of St. Domingo with the isle of France. Malta was confirmed to England: and France engaged to erect no fortifications in India. She also pledged herself to co-operate with Great Britain in the eventual abolition of the slave trade. This treaty which was signed at Paris on the 27th of May 1814, also contained an article, ordaining a convocation to be held at Vienna, consisting of plenipotentiaries of the contracting powers, for the adjustment of the balance of power and of a durable peace.

Having so far adjusted the new order of things in France, the allied sovereigns received a respectful invitation from the prince regent to visit England, of which several of them cheerfully availed themselves. In the
LETTER XIX.

State of France consequent on the return of the Bourbons.—Conduct and pursuits of Napoleon in Elba.—Makes his escape and returns to France.—Marches into the heart of the country, and is received with eclat.—Dismay of the royal government.—Napoleon re-instated on the throne of France.—Proceedings of the Congress of Vienna.—The outlawed invader proclaims his grievances in justification of his conduct.—Attempts to conciliate the nation.—Preparations to renew the war, A. D. 1814—1815.

The return of peace, after a period of more than twenty years almost incessant warfare, you, my son, will naturally conclude, would be hailed with transports of joy by the more respectable part of the French nation; yet there were circumstances attending the present which could not but prove extremely mortifying to a high-spirited nation in general, while the interests of many, who unhappily batten on the miseries of a country, must necessarily prompt them to murmur and complain. Louis XVIII, was restored to the crown with the general concurrence of the nation; and he had given his subjects a constitution which was calculated to satisfy the friends of rational freedom. But the year had not closed ere political differences began to show themselves, in such form as to indicate that much discontent and suspicion existed among large classes of the community.

The terms of the peace had been studiously calculated to recommend it to the feelings of the French people. France was certainly stripped of that extended sway which rendered her dangerous to the independence of other European nations, and reduced, generally speaking, to the boundaries which she occupied on the 1st of January 1792. Nevertheless several small grants were made to her on the side of Germany and the Netherlands; while, on that of Savoy, she had ceded to her the considerable towns of Chamberri, Annecy, Avignon, with the Venaissin, and Mont Belliard. But these concessions availed little; and looking upon what they had lost, many of the French people, after the recollection had subsided of their escape from a dreadful war, were naturally disposed to murmur against the reduction of their territories, and to insist that Belgium, at least, should have remained with them. But this was only one of their many grievances; the sense of honour, as it was called, or rather the vanity of military ascendancy and of national aggrandisement, had been instilled by Napoleon into all classes of his subjects, though they were chiefly cherished by his companions in arms. According to their opinion, the glory of France had risen with their late emperor, and with him had sunk for ever; not, as they contended, through the superior force or prowess of the enemy; but by the treachery of Marmont,
and the other generals whom Napoleon trusted. This sentiment passed from the ranks of the soldiers into other classes of society, all of which were at the moment deeply enamoured of what was represented to them as national glory. All were forced to allow, that they had received back the family of the Bourbons from the hands of foreign conquerors; and that the reign of Louis XVIII. had only commenced, because France had been conquered and Paris surrendered. They could not forget that the allies had declared the restoration of the ancient family to be combined with the restriction of France within the ancient limits; and that, accordingly, the first act of Monsieur, as lieutenant of the kingdom, had been to order the surrender of more than fifty fortresses beyond the frontiers conquered by their arms under the skill and valour of Napoleon. The meanest follower of the camp affected to feel his share in the national disgrace of losing provinces, to which France had no title but that of military usurpation. The hope that the government would at least recover Belgium, so convenient for France, and which, as they contended, fell within her natural boundaries, served for a time to combat these feelings; but when it was plainly seen that the new government of France neither could nor would engage in external war, for this or any other object, the discontent of the army became universal, and they might be pronounced ripe for any desperate enterprise.

In addition to the sources of dissatisfaction and discontent now mentioned, whether real or supposed, there were many others which tended greatly to embarrass the government at this critical moment: Among these we might specify the restraints imposed on the liberty of the press, or freedom of discussion; the apprehensions which were naturally enough entertained lest the church and crown lands, which had been alienated during the revolution, should now be resumed; the claims of the emigrants which came to be mooted in the chamber of delegates; and the defalcation in the financial department amounting, only in two years, 1812 and 1813, to the sum of thirteen millions sterling, which had been well known to Napoleon, but by him studiously kept back from the public, and making the total deficiency of the debt of France in the course of the last thirteen years to amount to the enormous sum of sixty-eight millions and a half sterling money. Thus split into parties, oppressed with taxes, vexed with those nameless and mysterious jealousies and fears which form the most dangerous subjects of disagreements France was at this time full of inflammable materials, and there was not wanting a torch to light them into a flame; as the sequel will shew.

When Napoleon had taken up his residence at Elba, he professed to those around him to be perfectly resigned to his fate; spoke of himself as of a man politically dead; and declared that his intentions were henceforth to devote himself to the pursuits of science and literature. He traversed his new empire in every direction; planned improvements or alterations, which, had they been carried into effect, with the means which he possessed, would probably have occupied his whole life time to execute. He established his court upon an ambitious scale, considering his limited territory and slender income; the interior of his household, though reduced to thirty-five persons, still held the titles, and affected the rank proper to an imperial court; and his body guard, consisting of about seven hundred infantry and eighty cavalry, seemed to occupy as much of his attention as the grand army had formerly done. They were constantly exercised, and, in a short time, he was observed to be anxious about obtaining recruits for them.

As early as the month of July, 1814, there was observed to be a considerable degree of fermentation in Italy, to which the neighbourhood of Elba, the residence of several members of the Buonaparte family, and the sovereignty of Murat, occasioned a general resort of Napoleon’s friends and admirers. This agitation increased daily, and various arts were resorted to for disseminating a prospect of Napoleon’s future return to power. Parties of recruits passed over from Italy to Elba, to enlist in his guards; and two persons employed in this service were arrested at Leghorn, in whose possession were found written lists, containing the names of several hundred persons who were willing to serve Napoleon. About the middle of summer the latter
was visited by his mother and his sister, the princess Pauline. At this time, too, he seems to have expected to be joined by his wife, Marie Louise, who, it was said, was coming to take possession of her Italian dominions. Their separation, with the incidents which had occurred before Paris, were the only topics on which he appeared to lose his temper. On these he used strong and violent language. He said that interdicting him intercourse with his wife and son, excited universal reprobation at Vienna; that no such instance of inhumanity and injustice could be pointed out in modern times; that the empress was detained a prisoner, an orderly officer constantly attending upon her; finally that she had given him to understand before she quitted Orleans, that she was to obtain permission to join him at the island of Elba, though it was now denied her.

Among those who accompanied the exiled emperor to his new residence was baron Kohler, an Austrian general of rank and reputation—a particular friend and old school-fellow of prince Schwarzenberg. But this gentleman took his departure about the middle of May, leaving colonel sir Niel Campbell the only one of the four commissioners who continued to remain at Elba by order of the British cabinet. It is difficult to say what sir Niel’s office really was or what were his instructions. He had neither power, title, nor means to interfere with Napoleon’s movements. The emperor had been recognized by a treaty, as an independent sovereign. It was therefore only as an envoy that he could be permitted to reside at his court. When interrogated by the governor of Porto Ferrajo, as to the character he assumed and the length of his stay, he obliged the British officer to say, that his orders were to remain in Elba till the breaking up of the congress which was then settling the affairs of Europe. Napoleon did not oppose or murmur at the continued, though equivocal, residence of sir Niel Campbell at Elba—on the contrary he affected to be pleased with it. For a considerable time he even seemed to seek the society of the British envoy, held frequent intercourse with him, and conversed with apparent confidence on public affairs. On the 16th of September, he had an audience of three hours, during which Napoleon talked incessantly—made many declarations of his having ceased to concern himself about any thing but his retreat, his family, his house, cows and poultry, &c.—spoke in the highest terms of the English character, protesting it had always had his sincere admiration, and requested the British officer to lose no time in procuring him an English grammar! But as the close of the year approached, sir Niel Campbell became impressed with a notion that Napoleon studied to exclude him from his presence as much as possible, without absolute rudeness—a change was discernible in his manners and habits—the alterations which he had planned in the island no longer gave him the same interest—he renounced, from time to time, the severe exercise in which he at first indulged, using a carriage rather than his horse, and occasionally sunk into fits of deep contemplation, mingled with gloomy anxiety. He, also, became subject to some pecuniary inconveniences to which he had hitherto been a stranger. He had plunged into expenses with imprudent eagerness, and without weighing the amount of his resources against the cost of his proposed alterations; and this was greatly heightened by the culpable negligence of the French government in the payment of his yearly income. The sixth article of the treaty at Fontainebleau provided an annuity, or revenue of two millions five hundred thousand francs, to be registered on the Great Book of France, and paid without abatement or deduction to Napoleon. This annual provision was stipulated by the marshals MacDonald and Ney, as the price of Napoleon’s resignation, and the French ministers could not refuse a declaration of payment without gross injustice to the ex-emperor, and at the same time a severe insult to the allied powers. Yet, far from this pension being paid with regularity, it does not appear that Napoleon ever received a single remittance on account of it. The British resident observing how much he was harassed by pecuniary straits, and hearing his complaints, repeatedly wrote home to his court on the subject, giving it as his opinion, ‘that, if these difficulties pressed on him much longer, so as to prevent him from continuing the external show of a court, he was
"perfectly capable of crossing over to Piombino with his troops, or committing any other extravagance." This was sir Niel Campbell's opinion on the 31st of October 1814, and lord Castlereagh remonstrated strongly with the French ministers on the subject, though England was the only power among the allies, who, not being a party to the treaty of Fontainbleau, might safely have left it to those states that were. The French were not ashamed to defend their conduct on the flimsy pretext that the pension was not due until the year of his exile was elapsed—a defence wholly evasive in as much as that such a pension, being of an alimentary nature, the quarterly or termly payments ought to have been paid in advance.

While Napoleon, harassed by pecuniary difficulties, and the other subjects of complaint, tormented by the restlessness of a mind impatient of restraint, gave vent to expressions which excited suspicion and ought to have induced caution, his court began to assume a very singular appearance; it was like the court of a barrack, filled with military, gens-d'armes, police officers of all sorts, refugees of every nation, expectants and dependants upon the court, domestics and adventurers, all connected with Napoleon and holding or expecting some benefit at his hand. Rumours of every kind were buzzed about through this miscellaneous crowd as thick as motes in sunshine. Suspicious characters appeared, and disappeared again, without affording any trace of their journey or object. The port was filled with ships from all parts of Italy; the four armed vessels allotted to Napoleon for the protection of the island, and seventeen others belonging to the miners, were constantly engaged in voyages to Italy, and brought over or returned to the continent, Italians, Sicilians, Frenchmen, and Greeks, who seemed to be all upon the alert, yet gave no reason for their coming or departing.

The situation of sir Niel Campbell now became very embarrassing. Napoleon, affecting to be more tenacious than ever of his dignity, not only excluded the British envoy from his own presence, but even threw obstacles in the way of his visiting his mother and sister. It was, therefore, only from interviews with Napoleon himself that he could hope to get any information; and to avail himself of these, sir Niel was obliged to absent himself from the island occasionally, which gave him an opportunity of desiring an audience as he went away and returned. At such times as he remained on the island, he was discountenanced, and all attention withdrawn from him; yet in a manner so artful, as to render it impossible for him to make a formal complaint, especially as he had no avowed official character, and was something in the situation of a guest, whose intrusion had placed him at the favour of his host. Symptoms of some approaching catastrophe, however, could not escape the British resident. Napoleon had interviews with his mother, after which she appeared deeply distressed. She was also heard to speak of three deputations which he had received from France. It was, moreover, accounted a circumstance of strong suspicion, that discharges and furloughs were granted to two or three hundred of Napoleon's old guard, by the medium of whom, as was too late discovered, the allegiance of the military in France was corrupted and seduced, and their minds prepared for what was to ensue. At length, Mariotti, the French consul at Leghorn, informed sir Niel Campbell that it was certainly determined at Elba, that Napoleon, with his guards should embark for the continent. Sir Niel was at Leghorn when he received this intelligence, and had left the Partridge sloop of war to cruise round Elba. It was naturally concluded that Italy was the object of Napoleon, to join with his brother-in-law Murat, who was at that time fatally for himself, raising his banner.

On the 25th of February 1815, the Partridge having come to Leghorn and fetched off sir Niel Campbell, the appearance, as the vessel approached Porto Ferraio on her return, of the national guard on the batteries, instead of the created grenadiers of the Imperial guard, at once apprised the British resident of what had taken place. When he landed, he found the mother and sister of the emperor in a well-assumed agony of anxiety about the fate of their relative, of whom they affected to know nothing more than that he had steered towards the coast of Barbary. They appeared extremely anxious to
detain Sir Niels Campbell on shore; but, resisting their entreaties, and repelling the more pressing arguments of the governor, the British envoy regained his vessel and set sail in pursuit of the adventurer. It was, however, too late; the Partridge only obtained a distant sight of the flotilla, after Napoleon and his forces had landed.

In his passage Napoleon encountered two great risks: the first was from meeting a royal French frigate, who hailed the Inconstant. The guards were ordered to put off their caps and go down below, or lie upon deck, while the captain of the Inconstant exchanged some civilities with the commander of the frigate, with whom he happened to be acquainted, and being well known in those seas, he was permitted to pass without farther inquiry. The second danger was from the pursuit of Sir Niels Campbell, in the Partridge, English sloop of war, who pursued with a determination to capture or sink the whole flotilla. Escaping these dangers, however, it was on the 1st of March, that Napoleon, causing his followers once more to assume the tri-coloured cockade, disembarked at Cannes, a small sea-port in the gulf of St. Juan, not far from Frejus, which had seen him land, a single individual returned from Egypt, to conquer a mighty empire; had also beheld him set sail, a terrified exile, to occupy the place of his banishment; and now again witnessed his return, a daring adventurer, once more to throw the dice for a throne or a grave. A small party of his guards presented themselves before Antibes, but were made prisoners by General Corsin, the governor of the place. Undismayed, however, by this inauspicious commencement, Napoleon instantly began his march at the head of scarcely a thousand men, towards the centre of a kingdom from which he had been expelled with execrations, and where his rival now occupied in peace an hereditary throne. For some time the inhabitants gazed on them with doubtful and astonished eyes, as if uncertain whether to assist them as friends, or oppose them as invaders. A few peasants cried Vive l'Empereur! but the adventurers received neither countenance nor opposition from those of the higher ranks. On the evening of March the 2nd, a day and a half after landing, the little band of invaders reached Cremin, having left behind them their small train of artillery, the better to enable them to make forced marches. As Napoleon approached the province of Dauphine, termed the cradle of the revolution, the peasants greeted him with more general welcome, but still no proprietors appeared, no clergy, no public functionaries. They were, however, now approximating to those by whom the success or ruin of the expedition must be decided.

Mareschal Soult, the minister at war, had ordered some large bodies of troops to be moved into the country betwixt Lyons and Chamberi, to support, as he afterwards alleged, the high language which Talleyrand had recently been holding at the congress, by showing that France was in readiness for war. If Soult acted in this instance with good faith, he was, to say the least, most unfortunate; for, as he himself admitted in his attempt at exculpation, the troops were so placed as if they had been purposely thrown in Napoleon's way, and proved unhappily to consist of corps peculiarly devoted to the ex-emperor's person. On the 7th of March, the seventh regiment of the line, commanded by Colonel Labedoyere, arrived at Grenoble. He was a young nobleman, of handsome person, and distinguished as a military man. His marriage having connected him with the noble and loyal family of Dumas, he procured preferment and active employment under Louis XVIII., through their interest, and they were induced even to pledge themselves for his fidelity. Yet Labedoyere had been engaged by Cambronne deep in the conspiracy of Elba, and used the command thus obtained for the destruction of the monarch by whom he was trusted.

As Napoleon approached Grenoble, he came into contact with the outposts of the garrison, who drew out, but seemed irresolute. Napoleon halted his own little band, and advanced almost alone, exposing his breast, as he exclaimed, "He who will kill his emperor, let him now work his pleasure." The appeal was irresistible—the soldiers threw down their arms, crowded round the general who had so often led them to victory, and shouted Vive l'Empereur! In the mean time Labedoyere at the head of two battalions,
was saluting from the gates of Grenoble. As they advanced he displayed an eagle, and began to distribute among his soldiers the tri-coloured cockades which he had concealed in the hollow of a drum. They were received with enthusiasm. It was at this moment the mareschal des Camp des Villiers, superior officer of Labeledoyere, arrived on the spot, alarmed at what was going forward, and expostulated with the young military fanatic and the soldiers, but he was compelled to retire. General Marchand, the loyal commandant of Grenoble, had as little influence on the troops remaining in the place; they made him prisoner and delivered up the city to Napoleon, who thus found himself at the head of nearly three thousand soldiers, with a suitable train of artillery, and a corresponding quantity of ammunition.

When intelligence first reached Paris of Napoleon's arrival, it excited surprise rather than alarm; and when the information was communicated to the congress then sitting at Vienna, it is said the members looked at each other and burst out into a fit of laughter! But when this adventurer was found to traverse the country without opposition, some strange and combined treason began to be generally apprehended. That the Bourbons might not be wanting to their own cause, Monsieur, with the duke of Orleans, set out for Lyons, and the duke D'Angoulême repaired to Nîmes. The legislative bodies, and many of the nobility declared for the royal cause. The ministers of foreign nations then resident at Paris hastened to assure Louis of the support of their sovereigns. Corps of volunteers were raised both among the royalists, and the constitutional or moderate party; and the most animating proclamations called the people to arms. An address by the celebrated Benjamin Constant, one of the most distinguished of the moderate party was remarkable for its eloquence. It placed in the most luminous point of view the difference between the lawful government of a constitutional monarch, and the usurpation of an Attila or Genghiz, who governed only by the sword of his Mamaluks. It reminded France of the general detestation with which Napoleon had been expelled from the kingdom, and proclaimed Frenchmen to be the scorn of Europe, should they again stretch their hands voluntarily to the shackles which they had burst and hurled from them. All were summoned to arms, more especially those to whom liberty was dear; since in the triumph of Napoleon it must find its grave for ever.

But notwithstanding all these demonstrations of zeal, the public mind had obviously been much influenced by the causes of discontent which had been so artfully enlarged upon for many months past; and it became every moment more likely, that, not the voice of the people, but the sword of the army, must decide the pending contest. Soult, whose conduct had given much cause for suspicion, resigned his office, and was succeeded by Clarke, duke of Feltre, less renowned as a warrior, but more trustworthy as a subject. A camp was established at Melun; troops were assembled there; and as much care as possible was used in selecting the troops to whom the royal cause was to be committed. In the mean time several circumstances took place which was favourable to the cause of the Bourbons. Several discoveries were made of a conspiracy which had been hatching for the overthrow of the existing government, and in which some of the military officers were deeply implicated. On the 10th of March, Lefebvre Desnouettes, marched forward his regiment to join Napoleon; but the officers having penetrated his design he was obliged to make his escape from the arrest with which he was threatened. The two generals Allemans put the garrison at Lisle, to the number of six thousand men, in motion, by means of forced orders, declaring there was an insurrection in Paris; but mareschal Mortier, meeting the troops on the march, detected and defeated the conspiracy, by which, had it taken effect, the king and royal family must have been made prisoners. The Allemans were taken, but the ministers of the king did not possess sufficient energy to make an example of them as traitors to their country.

The progress of the invading army, at the mean time, was uninterrupted. It was in vain that at Lyons, Monsieur and the duke of Orleans, with the advice and assistance of mareschal Macdonald, endeavoured to retain the
troops in their duty, and the inhabitants in their allegiance to the king. An experiment upon each was made, but the result was a most mortifying disappointment. Monsieur was obliged to escape from Lyons almost alone, and Macdonald nearly escaped from being made a prisoner. Napoleon entered Lyons, the ancient capital of the Gauls, at the head of seven thousand men, and was soon acknowledged by Macon, Chalons, Dijon, and almost all Burgundy. Marseilles, and all Provence, declared against the invader, and the former city set a price on his head.

At Lyons Napoleon found it convenient to halt for the refreshment of his troops, and to organize his government and administration. Decrees upon decrees now issued forth, with a rapidity which shewed how the exiled monarch had employed those studious hours at Elba, which he was supposed to have devoted to the composition of his memoirs. Cambaceres was named his minister of justice; Fouche that of police; Davoust was made minister of war. The first decree abrogated all the changes that had taken place in the courts of justice and tribunals during his absence. The second displaced all officers belonging to the class of emigrants, and who had been introduced into the army by the king. The third suppressed the order of St. Louis, the white flag and cockade, and restored the tri-coloured banner and the imperial symbols of Napoleon's authority. A fourth sequestered the effects of the Bourbons. A fifth suppressed the ancient nobility and feudal titles, and formally confirmed the proprietors of national domains in their possessions. The sixth declared sentence of banishment against all emigrants not erased from the lists previous to the accession of the Bourbons, with confiscation of their property. The seventh restored the Legion of Honour, in every respect as it had existed under the emperor, uniting to its funds the confiscated revenues of the order of St. Louis. And the eighth and last decree was the most important of all. Under pretence that emigrants who had borne arms against France, had been introduced into the body of the peers, and that the chamber of deputies had already sat for the legal time, it dissolved both chambers, and convoked the electoral colleges of the empire, in order that they might hold, in the ensuing month of May, an extraordinary assembly of the Champ-de-Mai. This convocation, was to have two objects; first to make such alterations and reformatons in the constitution of the empire as circumstances should render advisable; and Secondly to assist at the coronation of the empress and of the king of Rome.

On the 13th, Napoleon recommenced his journey, and proceeding through Macon, Chalons, and Dijon, he reached Auxerre on the 17th of March. The country through which he journeyed was favourable to his pretensions; it had been severely treated by the allies during the last campaign, and the dislike of the suffering inhabitants extended itself to the family who had been raised to the throne by the influence of those strangers. The revolutionary fever preceded the invaders like an epidemic disorder. The 14th regiment of lancers, quartered at Auxerre, trampled under foot the white cockade at the first signal. The sixth regiment of lancers also declared for Napoleon, and without waiting for orders, drove a few soldiers of the household troops from Montereau, and secured that important post, which commands the passage of the Seine.

The dismay of Louis XVIII. and his ministers on hearing the revolt at Lyons was extreme; but it was further increased by a false report which had been industriously circulated of a pretended victory obtained by the royalist party in the vicinity of Lyons. The conspiracy was so deeply laid, and it extended so widely through every branch of the government, that its agents contrived to convey this unfounded rumour to Paris in a demy official state, by means of the telegraph. It had the expected effect, first, in suspending the preparations of the royal party, and afterwards in deepening the anxiety which overwhelmed them, when Monsieur, returning almost unattended, brought the news of his bad success. In this hour of extremity Fouche tendered his assistance to the almost defenceless king, but he durst not be trusted; and in the hour of his distress Louis had recourse to mareschal Ney, who on the 9th of March had an audience of the king, when he accept
ed the command of the army destined to attack Napoleon, accompanying his appointment with expressions of the most devoted faith to the king, and declaring his resolution to bring Napoleon to Paris like a wild beast in an iron cage. In these dispositions, Ney advanced to Loup le Saulnier, and arriving there during the night betwixt the 13th and 14th of March, he received a letter from Napoleon, summoning him to join his standard as "the bravest of the brave," a title which could not but awake a thousand recollections. Ney had already sounded both his officers and privates, and discovered their eager determination to join the standard of their late emperor. They were received by him with open arms; and this disaffection was ruinous to the cause of the monarch. After attending in person the sitting of the chamber of deputies, Louis reviewed the national guards, about twenty-five thousand men, who, as well as the deputies, made a display of loyalty. He also inspected the troops of the line, six thousand in number, but with them his reception was equivocal; they placed their caps on their bayonets in token of respect, but they raised no shout. As a last resource, Louis convoked a general council at the Tuileries on the 18th of March; when the marshals and other officers present gave it as their opinion that there could be no effectual opposition offered to Napoleon. They were contradicted by the royalist nobles, and the dispute grew so warm that Louis was obliged to break up the meeting, and prepare himself to abandon his capital, which the prevalence of his enemies and the disunion of his friends left him no longer any hope of successfully defending.

In the mean time the two armies approached each other at Melun; that of the king being under the command of mareschal Macdonald. On the 20th his troops were drawn up in three lines to receive the invaders, who were said to be advancing from Fontainebleau. There was a long pause of suspense—at length, about noon a galloping of horses was heard—an open carriage appeared, surrounded by a few hussars, and drawn by four horses. It came on at full speed; and Napoleon leaping from the vehicle, was in the midst of the ranks which had been formed to oppose him. His escort threw themselves from their horses, mingled with their ancient comrades, and the effect of their exhortations was instantaneous on men whose minds were already half made up to the purpose which they now accomplished. There was a general shout of Vive Napoleon! Thus the last army of the Bourbons passed from their side, and no further obstruction existed betwixt Napoleon and the capital which he was once more, though only for a brief space, to inhabit as a sovereign.

The unhappy Louis had anticipated the defection which took place, and awaited not the consequence of its actual arrival. He departed from Paris, escorted by his household, at one in the morning of the 20th of March. Even at that untimely hour, the palace was surrounded by the national guards and a number of citizens who wept and entreated him to remain, offering to shed the last drop of blood in his defence. But the king prudently declined to accept of sacrifices which could now have availed nothing. He therefore proceeded on the way to Lisle, passing through Abbeville and other garrison towns, where the soldiers received him with sullen respect; and though not obscurely intimating that they intended to join his rival they would neither injure his person nor insult his misfortunes. At Lisle he had hoped to make a stand; but mareschal Mortier, aware of the dissatisfied and restless state of the garrison, urged him to proceed for the safety of his life; and compelled to a second exile, he departed to Ostend, and from thence to Guent, where he established his exiled court. In the mean while the revolution had full play in the metropolis. Lavalette, one of Napoleon's most decided adherents, assumed the management of the post-office in the name of the latter, an office which he had enjoyed under his former reign. He was thus enabled to intercept the royal proclamations, and to announce to every department officially the restoration of the emperor. The white flag, which floated on the Tuileries was taken down, and replaced by the tri-coloured banner.

Napoleon arrived late in the evening, in the same open carriage which he
had used since his landing; and a singular contrast was exhibited between his entry and the departure of the king. The latter was accompanied by the tears and lamentations of such of the citizens as desired peace and tranquility; by the wailing of the defenseless, and the anxious fears of the wise and prudent. The former entered amid the shouts of armed columns, who existing by war and desolation, welcomed with military acclamations the leader who was to restore them to their element. When Napoleon presented himself among them, they crowded around him so closely that he was compelled to exclaim, “my friends, you stifle me!” and his officers were obliged to support him in their arms up the grand staircase, and thence into the royal apartments, where he received the joyous acclamations of the multitude. And ne'er, in the most ensanguined and triumphant field of battle, had the terrible ascendancy of Napoleon's genius appeared half so predominant as during his march from Cannes to Paris. He who left the same coast only a year before, disguised like a slave, and weeping like a woman for fear of assassination, returned in grandeur like that of the returning wave, which the farther it has retreated, is rolled back on the shore with the more terrific and overwhelming violence! The “bravest of the brave,” who came determined to oppose him as he would a wild beast, recognized his superiority, when confronted with him, and sunk again into his satellite.

The congress at Vienna happened fortunately not to be dissolved, when the news of Napoleon's escape from Elba was laid before them by Talleyrand, on the 11th of March. The communication of this astounding event, which threatened to abolish all their labours, seemed at first so like a trick of pantomime, that laughter was the first emotion it excited in almost every one. The merry mood, however, did not last long—the event was too serious and too pregnant of mischief to be sported with. It was necessary for the congress, by an unequivocal declaration, to express their sentiments on this extraordinary occasion. Accordingly, on the 13th of March, the following declaration appeared: after reciting the fact, it thus proceeded—

"By thus breaking the convention, which had established him in the island of Elba, Napoleon Buonaparte destroys the only legal title on which his existence depended; and, by appearing again in France with projects of confusion and disorder, he has deprived himself of the protection of the law, and has manifested to the universe that there can be neither peace nor truce with him. The powers consequently declare, that Napoleon Buonaparte has placed himself without the pale of civil and social relations; and, that, as an enemy and disturber of the tranquility of the world, he has rendered himself liable to public vengeance. They declared at the same time, that firmly resolved to maintain entire the treaty of Paris of May the 30th, 1814, and the dispositions sanctioned by that treaty, and those which they have resolved on, or shall hereafter resolve on, to complete and to consolidate it, they will employ all their means, and will unite all their efforts, that the general peace, the object of the wishes of Europe, and the constant purpose of their labours, may not again be troubled; and to provide against every attempt which shall threaten to re-plunge the world into the disorders of revolution."

All Europe now rang with preparations for war. A treaty was formed between Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, in which the contracting parties agreed to maintain and enforce the treaty of Paris, which excluded Buonaparte from the throne, and to enforce the decree of outlawry issued against him—each of the contracting parties agreed to keep constantly in the field an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men—and not to lay down their arms but by common consent, with numerous other stipulations. In the mean time Napoleon did not hesitate to offer to the ministers of the allied powers his willingness to acquiesce in the treaty of Paris. He sent a letter to each of the sovereigns, expressing his desire to make peace on the same principles which had been arranged with the Bourbon's. To these letters no answers were returned; the decision of the allies had been already adopted.

Napoleon, finding that nothing remained to be hoped for, from negotiation
with the allies, soon became sensible that the grand point at issue could only be decided in the field of battle. He consequently set himself in good earnest to conciliate the French people and ingratiate himself with them. He published a list of his grievances in justification of the step he had taken; such as, his separation from his family—the non-payment of his pension, &c. &c., and especially insisted upon his having been recalled by the voice of the nation. Had he said the voice of the army, he might have obtained more credit; for certainly the army had sufficiently shewn themselves to be his own, upon grounds which are easily appreciated. On the 14th of May, a procession and solemn festival was held in favour of the Federates (or Parisian rabble) and the motley and ill-arranged ranks which assembled on this memorable occasion, exhibited, in the eyes of the disgusted and terrified spectators, scenes which had formerly characterized the revolution—and recalled an era unfortunately too famous. The emperor himself appeared to shrink from it with disgust and abhorrence. On the 1st of June the Champ de Mai was held—the object of which, however, was not to receive the empress Maria Louisa and her son, but to behold the eagles, the signals of instant and bloody war, distributed by the emperor to his officers. This piece of pageantry also went off coldly—in the language of the Royalists, it was a condemned farce, which was soon to be succeeded by a bloody tragedy. He then gave his subjects a new constitution which was extremely ill received by all parties. The chambers assembled and discussed it with freedom and acrimony; but his situation obliged him to leave it with them, and he took his farewell by an address to both chambers which was sensible, manly, and becoming his situation. He surrendered, in their presence, all his pretensions to absolute power, and professed himself a friend to liberty. There was little cause, he remarked, to provide against the intoxications of triumph, when they were about to contend for existence. He stated the crisis to be imminent, and cautioned the chamber to avoid the conduct of the Roman people in the latter ages of the empire, who could not resist the temptation of engaging fiercely in abstract discussions, even while the battering rams of the common enemy were shaking the gates of the capital. Thus parted Napoleon and his chamber of legislation; he to try his fortune in the field of battle; and they to their task of altering and modifying the new code of laws.

LETTER XX.

Preparations for the renewal of war.—Napoleon's plan of Campaign.—Resolved to measure himself with Wellington.—Reviews his grand army, 14th of June.—Battle of Ligny, 16th of June.—Retreat of the British on Waterloo, where Lord Wellington resolves to make a stand.—Description of this celebrated field.—The English army take up their ground on the 17th, and the French on the next morning.—Strength of the two armies.—Plans of their Generals.—Battle of Waterloo, commences on the forenoon of the 18th of June.—Ney's charge at the head of the guards.—His repulse.—Advance of the British army.—Napoleon's orders for a retreat.—Behaviour of Napoleon during the battle.—Blucher's pursuit of the French.—Loss of the British.—of the French, June, 1815.

The time had now arrived when the permanency of the new order of things was to be determined, not by votes and oaths, but by an appeal to the sword. The close of the year 1814 had left the whole fortified frontier of the Belgic provinces, on the side of France, occupied by strong garrisons, chiefly of British troops, or of such as were in British pay. From the commencement of the alarm excited by Napoleon's attempt to re-instate himself in the throne of the Bourbons, reinforcements had been unremittingly sent from England, and the duke of Wellington had arrived at Brussels from
Vienna to take the supreme command of the British and foreign troops in Belgium. In the latter part of May, 1815, the Prussian army, commanded by prince Blücher, arrived in the neighbourhood of Namur, and frequent conferences relative to a plan of co-operation were held by the two generals. The principal French army was at this period posted near Avesnes in Flanders, and preparations for defence against invasion had been made at Laon and the castle of Guise.

On the 12th of June, Napoleon quitted Paris, and, as he threw himself into his carriage to join his army, "I go," said he, "to measure myself with Wellington." The army of the latter might contain about thirty thousand English troops; but they did not consist of those veteran soldiers who had served under him in Spain and Portugal, the flower of which had been dispatched upon the American expedition. The greater part of them were second battalions, or regiments which had been filled up with new recruits. The foreigners were fifteen thousand Hanoverians, with the celebrated German legion, eight thousand strong, which had so often distinguished itself in Spain; five thousand Brunswickers under the gallant duke; and about seventeen thousand Belgian, Dutch, and Nassau troops commanded by the prince of Orange. On the Germans the utmost reliance was deservedly placed: but some apprehensions were entertained for the steadiness of the Belgian troops. Discontents had prevailed among them, which, at one period, had broken out into open mutiny, and was not subdued without bloodshed. Most of them had served in the French ranks, and it was feared some of them might retain predilections and correspondencies dangerous to the general cause. Napoleon himself had anticipations of the same kind. He brought in his train several Belgian officers, expecting there would be a movement in his favour as soon as he entered the Netherlands. But the Flemings disappointed him; they dreaded the return of his tyranny. Some of these troops behaved with distinguished valour; and most of them supported the ancient military character of the Wallons. The Dutch troops were in general enthusiastically attached to the prince of Orange, and the cause of independence.

The Prussian army had been recruited to its highest war establishment within an incredibly short space of time after Napoleon’s return had been announced, and was re-inforced in a manner surprising to those who do not reflect, how much the resources of a state depend on the zeal of the inhabitants. Their enthusiastic hatred to France, founded partly on the recollection of former injuries, partly on that of recent success, was animated at once by feelings of triumph and of revenge; and they marched to this new war, as to a national crusade against an inveterate enemy. Blücher was, however, deprived of a valuable part of his army by the discontent of the Saxon troops, among whom a mutiny had broke out when the congress announced their intention of transferring part of the Saxon dominions to Prussia. Blücher arrived at Liege, with the Prussian army, which was concentrated on the Sambre and Meuse rivers, occupying Charleroi, Namur, Givet, and Liege. The duke of Wellington covered Brussels where he had fixed his head quarters, communicating by his left wing with the right of the Prussians. There was a prevalent notion that Napoleon’s threatened advance would take place on Namur, as he was likely to find least opposition at that dismantled city.

The duke of Wellington’s first corps, under the prince of Orange, with two divisions of British troops, two of Hanoverians, and two of Belgians, occupied Enghien, Brain le Compte, and Nivelles, and served as a reserve to the Prussian division under Zieten which was at Charleroi. The second division, commanded by lord Hill, included two British, two Hanoverian, and one Belgian division; it was centered at Halle, Oudenard, and Grammont. The reserve under general Picton, who at lord Wellington’s special request, had accepted of the situation of second in command, consisted of the two remaining British divisions, with three of the Hanoverians, and was stationed at Brussels and Ghent. The cavalry occupied Grammont and Nieve.

Napoleon in person, accompanied by his guard, which had marched from
France advanced to Vervian on the 12th of June. The other divisions of his army had been assembled on the frontier, and the whole consisting of five divisions of infantry, and four of cavalry, were combined at Beaumont on the 14th of the same month, with a degree of secrecy and expedition which shewed the usual genius of their commander. The emperor reviewed the troops in person, reminded them that the day was the anniversary of the great victories of Marengo and Friedland, and called on them to remember that the enemies whom they had then defeated were the same against whom they were now arrayed. "Are they and we," he asked, "no longer the same men?" The address produced a powerful effect upon the minds of the French soldiers, always sensitively alive to military and national glory. On the 15th of June, the French army was in motion in every direction. Their advanced-guard of light troops swept the western bank of the Sambre clear of all the allied troops of observation. They then advanced upon Charleroi, which was well defended by the Prussians under general Zieten, who was at length compelled to retire on the large village of Gosselies. Here his retreat was cut off by the second division of the French army, and Zieten was compelled to take the route of Fleurus, whereby he united himself with the Prussian force, which lay about the villages of Ligny and St. Ormond. The Prussian general had, however, made such a protracted resistance as gave time for the alarm being taken.

By this movement the plan of Napoleon was made apparent: it was at once most scientific and adventurous. His numbers were not sufficient to sustain a conflict with the armies of Blucher and Wellington united; but by forcing his way so as to separate the one enemy from the other, he would gain the advantage of acting against either individually with the greater part of his forces, while he could spare enough of detached troops to keep the other in check. To accomplish this masterly manoeuvre, it was necessary to push onwards upon a part of the British advance, which occupied the position of Quartre Bras, and the yet more advanced posts of Farsnes, where some of the Nassau troops were stationed. But the extreme rapidity of Napoleon's forced marches had in some measure prevented the execution of his plan, by dispersing his forces so much, that, at a time when every hour was of consequence, he was compelled to remain at Charleroi until his wearied and over-marched army had collected. In the mean time, Ney was detached against Farsnes and Quartre Bras, but the troops of Namur maintained their post on the evening of the 15th of June. It is possible the French maréchal might have succeeded had he made the attack at Farsnes with his whole force; but hearing a cannonade in the direction of Fleurus, he detached a division to support the French in that quarter: a step for which, as he acted on the exercise of his own judgment, instead of yielding precise obedience to his master's orders, he was reprimanded—a circumstance rather curiously contrasted with the subsequent case of Grouchy, upon whom Napoleon threw the whole blame of the defeat of Waterloo, because he did follow his orders precisely, and press the Prussians at Wavre, instead of being diverted from that object by the cannonade on the left. The manoeuvre of Napoleon thus failed, though it had nearly been successful. He, nevertheless, persisted in his effort of dividing, if possible, the British army from the Prussians.

At six o'clock on the evening of the 15th, lord Wellington, then at Brussels, received intelligence of the advance of the French army; but it was not sufficiently authenticated to induce him to put his army in motion, on an occasion when a false movement might have proved ruinous. About eleven of the same night, more certain accounts reached Brussels, that the advance of the French was upon the line of the Sambre. Reinforcements were now hastily moved on to Quartre Bras, and the duke of Wellington arrived there in person at an early hour of the morning of the 16th, and instantly rode from that position to Bric, where he had an interview with Blucher. It appeared at this time that the whole French force was about to be directed against the Prussians; and Blucher was prepared to receive them. Three of his divisions to the number of eighty thousand men, had been got into position on a chain of gentle heights, running from Bric to the Sambre. In front
of their line lay the villages of the greater and lesser St. Amand, as also that of Ligny, all of which were strongly occupied. From the extremity of his right, Blucher could communicate with the British at Quatre Bras, upon which the British commander was, as fast as distance would permit, concentrating his army. The fourth Prussian division, being that of Bulow, stationed between Liege and Hainault, was at too great a distance to be brought up, though every effort was made for the purpose. Blucher, however, undertook notwithstanding the absence of Bulow, to receive a battle in this position, trusting to the support of the English army, who, by a flank movement to the left, were to march to his assistance.

Napoleon had, in the mean time, settled his own plan of battle. He determined to leave mareschal Ney with a division of forty-five thousand men, with instructions to drive the English from Quatre Bras, before their army was concentrated and reinforced, and thus prevent their co-operating with Blucher, while he himself, with the main body of his army attacked the Prussian position at Ligny. Ney being thus on the French left wing at Frasnes and Quatre Bras, and Napoleon on the right at Ligny, a division under D'Erlon, amounting to ten thousand men, served as a centre of the army, and was placed near Marchiennes, from which it might march laterally either to support Ney or Napoleon, as circumstances might require. As two battles took place on the 16th of June, it is necessary to take distinct notice of both. That of Ligny was the principal action. The French emperor was unable to concentrate his forces, so as to commence the attack upon the Prussians, until three o'clock in the afternoon, at which hour it began with uncommon fury all along the Prussian line. After a continued attack of two hours, the French had only obtained possession of a part of the village of St. Amand. The position of the Prussians, however, was thus far defective, that the main part of their army being drawn up on the heights, and the remainder occupying villages which lay at their foot, the reinforcements dispatched to the latter were necessarily exposed, during their descent, to the fire from the French artillery, placed on the meadows below. Notwithstanding this disadvantage, by which the Prussians suffered much, Napoleon thought the issue of the contest so doubtful, that he sent for D'Erlon's division, which, as already mentioned, was stationed near Marchiennes, half way between Quatre Bras and Ligny. In the mean while, observing that Blucher drew his reserve together on St. Amand, he changed his point of attack, and directed all his force against Ligny, of which, after a desperate resistance, he at length obtained possession. The French guards, supported by their heavy cavalry, ascended the heights, and attacked the Prussian position in the rear of Ligny, and the reserves of the Prussian infantry having been dispatched to St. Amand, Blucher had no means of repelling the attack, except by that of his cavalry. He therefore placed himself at their head, and charged in the most determined manner, but without success. The cavalry of Blucher were forced back in disorder. The veteran prince mareschal, as he directed the retreat, was involved in one of the charges of the cavalry, his horse struck down by a cannon shot, and he himself prostrated on the ground. His aide-de-camp threw himself beside the valiant Prussian, determined to share his fate, and had the precaution to fling his cloak over him, to prevent his being recognised by the French soldiers. The enemy's cuirassiers passed over him, and it was not until they were repulsed, and in their turn pursued by the Prussian cavalry, that Blucher was raised and remounted. His death, or captivity, at that eventful moment, might have proved highly detrimental to the issue of the campaign, as it may be reasonably questioned whether any thing short of personal influence and exertion could, after this hard fought and unfortunate day, have again brought the Prussian army into action on the eventful 18th of June. When relieved and again mounted, Blucher directed the retreat upon Tilly and achieved it un molested by the enemy, who did not continue their pursuit beyond the heights which the Prussians had been compelled to abandon. Such was the battle of Ligny, in which the Prussians, as Blucher truly said, lost the field but not their honour. The Prussians are said to have lost in this sanguinary
action, a thousand men; those of the French were not much fewer. But the French Emperor had struck an important blow: he had overpowered a stubborn and inveterate enemy, and opened the campaign with favourable auspices. The degree of advantage, however, which Napoleon might have derived from the Prussian retreat, was greatly limited by the indifferent success of Ney against Lord Wellington. Of this second action I have now to give you some account.

On the morning of the 16th, Frasnes had been evacuated by the British who now took a position at Quatre Bras, a point of importance, as four roads diverge from it in different directions. On the left of the causeway, leading from Charleroi to Brussels, is a wood called Bois de Bosse, which during the early part of the day, was strongly contested by sharp-shooters on both sides, but at length carried by the French and maintained for a time. About three o'clock in the afternoon, the main attack commenced but was repulsed. The British infantry, however, and particularly the 42nd regiment of highlanders, suffered severely from an unexpected charge of lancers, whose approach was hid from them by the character of the ground, intersected with hedges, and covered with heavy crops of rye. Two companies of the highlanders were cut off, not having time to form the square; the others succeeded in getting into order, and beating off the lancers. Ney then attempted a general charge of heavy cavalry; but they were received with such a galling fire from the British infantry, joined to a battery of two guns, that it could not be sustained; the whole causeway was strewn with men and horses, and the fugitives, who escaped to the rear, announced the loss of an action which was far from being decided, considering that the British had few infantry and artillery, though re-inforcements of both were coming fast forwards. The French, as already said, had, about three o'clock obtained possession of the Bois de Bosse, and driven out the Belgians; but they were in return themselves expelled by the British guards, who successfully resisted every attempt made by the French to penetrate into the wood during the day. As the English re-inforcements arrived in succession, Mareschal Ney became desirous of an additional force, and sent to procure the assistance of Erlon’s division; but those troops had been previously ordered to succour the emperor’s own army. As the affair of Ligny was, however, over before they arrived, the division was sent towards Frasnes to assist Ney; but his battle was also by this time over, and thus D’Erlon’s troops marched from one flank to the other, without firing a musket in the course of the day. The battle of Quatre Bras terminated with the light; the British retained possession of the field, which they had maintained with so much obstinacy, because the duke of Wellington conceived that Blücher would be able to make good his ground at Ligny, and was consequently desirous that the armies should retain the line of communication which they had occupied in the morning.

The Prussians having evacuated all the villages which they held in the neighbourhood of Ligny, had concentrated their forces to retreat upon the river Dyle, in the vicinity of Wavre. By this retrograde movement, they were placed about six leagues to the rear of their former position, and had united themselves to Bulow’s division, which had not been engaged in the affair of Ligny. But of this retreat, Lord Wellington was ignorant until about seven o’clock the next morning, when he himself deemed it necessary to commence a retrograde movement towards Waterloo, in order the better to recover his communication with the Prussians, and resume the execution of the plan of co-operation which had been previously arranged between him and Blücher, but which had been in some degree disconcerted by the sudden irruption of the French and the loss of the battle of Ligny by the Prussians.

The retreat was conducted with the greatest regularity, though it was as usual unpleasant to the feelings of the soldier. The news of the battle of Ligny spread through the ranks, and even the most sanguine did not venture to hope that the Prussians would be so soon able to renew the engagement. The weather was tempestuous in the extreme; the rain fell in torrents. But this so far favoured the British, by rendering the plowed fields impassable for the horse, so that their men lay down and from the attack
of the French cavalry on the flanks, and the operations of the enemy whom they were pursued were confined to the causeway. At Genappe, however, a small town, where a narrow bridge over the river Dyle can only be approached by a confined street, there was an attack on the British rear, which the English light cavalry were unable to repel; but the heavy cavalry being brought up, repulsed the French, who gave the rear of the army no further disturbance for the day. In the evening, the duke of Wellington arrived on the memorable field of Waterloo, which he had previously fixed upon as the position in which he had, in certain events, determined to make a stand for covering Brussels.

The English army occupied a chain of heights, extending from a ravine and village, termed Marko-Braine, on the right, to a hamlet called Tor-la-Haye, on the left. Corresponding to this chain of heights, there runs one somewhat parallel to them, on which the French were posted. A small valley winds between them of various breadth at different points, but not generally exceeding half a mile. The declivity on either side into the valley has a varied, but on the whole a gentle slope, diversified by a number of undulating irregularities of ground. The field is crossed by two high roads, or causeways, both leading to Brussels—one from Charleroi through Quatre Bras and Genappe, by which the British army had just retreated, and another by Nivelles. These roads traverse the valley, and meet behind the village of Mont St. Jean, which lay in the rear of the British army. The farm house of Mont St. Jean, which must be carefully distinguished from the hamlet was much closer to the rear of the British army than the latter. On the Charleroi causeway, in front of the line, there is another farm house, called La Haye Sainte, situated nearly at the foot of the declivity leading into the valley. On the opposite chain of eminences, a village called La Belle Alliance gives name to the range of heights. It exactly fronts Mont St. Jean, and these two points formed the respective centres of the French and English position. An old fashioned Flemish villa, called Hougoumont, stood in the midst of the valley, surrounded with gardens, offices, and a wood, about two acres in extent, of tall beech-trees. Behind the heights of Mont St. Jean, the ground again sinks into a hollow, which served to afford some sort of shelter to the second line of the British. In the rear of this second valley, is the great and extensive forest of Soignes, through which runs the causeway to Brussels. On the road, two miles in the rear of the British army, is placed the small town of Waterloo.

By the march from Quatre Bras to Waterloo, lord Wellington had restored his communication with Blucher, which had been dislocated by the retreat of the Prussians to Wavre. When established there, Blucher was once more upon the same line with the British, the distance between the Prussian right flank, and the British left, being about five leagues. The ground which lay between the two extreme points, called the heights of St. Lambert, was exceedingly rugged and wooded; and the cross roads which traversed it were dreadfully broken up by the late tempestuous weather. The duke dispatched intelligence of his position in front of Waterloo to prince Blucher, acquainting him at the same time with his resolution to give battle to the enemy, provided the prince would afford him the support of two divisions of the Prussian army. Blucher replied that he would move to the duke of Wellington’s support, not with two divisions only, but with his whole army; and that he asked no longer time to prepare for his movement, than was necessary to supply food, and serve out cartridges to his soldiers.

It was three o’clock on the afternoon of the 17th, when the British came on the field, and took up their bivouac for the night in the order of battle in which they were to fight the next day. It was much later before Napoleon reached the heights of La Belle Alliance in person, and his army did not come up in full force till the morning of the 18th. Great part of the French had passed the night in the little village of Genappe; and Napoleon’s own quarters had been at the farm house called Caillon, about a mile in the rear of La Belle Alliance. In the morning, when Napoleon had formed
THE HISTORY OF

PART IV.

Line of battle, his brother Jerome Buonaparte, commanded on the left—
Belle and D'Erlon the centre—and count Lobau on the right.
Soul and Ney acted as lieutenants-general to the emperor. The
force was not less than seventy-five thousand.
the British force did not exceed that number. Each arm was commanded by the chief, under whom they had
offered to carry the world. The British army was divided into two lines;
right of the first line consisted of the second and fourth English divisions;
the third and sixth Hanoverians; and the first corps of Belgians, under lord
Hill. The centre was composed of the corps of the prince of Orange, with
the Brunswickers, and troops of Nassau, having the guards, under general
Cooke, on the right, and the division of general Alton on the left. The left
wing consisted of the divisions of Picton, Lambert, and Kemp. The second
line was in most instances formed of the troops least worthy of confidence,
or which had suffered too severely in the action on the 16th, to be again ex-
posed until extreme necessity called for it. The cavalry were stationed in
the rear, distributed all along the line, but chiefly posted on the left of the
centre, to the east of the Charleroi causeway. The whole British position
formed a sort of curve, the centre of which was nearest the enemy, and the
extremities, particularly on the right, drawn considerably backwards. The
plans of these two commanders were extremely simple. The object of the
duke of Wellington was to maintain his line of defence, until the Prussians
coming up should give him a decided superiority of force. They were expected
about eleven or twelve o'clock; but the extreme badness of the roads, owing
to the violence of the storm, detained them several hours later. Napoleon's
plan of operation was equally plain and decided. He trusted by means of
his usual rapidity of attack, to break and destroy the British army before
the Prussians should arrive on the field; after which, he calculated on hav-
ing an opportunity of destroying the Prussians, by attacking them on their
march through the broken ground interposed betwixt them and the British.
In these expectations he was the more confident, in as much as he believed
Grouchy's force, which had been detached the preceding day in pursuit of
Blucher, was sufficient to retard, if not altogether to check, the march of the
Prussians; this opinion, however, was too hastily adopted.

Commencing the action according to his usual system, Napoleon kept his
right in reserve, in order to take an opportunity of charging with them,
when repeated attacks of column after column, and squadron after squadron,
should induce his exhausted enemy to show some symptoms of irresolution.
But Napoleon's movements in the present instance were not very rapid. His
army had suffered by the storm even more than the English, who were in
bivouac at three in the afternoon of the 17th of June; while the French
were still under march and unable to get into line on the heights of La Belle
Alliance until ten or eleven o'clock of the forenoon of the 18th. The Eng-
lish army had thus some leisure to take food, and to prepare their arms
before the action commenced; while Napoleon lost several hours ere he
could proceed. Time was indeed inestimably precious to both parties, and
hours were of importance; but of this Napoleon was less aware than was his
opponent. The tempest, which had raged with tropical violence all night,
abated in the morning, but the weather continued gusty and stormy during
the whole day. Between the hours of eleven and twelve of the forenoon, on
the memorable 18th of June, this dreadful and decisive action commenced
with a cannonade on the part of the French, instantly followed by an attack,
commanded by Jerome Buonaparte, on the advanced post of Hougomont.
The troops of Nassau, which occupied the wood around the chateau, were
driven out by the French, but the utmost efforts of the assailants were un-
able to force the house, gardens, and farm offices which a party of the Bri-
tish guards sustained with the most dauntless resolution. The French re-
doubled their efforts, and precipitated themselves in numbers on the exterior
hedge, which screens the garden wall, not aware probably of the internal de-
ference afforded by the latter. They fell in great numbers on this point by the
fire of the defenders, to which they were exposed in every direction. The
number of troops, however, enabled them by possession of the wood, to mask Hougmont for a time, and to push on with their cavalry and artillery against the British right, which formed in squares to receive them. The attack was incessant, but without apparent advantage on either side. The attack was at length repelled so far, that the British again opened their communication with Hougmont, and that important garrison was re-inforced by colonel Hepburn and a body of the guards.

The fire of the artillery now became general along the line, and the force of the French attack was transferred to the British centre. It was made with the most desperate fury, and received with the most stubborn resolution. The assault was here made upon the farm house of St. Jean by four columns of infantry, and a large body of cuirassiers who took the advance. The latter advanced with the utmost intrepidity along the Genappe causeway, where they were encountered and charged by the English heavy cavalry; and a combat was maintained at the sword's point, till the French were driven back on their own position, where they were protected by their artillery. The four columns of French infantry, engaged in the same attack, forced their way forward beyond the farm of La Haye Sainte, and, dispersing a Belgian regiment, were in the act of establishing themselves in the centre of the British position, when they were attacked by the brigade of general Pack, brought up from the second line by general Picton, while, at the same time, a brigade of British heavy cavalry wheeled round their own infantry, and attacked the French charging columns in flank, at the moment when they were checked by the fire of the musketry. The result was decisive: the French columns were broken with great slaughter, and two eagles, with more than two thousand men were made prisoners. The latter were instantly sent off for Brussels. The British cavalry, however, pursued their success too far. They got involved among the French infantry, and some hostile cavalry which was detached to support them, and were obliged to retire with considerable loss. In this part of the action, the gallant general Picton, so distinguished for enterprise and bravery, met his death, as did also general Ponsonby who commanded the cavalry. About this time the French made themselves masters of the farm of La Haye Sainte, cutting to pieces about two hundred Hanoverian sharp-shooters, by whom it was most gallantly defended. The French retained this post for some time, till they were at last driven out of it by shells.

The scene of conflict now shifted once more to the right, where a general attack of French cavalry was made on the squares, chiefly towards the centre of the British right, or between them and the causeway. They came up with the most dauntless resolution, in despite of the continued fire of thirty pieces of artillery, placed in front of the line; and compelled the artillerymen, by whom they were worked, to retreat within the squares. The enemy had no means, however, to secure the guns, or to even spike them, and at every favourable moment the British artillerymen sallied out from their place of refuge, again manned their pieces, and fired on the assailants—a manœuvre which seems peculiar to the British service. The cuirassiers nevertheless, continued their dreadful onset, riding up to the squares in the full confidence, apparently, of sweeping them before the impetuosity of their charge. Their onset and reception may be compared to a furious ocean dashing itself against a chain of insulated rocks. The British squares stood unmoved, and never gave fire until the cavalry were within ten yards, when men rolled one way, the horses galloped another, and the cuirassiers were in every instance driven back.

Some French writers have presumed to assert, that squares were broken, and colours taken, but the assertion is contradicted by the united testimony of every British officer who was present. It was not however the fault of the cuirassiers who displayed an almost frantic valour on the occasion. They rallied again and again, and returned to the onset, till the British could recognize even the faces of individuals among their enemies. Some rode close to the bayonets fired their pistols, and cut with their swords with
reckless and useless valour. Some stood gazing on the British and were destroyed by the musquetry and artillery. Some squadrons, passing through the interval of the first line, charged the squares of Belgians posted there, with as little success. At length the cuirassiers suffered so severely on every hand that they were compelled to abandon the attempt, which they had made with such intrepid and desperate courage. In this un-heard-of struggle, the greater part of the French heavy cavalry were absolutely destroyed. Napoleon intimates in his bulletins that this desperate attempt was made without orders and continued only through the determined courage of the soldiers and their officers. Be this as it may, it is certain that in the destruction of this noble body of cuirassiers, he lost the corps which might have been most effectual in covering his retreat. After the broken remains of this fine cavalry were drawn off, the French confined themselves for a time to a heavy cannonade, from which the British sheltered themselves in part by lying on the ground, while the enemy prepared for an attack on another quarter, and to be conducted in a different manner.

It was now about six o'clock, and during this long succession of the most furious attacks, the French had gained no success, except occupying for a short time the wood around Hougomont, from which they had been expelled, and the farm house of Ln Haye Sainte, which also had been recovered. The British, on the other hand, had suffered very severely, but had not lost one inch of ground. Ten thousand men were however killed or wounded: some of the foreign regiments had given way, though others had shown the most determined bravery. The ranks were thinned, both by the actual fugitives, and by the absence of individuals, who left the ensanguined field for the purpose of carrying off the wounded, and some of whom would naturally be in no hurry to return to so fatal a scene. But the French, besides losing fifteen thousand men, independent of a column of two thousand prisoners, began now to be disturbed by the operations of the Prussians on their right flank; and the secret of the duke of Wellington was disclosing itself by its consequences. Blucher, faithful to his engagement, had, early in the morning, put in motion Bulow's division, which had not been engaged at Ligny, to communicate with the English army, and operate a division on the right flank and rear of the French. But though there were only twelve or fourteen miles from Wavre to the field of Waterloo, yet the march was, by unavoidable circumstances much delayed. The rugged face of the country, together with the state of the roads, offered the most serious obstacles to the progress of the Prussians, especially as they moved with an unusually large train of artillery. A fire also broke out in Wavre, on the morning of the 18th which prevented Bulow's corps from marching through that town, and obliged them to pursue a circuitous and inconvenient route. After traversing, with great difficulty, the cross roads by Chapelle Lambert, Bulow, with the 4th Prussian corps, who had been expected by the duke of Wellington about 11 o'clock, announced his arrival by a distant fire about half past four. The first Prussian corps, following the same route with Bulow, was yet later in coming up. The second division made a lateral movement in the same direction as the fourth and first, but by the hamlet of Ohain, nearer to the English flank. The emperor Napoleon instantly opposed to Bulow, who appeared long before the others, the 6th French corps, which he had kept in reserve for that service; and as only the advanced guard was yet come up, they succeeded in keeping the Prussians in check for the moment. The first and second Prussian corps appeared on the field still later than the fourth. The third corps had put themselves in motion to follow the same direction, when they were furiously attacked by the French under maréchal Grouchy, who, as I have already said, was detached to engage the attention of Blucher, whose whole force the maréchal took for granted he had before him. Instead of being surprised, however, as an ordinary general might have been, with this attack upon his rear, Blucher contented himself with sending back orders to Thielman who commanded the third corps, to defend himself as well as he could upon the line of the Dyle. In the mean time, without weakening the
army under his own command, by detaching any part of it to support Thie- 
man, the Prussian veteran rather hastened than suspended his march towards 
the field of battle, where he was aware that the war was likely to be decided 
in a manner so complete, as would leave victory or defeat, on every other 
point, a matter of inferior moment.

About half past six, the second division of the Prussian army began to 
enter into communication with the British left wing, by the village of Ohain, 
while Bulow pressed forward from Chapelle Lambert on the French right 
and rear, by a valley called Frischemont; and now it became evident that 
the Prussians were to enter seriously into the contest, and to cast the die. 
Napoleon had still the means of opposing them, and of achieving a retreat, 
but it must have been at the certainty of being attacked on the ensuing day 
by the combined armies of England and Prussia. His decorated guard had 
not yet taken any part in the conflict; and would now have been capable of 
affording him protection after a battle, which hitherto he had fought disad-
vantageously, but without being defeated. But the peculiar difficulty of 
his situation with all its attendant circumstances must have pressed on his 
mind at once. He had no succours to look for: a re-union with Grouchy 
was the only resource which could strengthen his forces: the Russians were 
advancing upon the Rhine by forced marches: the Republicans at Paris 
were agitating schemes against his authority. It seemed as if every thing 
must be decided on this memorable day, and on that ensanguined field. 
Surrounded by these ill-omened circumstances, a desperate effort for victory, 
before the Prussians could act effectually, might possibly yet drive the English 
from their position; and he determined to venture on this daring experiment.

About seven o'clock, Napoleon's guard were formed in two columns, under 
his own eye, near the bottom of the declivity of La Belle Alliance. They 
were placed under the command of the dauntless Ney, "the bravest of the 
"brave!" Napoleon told the soldiers, and indeed he made Ney also believe 
it, that the Prussians whom they saw on the right were retreating before 
Grouchy—possibly he himself believed this to be the case. The guard res-
ponded for the last time, with shouts of Vive l'Empereur, and moved reso-
lutely forward, having for their support four battalions of the old guard in 
reserve, who stood prepared to protect the advance of their comrades. A 
gradual change had taken place in the British line of battle, in consequence 
of the repeated repulse of the French. Advancing by slow degrees, the 
right, which, at the beginning of the conflict presented a segment of a convex 
circle, now resembled one that was concave—the extreme right, which had 
been thrown back, being now rather brought forward; so that their fire both 
of artillery and infantry fell upon the flank of the French, who had also to 
sustain that which was poured on their fronts from the heights. The British 
were arranged in a line of four men deep, to meet the advancing columns of 
the French guard, and poured upon them a storm of musketry which never 
ceased an instant. The soldiers fired independently, as it is termed; each 
man loading and discharging his piece as fast as he could. At length the 
British moved forward, as if to close round the heads of the columns, and at 
the same time continued to pour their shot upon the enemy's flanks. The 
French gallantly attempted to deploy, for the purpose of returning the dis-
charge. But in their effort to do so, under so dreadful a fire, they stoop, 
staggered, were thrown into disorder, became blended in one mass, and at 
length gave way, retiring, or rather flying, in the utmost confusion. This 
was the last effort of the enemy, and Napoleon gave orders for the retreat; 
but to protect them he had now no troops left, except the last four batta-
lions of the old guard, which had been stationed in the rear of the attacking 
columns. These threw themselves into squares and stood firm. At this mo-
ment, however, the duke of Wellington commanded the whole British line 
to advance, so that, whatever the bravery and skill of these gallant veterans, 
they also were thrown into disorder, and swept away in the general route, 
in defiance of the efforts of Ney, who, having had his horse killed, fought 
sword in hand, and on foot, in the front of the battle, till the very last.
Whilst this decisive moment was taking place, Bulow, who had concentrated his troops, and was at length qualified to act in force, carried the village of Planchenoit in the French rear, and was now firing so close on their right wing, that the cannonade annoys the British who were in pursuit, and was consequently suspended. Moving in oblique lines, the British and Prussian armies came into contact with each other on the heights so lately occupied by the French, where they celebrated the victory with loud cheers of mutual congratulation.

The French army was now in total and inextricable confusion and rout; and when the victorious generals met at the farm house of La Belle Alliance, it was agreed that the Prussians, who were comparatively fresh, should follow up the chase; a duty for which, the British, exhausted by the fatigue of a battle of eight hours, were totally inadequate.

During the whole action, Napoleon maintained the utmost serenity. He remained on the heights of La Belle Alliance, keeping pretty near the centre, from which he had a full view of the field, which does not exceed a mile and half in length. For a considerable part of the day he expressed no solicitude about the issue of the dreadful contest; he noticed the behaviour of particular regiments; and several times praised the English, always, however, talking of them as an assured prey! When forming his guard for the last effort, he descended near them, half down the causeway from La Belle Alliance, to bestow upon them what proved to be his parting exhortation. He watched intently their progress with a spy-glass, and refused to listen to one or two of his aides-de-camp, who at that moment came from the right to inform him of the appearance of the Prussians. At length, perceiving the attacking columns to stagger and become confused, his countenance (to use the expression of one of his attendants) became as pale as that of a corpse; and muttering to himself, “They are mingled together,” he said to those around him, “All is lost for the present,” and instantly rode off the field, not stopping or taking refreshment till he reached Charleroi, where he paused for a moment in a meadow, and occupied a tent which had been pitched for his accommodation.

In the mean time the pursuit of his discomfited army was followed up by Blucher, with the most determined perseverance. He accelerated the march of the Prussian advanced-guard and dispatched every man and horse of his cavalry in pursuit of the fugitives. At Genappe they attempted to rally and make a stand, by barricading the bridge and streets; but the Prussians forced them in a moment; and although the French were sufficiently numerous for resistance, their disorder was so irreparable, and their spirits so broken and disheartened, that in numerous instances they were slaughtered like sheep. They were driven from bivouac to bivouac, without exhibiting even the shadow of their usual courage. One hundred and fifty pieces of cannon were left in the hands of the English, and an equal number were taken by the Prussians in the course of the pursuit. The latter also obtained possession of Napoleon’s baggage, and of his carriage, where, among many curious articles, was found a proclamation intended to be made public at Brussels on the following day.

The loss on the part of the British during this dreadful battle was, as the duke of Wellington truly termed it immense! One hundred officers slain, five hundred wounded, many of them mortally, fifteen thousand men killed and wounded, (independent of the Prussian loss at Wavre) threw half Britain into mourning. Many officers of distinction fell; and it required all the glory, and all the solid advantages of this immortal day to reconcile the mind to the high price at which it was purchased. The duke of Wellington himself, compelled to be on every point of danger, was repeatedly in extreme jeopardy. Only the duke and one other gentleman of his numerous staff escaped unwounded either in horse or person. It would be difficult to estimate with any tolerable accuracy the extent of the French loss.— Independent of those who fell during the engagement and pursuit, great numbers deserted; and it may be fairly questioned whether, out of the
LETTER XXI.

Affair of Europe from the battle of Waterloo continued.—Abdication of Napoleon and his banishment to St. Helena.—His death and character.—Surrender of Paris.—Re-instatement of Louis XVIII.—The Holy Alliance.—Peace of Paris, November 1815.—Death of Murat—and Mareschal Ney.—The United Netherlands.—Disturbances in England.—Embassy to China.—Bombardment of Algiers.—Riots in London—and various parts of England.—Death of the Princess Charlotte.—Accession of Bernadotte to the throne of Sweden.—Congress of Aix la Chapelle.—Evacuation of France. A. D. 1815—1819.

Napoleon Buonaparte arrived at Paris on the second evening after the battle of Waterloo; at which time the inhabitants were unacquainted with the particulars of the sanguinary contest which had taken place. Some unfavourable reports had reached them concerning the previous contest at Ligny; but it was not generally believed that any great misfortune had occurred until the emperor's return was known. The truth, however, could not be long concealed, and in a little time the whole was disclosed in its full extent. The first step now taken was to assemble the council of state, when it was suggested by one of the members, that, under existing circumstances, the primary remedy which presented itself was the assumption of a dictatorship, and the suspension or dissolution of the two legislative chambers, a proposition which was supported by Lucien Buonaparte. But these bodies being hastily convoked, and probably aware of what was projected, La Fayette proposed that all attempts to dissolve the assembly of representatives of the people at this terrible crisis, should be considered as high treason. The motion was readily adopted by both chambers; and it was also voted that four of the ministers should be summoned to the hall to explain the emperor's views and intentions. After a short interval of vacillation, produced by the last expiring struggles of ambition, Napoleon perceived that he was no longer the object of public confidence; and, accordingly on the 22nd of June, he issued a declaration, in which, professing to offer himself a sacrifice to the hatred of the enemies of France, he affirmed that his political life was terminated, and that he resigned the crown in favour of his son Napoleon II. This abdication was accepted by the chambers; but the nomination of his son for a successor, was passed over unnoticed. Fouché, the minister of police, having laid this declaration before the legislative body, that assembly voted an address of thanks for the sacrifice he had made, and a provisional government was then appointed by the two chambers, consisting of Carnot, Fouché, Caulincourt, Grenier, and Quinet; and a commission was also nominated to repair to the allied armies with proposals for peace. As the last act of his public life, Napoleon issued a farewell address to the army; and, retiring to Malmaison, he employed himself in making preparations for a voyage to the United States of America, which he had fixed on as his future asylum. On the 29th of June he set out for Rochefort, where a small squadron awaited his orders.

On the 3rd of July the ex-emperor arrived at Rochefort, attended by an escort of honour, and took up his residence at the house of the prefect, with

(1) Histoire de la Campagne de l'Armée Anglaise &c. sur les ordres du Duc de Wellington, et de l'Armée Prussienne sous les ordres du Prince Blucher de Wahlstatt, 1815, Par. 6 de 10. Stuttgard et Tubingue, 1817.—See also Captain Pringle's account of the action of Waterloo—and Sir Walter Scott's Life of Napoleon.
the view of immediate embarkation. The port, however, was closely blockaded by English cruisers; and after some ineffectual attempts to elude their vigilance, he determined ultimately to cast himself upon the generosity of the British nation, claiming its protection. On the 15th, having previously sent a flag of truce to the Bellerophon, an English man of war, commanded by captain Maitland, he went off with his suite and baggage, in a brik, which conveyed him to that ship, and he was put on board. He now addressed a letter to the prince regent of England, in the following terms: "Exposed to the factions which divide my country, and to the hostility of the great powers in Europe, I have closed my political career. I come, like Themistocles, to seek the hospitality of the British nation. I place myself under the protection of their laws, which I claim from your royal highness as the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of my enemies." Of this letter, however, not the slightest notice was taken; nor was he permitted to land on the British coast. His property was sequestered, and no title beyond that of "general," was to be given him. After due deliberation in the British cabinet, and consulting with the allied powers, it was announced that his future residence was unalterably determined to be the island of St. Helena, there to be detained as a state prisoner, under the inspection of commissioners appointed by the allied powers. Against this terrific sentence of banishment to a rock in the Southern Atlantic, he entered an energetic protest, denying that he was a captive, having surrendered himself to the protection of the British laws, which he had never violated, and of the British government, to whose jurisdiction he was not amenable.

From the Bellerophon, Napoleon was, after the lapse of a month, transferred to the Northumberland, bearing the flag of admiral sir George Cockburn, attended by a few faithful friends who determined to share his fortunes; and, on the 8th of August, that ship proceeded on her voyage for St. Helena, where, in a few weeks, she arrived safely. Such is the vicissitude of human affairs, and in so dark a cloud did the splendid career of Napoleon terminate! In this state of exile he had abundant leisure for calm reflection; but he expressed neither contrition for his past errors, nor resignation to his present fate. On the contrary, his days were spent in quarrelling with sir Hudson Lowe, the governor of the island, and in venting his bitterest reproaches against him to all who were admitted into his presence. Setting his resentment at open defiance, his language was, "You have power over my body, but you have none over my soul. That soul is as proud, fierce, and determined at the present moment, as when it commanded Europe." And his whole deportment was governed by the same unseasonable haughtiness. Applications were repeatedly made to ascertain his wants and wishes, but to little purpose. To captain Hamilton, of the frigate Havannah, at an audience previous to the departure of that officer from St. Helens, he said, "They wish to know what I desire: I demand my liberty, or my death. Report these words to your prince regent. I was not your prisoner. Savages, would have had more respect for my situation. Your ministers have basely violated my person, the sacred rights of hospitality; they have for ever dishonoured England. I have been cruelly deceived, but heaven will avenge my wrongs."

That the last scenes of his life should have been embittered by every species of vexation and chagrin, must therefore be rather the subject of regret than of wonder. After twice abdicating the imperial dignity, he still affected to maintain the state of an emperor. His remonstrances were invective tending only to irritation. Weighed down by mental suffering, and labouring under the terrible malady of cancer in the stomach, which had been growing upon him since the year 1817, he expired at St. Helena on the 5th of May 1821.

It is difficult to form a true estimate of his character, or present you my son with any thing like a correct delineation of it. Looking to the dark side of the portrait, his early conduct at Venice, his barbarities at Jaffa, his warfare against St. Domingo, his treatment of Touissant, captain Wright,
the duc d'Enghien, &c. &c. his treachery to Spain, his sacrifices of the Tyrolean, his insidious protestations to Poland, his boundless usurpations and inextinguishable thirst of empire; it may be asked, what can redeem the vices of his character? But if we reverse the picture, and compare him with his more immediate predecessors in the career of fame, such as Louis XIV. Peter the Great, or Frederick of Prussia, the moral and political conduct of Napoleon will appear to no disadvantage. The first effort of his government was to restore peace to the world—a effort answered only by contumely and insult. His subsequent attempts of 1803 and 1807 were equally ineffectual. Compelled, therefore, to press forward in the path of victory, he no longer sought for peace; and intoxicated with success, he finally fell the victim of his own presumption. In splendour of genius, in patronage of the arts and sciences, in national works of utility and magnificence, and in calling forth merit of every kind, he far excelled all the sovereigns of his time. And from the peculiar situation in which he stood, his political aggrandizement was closely connected with the civil and religious interests of humanity. France, Italy, and the Netherlands, felt and acknowledged the equity of his internal government. He was a beneficent legislator; and the code which he promulgated will transmit his name with honour to succeeding generations. We now return to the great theatre of European politics.

After the battle of Waterloo, the allies came to the determination of treating with the French only under the walls of Paris; and on the 21st of June, the duke of Wellington and prince Blucher, at the head of their respective armies, entered the French territory. From Malpasset, the duke of Wellington addressed a proclamation to the people of France, announcing that he had entered the country, not as an enemy, except of the usurper, the foe of the human race, with whom there could be neither peace nor truce—but to enable them to throw off the yoke by which they were oppressed. He also enforced through his march the strictest military discipline. On the 23rd, he sent a detachment against Cambrai, which was taken by escallade without much loss; and Louis XVIII. soon after removed from Ghent to that city. The march of the allied army was now one continued triumph. Avesnes, Peronne, and other towns either opened their gates, or were reduced after a slight resistance. They continued their march to the capital; and on the 28th, the Prussian advanced guard was attacked at Villars-Coteret, but, on the approach of the main body, the assailants were repulsed with loss. The duke of Wellington crossed the Oise on the 29th, and 30th, at which time marshal Blucher passed the Seine at St. Germain, their plan being to invest Paris on two sides. The heights about the city were strongly fortified, and it was defended by forty or fifty thousand troops of the line and guards, besides the national guards, tirailleurs, and Parisian volunteers.

Blucher met with considerable opposition in establishing himself on the left of the Seine, but he ultimately succeeded; and Paris being now exposed on its most vulnerable side, with a communication opened between the two blockading armies, a proposal was made for the cessation of hostilities, for the purpose of entering into a convention. This was concluded on the 3rd of July, between prince Blucher and the duke of Wellington on the one part, and Davoust (prince of Eckmühl) on the other; the convention having a reference merely to military points, without touching any that were political. In its stipulations, the French army was on the following day to continue its march for the Loire, and was moreover to evacuate Paris completely in these days. All the fortified posts around the city, and finally its barriers, were to be given up: the duty of Paris was to be performed by the national guards and the municipal gendarmerie; public property was to be respected, with the exception of what related to war; private persons and property were also to be respected, and all individuals continuing in the capital were to enjoy their rights and liberties "without being called to account, either for the situations they may have held, or as to their conduct or political opinions." This last clause is worthy of observation, because it was afterwards adduced on the trial of an eminent state criminal as a
promise of a general amnesty. The chambers continued their sittings after the signing of the convention, but this show of authority was soon terminated. In 1814 Louis XVIII. had been placed on the throne in conformity to the will of the nation; he was now to be re-inslated solely by a foreign force. The chambers were closed by order of the military: and, on the 8th of July, that monarch once more made his entry into the capital under the most gloomy and unpromising omens. Its military positions were all occupied by the allied troops, and it was under their safeguard that the regal government was restored, and the white cockade resumed its honours.

On the 26th of September (1815) the three allied sovereigns, namely, those of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, entered into a treaty at Paris, and which treaty received the sign of those potentates. By the tenor of this singular document, which received the name of "the Holy Alliance," being couched in the most devout and solemn language, the high contracting parties declared their resolution to take for their sole guide, both in their domestic administration and foreign relations, the precepts of the holy religion of Christ their Saviour. In consequence, they bound themselves to the observance of three articles:—the first of these united them in a fraternity of mutual assistance, and in the common protection of religion, peace and justice; which in the second article was explained to mean, that they regarded themselves as delegated by Providence to govern three branches of one and the same Christian nation, of which the Divine Being, under his three characters, was the sole real sovereign. The third article declared a readiness to receive into the holy alliance all the powers who should solemnly avow the sacred principles which had dictated it. Politicians were greatly perplexed to comprehend the import of an engagement at once so vague and so serious, which appeared to bind the contracting parties to nothing more than, as Christian princes, they stood already pledged to observe; and it was stated to have originated in a fit of enthusiasm which seized the mind of the emperor Alexander. Mr. Brougham brought the subject before the British house of commons during the following year, when it appeared from the confession of ministers, that the prince regent had been solicited by a joint letter of the three sovereigns to accede to it, and that he had in reply expressed his satisfaction with the nature of the treaty, and given an assurance that the British government would not be one of the least disposed to act up to its principles, but that nevertheless he had declined to become a party to the treaty. Subsequent events seem to indicate, that a resolution to support the authority of each other against any revolutionary movement among their own subjects, was the real object of this mystical combination of princes, veiled by so thick a mantle of religion. But to proceed with the affairs of France.

Louis XVIII. had resumed the crown under circumstances which rendered it truly a crown of thorns. Finding himself entirely in the hands of foreign troops as his guardians, and only the nominal sovereign of a country distracted by party, and in a state of perpetual irritation from a sense of fallen greatness and of present subjugation, it is no wonder that his measures were at first fluctuating, and that his council underwent frequent change. Some of the principal towns in France, which had held out under their military commanders, were at length brought to submit; and the French army itself, that dangerous organ of power, in any hand, was finally dissolved, to be replaced by a new one collected on national principles. The public discontent was, however, greatly aggravated by an act of resumption exercised by the allies; it was that of entirely stripping the museum of the Louvre of all those fruits of conquest which had rendered it the repository of the most famous works of art in Europe, and returning them to their original proprietors. It had been the pride and boast of Napoleon to collect those pieces of ancient and modern art, and to send them to the French capital as trophies of his victories. These spoliations were now reclaimed, and restored to Germany, to Flanders, and to Italy. Venice received back the famous Corinthian Horses; Florence, the Venus de Medicis; Rome, the Apollo Belvidere; and chef d'œuvres of Raffael and Michael Angelo. Thus the
humiliations of France may be said to have commenced with the second entry of Louis XVIII into Paris.

After a long and anxious suspense, the congress held at Vienna announced the conditions on which France was permitted to retain her station among the powers of Europe. This, however, was definitively settled at Paris, by a treaty signed, November the 20th, which stipulated that Louis should cede to the allies the important fortress of Landau, Saar-Louis, Philliburg, and Marienburg, with the duchy of Bouillon. Versoix, and part of the territory of Gex, were yielded to the Helvetic confederacy; the works of Huningen were dismantled; and France engaged not to erect others within the distance of three leagues from Basle, thus leaving a free passage into the heart of France. Seventeen of the principal towns on the frontiers of French Flanders, Champagne, Lorraine, and Alsace, among which were Condé, Valenciennes, Cambrai, &c., the bulwarks of the Flemish and Germanic frontier, were to be delivered up to the allies, to be held in trust for five years by an army of occupation consisting of a hundred and fifty thousand men maintained solely at the expense of France. An assessment was also levied on the latter of seven hundred millions of francs, to be divided among the allies, and defrayed by modes and at periods specified in a separate convention. Conditions so degrading, Marlborough and Eugene had never attempted to impose after ten victorious campaigns. Such, however, was the mode adopted by the allies to maintain the imbecile monarch on his inglorious and improvident throne. Such the bitter cup of humiliation to be drank by that country, after so many triumphs over her neighbours, enjoyed with so little moderation.

Louis XVIII, under the influence of terror inspired by recent events, seemed disposed in this new state of things to adopt a popular system of government. Talleyrand received the appointment of minister of foreign affairs, baron Louis of Finance, Fouché of police, and St. Cyr of war. On the 27th of July, Talleyrand addressed a letter to lord Castlereagh, then at Paris, in reply to the urgent solicitation of the British government, announcing "that his most Christian majesty had issued directions, on the part of "France, that the traffic in slaves, should, from that moment, cease every "where and for ever." A change of policy, however, soon took place; and an ordonnance was issued, declaring that thirty-eight peers, who had accepted seats in the chamber summoned by Napoleon Buonaparte, had forfeited their dignity. Another ordonnance contained a long list of generals and officers who had taken part in what was called the hundred days reign of Napoleon, and they were ordered to be arrested and brought to trial before courts-martial. In a second list were inserted the names of very many persons in Paris, who were ordered to withdraw into the interior till their fate could be determined on. The duke de Richelieu now superseded Talleyrand as first minister, Des Cazes was appointed to the department of the police, and Barbe-Marbois of justice. Labedoyere, the first officer of rank who had joined Napoleon after his return from Elba, was tried, condemned, and executed under the royal ordonnance. After a short interval it was determined to proceed with the same rigour against maréchal Ney, who had fought the battles of his country with so much glory; and who, being a resident in Paris at the moment of the last capitulation, was supposed to be included in the convention by which that capital, then very capable of defence, was surrendered without bloodshed.

The arrest and trial of Ney gave rise to much animated discussion in the political circles, both in France and other countries. On the one side it was argued, that the words of the convention were so full and explicit, as to amount to a general amnesty: the words were—"and all individuals, now "resident in the capital shall enjoy their rights and liberties, without being "disturbed or called to account, either for the situations they may have "held, or as to their conduct, or political opinions." A different view, however, was taken of the question by others, proceeding upon a distinction between military and political points; and the appeal being by mutual agreement submitted to the decision of the duke of Wellington, his grace gave
his sanction to this last view of the case, and thus signed the death warrant of "the bravest of the brave." Ney was accordingly executed as a soldier, on the 7th of December, 1815, meeting his fate with heroic firmness. Marshal Soult, who had been placed by Napoleon at the head of the war department, was present in the battles of Ligny and Waterloo, and involved in the same danger with Ney; but he made so noble a defence, that the proceedings against him were abandoned. A different fate, however, awaited Murat, an officer distinguished for personal valour, and who had once held a pre-eminent rank among the marshals of France. In an unsuccessful attempt to recover the kingdom of Naples, he was taken prisoner, tried by a court martial, which pronounced sentence of death upon him, and sentenced to be shot, which was carried into effect on the very same day. He behaved on the occasion with his wonted courage; placed on his breast a picture of his wife; refused to have his eyes bandaged, and receiving six balls through his head, died without a groan. His military talents, in his own line of a cavalry officer, were confessedly great; and Napoleon probably incurred no slight injury by not availing himself of them at the battle of Waterloo. Under his government, Naples emerging from its barbarism, rose to a respectable rank among the nations of Europe. He conferred many benefits on his subjects, and was generous and hospitable in his intercourse with strangers.

Since the assumption of the regal dignity by the prince of Orange, his prudence and moderation had been eminently conspicuous. In the affair of Waterloo he displayed all the heroism of the house of Orange, and was wounded in the conflict. Desirous of giving his subjects the advantage of a government founded on liberal principles and corresponding with the new order of things in Europe, a committee was appointed to draw up a constitution for the seventeen provinces over which he was now to sway the sceptre. Their report was transmitted to the king, and afterwards laid before an extraordinary assembly of the States of the United Netherlands, by whom it was unanimously accepted. The principal objection to this union had arisen from the strong attachment of the people of Holland to the reformed and that of the Flemings to the Catholic religion. This was strikingly manifested in an address from certain prelates to the king of the Netherlands, dated the 29th of July, 1815, in which it was affirmed "that the equal favour and protection to all religious denominations promised by the constitution, was inconsistent with the assurances of his majesty that the establishment and privileges of the Catholic church should be preserved, and incompatible with the fundamental principle of that church." The king was further admonished, that such a regulation must sooner or later alienate the hearts of his subjects in those provinces, "with whom attachment to the Catholic faith is stronger and more lively than in any other country in Europe." It does not, however, appear that this remonstrance produced any change in the system of toleration which had been provided for by the new constitution; and a subsequent royal ordonnance professed to provide only for the security and freedom of the Catholic church, without investing it with any exclusive authority. In the month of September the ceremonial of the king's inauguration took place at Brussels, with every mark of general satisfaction. On this occasion the principal ecclesiastics of the cathedral of St. Gudule addressed a discourse to the king, replete with sentiments of Christian benevolence; at the same time claiming for the Catholic religion nothing more than the protection guaranteed by the constitution. Soon after the promulgation of this constitution, a matrimonial alliance took place between the prince of Orange, and the grand-duchess Anna, sister of the emperor Alexander. We shall now return to the affairs of our own country.

Although the peace which had now happily been brought about upon the continent of Europe, drew security in its train, yet it did not diminish the burdens of the nation in that degree which was too fondly expected. It left the people of England under the pressure of an enormous taxation, one of the many and never failing results of a long continued war. A large standing army was still to be kept up; and it was the intention of the ministry to
continue the obnoxious tax on property, reducing it however to five per cent. This measure excited a general alarm, and the wantonness of ministerial profusion was loudly censured. Petitions against its continuance were poured into parliament in abundance, in despite of which the chancellor of the exchequer ventured to propose its continuance. The spirit of the house, however, revolted from it, and when it was exploded by a majority of thirty-seven votes, the shouts which arose from the unexpected popular triumph resounded over the whole neighbourhood. The debates respecting a new settlement of the civil list were warm and acrimonious. Useless places and sinecures were pertinaciously retained; and the aggregate allowance was even augmented, though the payment of a considerable part of it out of a different fund, afforded a pretext for the minister for asserting that it was diminished. Lord Castlereagh soon after made a motion, which was acceded to, for the erection of a naval monument in honour of the battle of Trafalgar, of lord Nelson, and of the officers and seamen who lost their lives on that glorious occasion. This was a counterpart to the resolution lately carried for a monument to perpetuate the victory of Waterloo, dedicated to the duke of Wellington and the army.

During the session of parliament in 1816, a message from the prince regent, announced the approaching marriage, with his own consent, of his daughter, the princess Charlotte Augusta, with his serene highness Leopold George Frederick, prince of Saxe Cobourg-Saalfeld, who had visited England in the train of the confederate sovereigns. His royal highness expressed his persuasion of the concurrence of the house in enabling him to make such a provision on the occasion, as might correspond with the dignity and honour of the country. It was consequently proposed by the chancellor of the exchequer, and unanimously agreed to by the house, that an income of sixty thousand pounds a year should be settled on the illustrious pair; of which sum, ten thousand pounds were to form a privy purse for her royal highness, and the remainder was to defray the domestic expenses of the prince of Cobourg—that amount to be settled on them for their joint lives. A further sum of sixty thousand pounds was granted by way of outfit. The marriage accordingly took place on the 2nd of May, 1816, and appeared to give general satisfaction to the country. About the same time was married his royal highness the duke of Gloucester to the princess Mary, sister to the prince regent, and fourth daughter of his majesty George III.

The distresses of the agricultural interest occasioned a number of petitions to parliament for relief. The manufacturers at the same time complained of that want of employment which was consequent on the general impoverishment of their countrymen. Riotous proceedings took place in several counties of England, the natural consequence of the discontent which this state of affairs produced. In Suffolk, large parties marched from one village to another, destroying or injuring the houses of individuals who were considered as unfriendly to the poor. In the county of Cambridge, a body of provincials extorted money from the inhabitants of Ely and Littleport, pillaged many of the shops, and continued their outrages until a party of dragoons and yeomanry appeared. A contest ensued; the riot was quelled, and five of the delinquents being tried and condemned were punished with death. A riot at Norwich was more easily suppressed; and other commotions were insignificant and transitory. In the neighbourhood of the metropolis a popular meeting took place towards the end of the year 1816, which threatened alarming consequences. This assemblage took place in the Spa Fields, Islington, and resolutions of reform, suggested by Mr. Henry Hunt were voted by acclamation. An apothecary of the name of Watson also harangued the rabble in the same neighbourhood; and the subsequent operations of those who listened to his oratory excited a momentary alarm in the metropolis. The mob paraded the streets, carried off fire-arms from the shops of gunsmiths, marched to the Royal Exchange, where they had a short contest with the lord mayor and some of the police; but they at length dispersed from the fear of a military attack. These disturbances did not, however, seriously encroach on the general tranquillity of the country.
greater part of the inhabitants looked forward to a full enjoyment of the blessings of peace, and patiently waited for the removal of the prevailing distress.

While these things were in progress, a very unexpected occurrence took place on the Barbary coast, which gave occasion for a display of the undaunted bravery and intrepidity of the British navy, too honourable to the country, and triumphant in its results to be omitted in this narrative. The predatory practices and horrible cruelties of the Algerines had long excited general indignation; and it was the ardent wish of every commercial state, that signal chastisement should be inflicted on that nest of pirates. As even British vessels were occasionally attacked by them, lord Exmouth sailed to Algiers with a squadron of ships under his command, instructed by his government to try, in the first instance, the effects of a temperate expostulation with the Dey, to whose consideration he submitted three points. The first was that the Ionian islands, lately formed into a republic, should be treated as British colonies; the next was the propriety of concluding peace with Naples and Sardinia; and the last related to the abolition of Christian slavery in his dominions. On the first and second points, explicit promises of compliance were given; but regarding the other, the reply was that it was too important to be hastily settled or readily conceded. The rulers of Tunis and Tripoli, who were also visited by the admiral, were more compliant than their brother of Algiers; they promised not to consign prisoners of war to the miseries or disgrace of slavery, but to treat them according to the practice of Christian nations. Having settled matters with these two inferior powers, his lordship returned to Algiers, and renewed his remonstrances, but without effect. And while he was thus employed a savage massacre was perpetrated at Bona upon a number of coral-fishers, who were acting under the supposed security of the British flag. A fresh squadron calculated for a bold enterprise, was accordingly placed under lord Exmouth's command; and he was also joined by vice-admiral Capellon, whom the king of the Netherlands had sent with a small fleet to further the success of the expedition.

In the mean time such preparations had been made for the defence of Algiers, as rendered the attack extremely dangerous; but nothing could deter or discourage the two commanders and their gallant associates. Lord Exmouth, in the Queen Charlotte, cast anchor so near the mole and the batteries, that the enemy appeared confounded at this mark of intrepidity. The other ships followed, and took the stations which his lordship prescribed, with a promptness and precision that even exceeded his hopes. This was on the 27th of August, and a tremendous fire was now poured from the walls, the batteries, and the ships in the harbour: but it was answered with corresponding spirit. The bomb-vessels, and the boats which had guns and rockets, ably seconded the operations of the larger ships; and it was "by their fire," as the admiral says in his dispatches, "that all the ships in the port, except one, were in flames, which extended rapidly over the whole arsenal, store-houses, and gun-boats, exhibiting a spectacle of awful grandeur and interest which no pen can describe." The contest raged for six hours without intermission; and as sufficient havock had then been made, the assailants slowly retired, waiting the effect of that defeat and disgrace which the barbarians had sustained. Dreading a renewal of the attack, the Dey listened to the offer of terms; and a treaty was concluded, by which he bound himself to the abolition of Christian slavery in his dominions, and to the immediate surrender of all his slaves. More than a thousand of these unhappy exiles were instantly liberated, and placed under the protection of the allies; and a sum of money, amounting to four hundred thousand dollars, was transmitted by the captors to the courts of Naples and Sardinia. This gallant enterprise, which England performed for the general good of Christendom, without stipulation and without re-imbursement, cost her, however, a number of valuable lives—about a hundred and thirty men being killed, and seven hundred wounded.

It is truly painful to record the tumultuous proceedings which took place
at this period in various parts of England, but the pressure of distress was
great upon the lower classes of society, and they were goaded by it to pursue
measures which were little calculated to ameliorate their condition. At the
opening of the session of parliament, on the 28th of January, 1817, the
prince regent, in his speech from the throne, stated the anxious desire of
the government to make every reduction, which the safety of the empire
and “true policy” would allow. The deficiency in the revenue was acknow-
ledged, but ascribed to temporary causes; and the whole concluded with a
pointed allusion to the disturbances which had taken place in various parts of
the country; and intimating a determination to omit no precautions for pre-
serving the public peace. On the return of the prince regent from the house
of peers, after opening the session, an immense crowd had assembled in the
park, by whom he was received with marked demonstrations of popular re-
sentment; and on passing Carlton house, the glass of the state carriage was
broken by a stone; nor was it without difficulty, that he at length reached
the palace. This flagrant outrage being on the same day reported to par-
liament by lord Sidmouth, the two houses joined in an address suitable to
the occasion. A proclamation was also issued offering a reward of a thousand
pounds for the discovery of the offender, but it proved in vain. When the
usual address was brought forward in reply to the speech from the throne,
earl Grey moved an amendment, importing an opinion, “that the pressure
on the resources of the country was much more extensive in its operation,
more severe in its effects, more deep and general in its causes, and more
difficult of removal, than had ever before been experienced; and that the
house would immediately enter on an enquiry into the state of the nation.”
The marquis Wellesley affirmed “that the distress of the country had grown
to a magnitude which no art or colour of language could disguise; that a
speech so inadequate to the exigencies of the times, as that which the re-
gent had delivered, he had never heard.”

It would be tedious to detail to you the various measures to which minis-
ters had recourse, in order to remedy this disastrous state of public affairs.
Let it suffice to say, that the motion of Earl Grey in the lords, and a similar
one by Mr. Ponsonby in the commons were overruled by a large majority—
that secret committees were appointed in both houses to examine certain pa-
ers laid before them by the government; and these committees on the 18th
and 19th of February, reported “that a traitorous conspiracy had been
formed in the metropolis for the purpose of overthrowing, by means of an
insurrection, the established government, laws, and constitution of the
realm; and of effecting a general plunder and division of property: that
traces appeared of a central committee in London, which communicated
with clubs and associations in various parts of the country, but chiefly in
the manufacturing districts; some of which associations were bound toge-
ther by secret and unlawful oaths: that the late popular assemblages in
Spa-Fields were intended to subserve the purposes of the conspirators:
that the riotous attack on the gunsmiths’ shops in the city, for the purpose
of procuring arms, was the commencement of an insurrection, which, if
successful, was to have been followed by desperate attempts upon the
Tower, the Bank, and the barracks at Knightsbridge, and other points.”
It appeared, however, that no adequate preparations of any kind had been
made for the execution of these designs; and that no person in the higher,
and scarcely any in the middle classes of life, had taken part with them.
Much was also said of the dangerous notions disseminated by a political sect
called Spenceans respecting a community of lands, and of the seditious and
blasphemous writings industriously dispersed among the lower classes. Both
reports concluded by invoking the interference of parliament to obviate dan-
gers, which the utmost vigilance of government under the existing laws,
had been found inadequate to avert.

To counteract these pernicious attempts, the Habeas Corpus act was sus-
pended until the 1st of June ensuing, and several acts of parliament were
passed, having for their object the security of his majesty’s person and go-
very— the suppression of tumultuous meetings and debating societies—
the taking of secret and illegal oaths—and the punishing with rigour any
attempt to gain over soldiers or sailors to act with any association, or set of
men, or to withdraw them from their allegiance. Secured by these bills,
the ministers boldly prosecuted their career, and judging that some condem-
nations for treason would still further strengthen the throne, they ordered
an indictment to be prepared against Watson, the apothecary, and three of
his associates—but the former being acquitted by the jury, the attorney-
general then declared, in a tone of gracious condescension, that he would
abandon the proceeding which he had instituted against the rest!

A vigorous attempt was made at this time in the county of Nottingham,
to organize an insurrection, but it failed; and the prime agents in the plot,
viz. Brandreth, Turner, and Ludlam, were apprehended, tried, found guilty,
and executed. As the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act expired on the
1st of June, another message was brought down from the prince regent two
days afterwards, accompanied by fresh documents relating to the proceed-
ings of the disaffected. These were also entrusted to a secret committee, who
reported on them, and on this occasion it was fairly admitted, that the evidence
laid before the committee had been chiefly derived from the depositions and
communications of persons who were either themselves more or less implicated
in the criminal transactions, or who had ostensibly engaged in them with the
view of giving information to government: that the evidence of both those
classes of persons must be regarded with suspicion; and that there was rea-
son to apprehend, that the language and conduct of some of the latter,
might, in certain instances, have had the effect of encouraging designs which
it was intended that they should only be the instruments of detecting! This
employment of spies, which was openly avowed and defended by the minis-
ters, exposed them to severe reproach both within the house and without—
but on the new alarm which was excited by means of this second report,
they obtained a fresh suspension of the Habeas Corpus, to extend to the 1st
of March, 1818. Towards the close of the session, Mr. Abbot, who had held
the office of speaker to the house of commons in five successive parliaments
with distinguished reputation, intimated his intention of resigning, on ac-
count of ill health; and was soon after called to the house of lords, by the
title of lord Colchester, an annuity of four thousand pounds being also
granted him for his meritorious services. The right honourable Charles
Manners Sutton was elected in his place.

In the month of August 1817, lord Amherst, who, in the preceding year,
had left England on an embassy to China, arrived at Portsmouth on his re-
turn. Whatever were the advantages anticipated from this expensive
equipment, of which indeed the prospect, after the total failure of a former
embassy by lord Macartney, must have been very faint, they were totally
frustrated by the refusal of lord Amherst to submit to the degrading cere-
monial of prostration now required by the court of Pekin, though dispensed
with in the person of his predecessor. The emperor, however, in his "im-
perial mandate to the king of England," (for such was the language of the
court of Pekin) expressed his satisfaction "at the disposition of profound
respect, and due obedience, which were visible in sending this embassy.
"I therefore," says the emperor of China, "thought proper to take from the
"articles of tribute a few maps, with some prints and portraits. In return
"I ordered to be given unto you, O king, a Jouées [a string of imperial
"beads] two silk purses, and eight small ones, as a proof of our tender and
"indulgent conduct. Your country is too remote from the central and
"flourishing empire. Besides, your ambassador, it would seem, does not
"know how to practise the rights and ceremonies of the central empire.
"There will be no occasion hereafter for you to send an ambassador from
"so great a distance, and to give him the trouble of passing over mountains
"and crossing the ocean. If you do but pour out the heart in dutiful obedi-
"ence, it is by no means necessary, at any stated time, to come to the ce-
"lestial presence." Such was the haughty tone of rebuke in which the em-
peror of China thought proper to address the sovereign of England after which, it can hardly be expected that a third embassy to China will speedily take place.

The 6th of November, 1817, was rendered fatally memorable by the sudden and affecting death of the princess Charlotte of Wales, presumptive heiress of the Crown, immediately after she had given birth to a still-born infant. Her marriage, in the preceding year, to prince Leopold of Saxe Cobourg, has been already mentioned as an event which gave high satisfaction to the nation, and this was greatly strengthened by the announcement, that she was in a situation likely to afford an eventual heir to the British throne; and rarely had the hopes and wishes of a whole people been so deeply interested in any similar event. This double calamity, so sudden and so irreparable, filled the whole land with mourning. Indeed her death caused an unfeigned sensation of sorrow in every court and every country throughout Europe, and even in the distant regions of Asia and America. The youth of the royal sufferer—the state of conjugal felicity which she was understood to enjoy with the partner of her choice—the domestic virtues which adorned her character—and, finally, the consideration that she was the sole progeny in the second degree from the royal stock, all conspired to embitter her loss, and to render the public grief not only acute but lasting. Her remains were conveyed to the royal vault at Windsor on the 19th of November, with every solemnity suited to the melancholy occasion, prince Leopold himself sustaining the afflicting office of chief mourner. The character of her royal highness appears to have been both amiable and exemplary. She was affable and condescending to her inferiors; humane, friendly and beneficent. Her good sense had corrected that vivacity which, in her earlier years, bordered upon petulance; and though still lively, after her marriage she appeared in general to resemble the steady and prudent mother of a family. She did not, like some of the members of the royal household, delight in pomp and pageantry, the “baubles of little minds;” but preferred the calm privacy of domestic life, and the friendliness of select and social parties, to the unmeaning compliments and frivolous ostentation of a crowded and courtly drawing room. She had cultivated her mind with care and assiduity; to a taste for literature she added the elegant and ornamental accomplishments suited to her sex and station, and her moral purity was refined by the influence of religion. In short, her virtues, her accomplishments, her principles, her prudence and discretion in a situation of peculiar difficulty were fully appreciated; and the hope, enthusiastically cherished, of future felicity under her government, had no parallel since the days of Elizabeth, whose name she had often on her lips, and whom, in all that was great and excellent, she was ambitious to resemble. Thus untimely faded “the expectancy and rose of the fair state.”

In the year 1818, a new dynasty commenced in Sweden. On the 5th of February the king died after a tedious illness, and was succeeded by Charles John Bernadotte, formerly one of Napoleon’s marshals, who assumed the royal functions with all the confidence of an hereditary sovereign, but not without the acquiescence of the nobility and people at large. On accepting the reins of government he pledged himself to imitate the princely virtues and exemplary conduct of his lamented predecessor. A session of the diet was conducted under his auspices with decorum and tranquillity; and some useful enactments and regulations evinced his desire of continuing in a state of harmony with his subjects.

The apparent tranquillity which prevailed in France, and the probability of its continuance, induced the allied sovereigns in whose hands were now placed the destinies of Europe, to gratify the French people by recalling the whole army of occupation, two years before the stipulated time. A congress was convoked at Aix-la-Chapelle; and as the affair had been already settled in their respective cabinets, the proposition of recall received the sanction of the two emperors and the king of Prussia, October the 9th, and the assent of lord Castlereagh, also, in the name of the prince regent of England. In a note which announced this determination, it was declared to be a proof of the confidence which the sovereigns reposed in the wisdom of his most Chris-
tian majesty, and the fidelity of the French nation; and the duke de Riche-
lieu, in answer to the pleasing communication, expressed the fervent grati-
tude of his royal master for this mark of friendly respect, promising at the
same time that France would cordially join the high and august association,
with a view of securing the future peace and happiness of Europe.(1)

LETTER XXII.

History of Europe continued.—Revolution in Spain.—Proclamation of the
Cortes.—Ferdinand swears to maintain the new constitution.—Singular
mortality in the royal family of England.—Death and character of George
III.—George IV. proclaimed.—His alarming illness.—Detection of the
Cato street plot.—Return of queen Caroline from Italy.—Proceedings
against her in the house of lords.—Bill of pains and penalties abandoned.—
Glance at the affairs of France.—Portugal,—the Netherlands,—States of
the Germanic empire,—Prussia,—Naples,—and Austria, &c. &c.—A. D.
1820—1821

The allied armies having withdrawn from the territories of France, the in-
habitants had, in consequence, got exempt from one continual source of
mortification and chagrin; but there remained many other grievances to be
redressed ere a state of perfect tranquillity could be restored. The dis-
sensions of party were, in fact, as acrimonious in France as those which agi-
tated the British nation. A proposed alteration in the law of popular elec-
tion excited a strong sensation among the Parisians. This change was not
suggested by the ministers but by the ultra-royalists, who had sufficient in-
fluence in the chamber of peers to procure a majority of votes on this ques-
tion. To counteract their object, however, the king added fifty-four peers to
the assembly by a new creation; and this act of prerogative secured his in-
fuence. The other chamber supported the existing law, which was there-
fore retained. Both assemblies agreed to a removal of the censorship, while
they imposed such restrictions as were deemed unreasonable by the
advocates of a free press. At Nîmes in the department of the Gard, and
other places in the south of France serious commotions arose between the
Catholics and Protestants, instigated it would appear by the intrigues of the
ultra-royal faction, with a view of embarrassing the court, and many lives
were lost in the affrays which took place. The elections which ensued in
the autumn of 1819 were neither favourable to that party nor to the ministry,
as about two thirds of the new members affected a great liberality of political
sentiment.

Neither were matters much improved in the sister kingdom Spain, by an
experience of the past. Ferdinand, instead of selecting able ministers,
and adopting a regular system of government, disgusted his subjects by
various acts of cruelty and oppression, while he totally neglected the exercise
of that vigour which would have secured the persons and property of his
subjects from the outrages of the numerous banditti, which every where in-
fested the country. This relaxation of his authority naturally encouraged
the disaffected, and the state of the country became increasingly critical.
The liberal notions which had been propagated during the contest with Na-
poleon had not yet lost their effect. They were kept alive by the continued
tyranny of the court, and an opportunity of bringing them into exercise was
anxiously expected. The discontent of many officers of the army, whom the
king had not thought of conciliating, diffused itself among the troops in
Akhalusia, and colonel Riego lighted the match which produced an explosion.

(1) Dr. Bissett's History of the Reign of George III.—Dr. Aikin's Annals of the
Reign of George III.—Annual Registers, sub anno.—Parliamentary Debates—and London
Gazette.
Marching with a battalion to Acre, he surprised the commander-in-chief, procured an accession of force, and joined Quiroga, who had escaped from a place of confinement. The lines near Cadiz were twice assaulted but without effect; and Riego was then detached with fifteen hundred men, to excite a general insurrection. He was so harassed by the troops that were in the king's interest, that he he with difficulty escaped destruction: and Quiroga, in the isle of Leon, seemed to be in equal danger. Yet the malcontents were not discouraged; and, in the province of Galicia, by the efforts of some spirited officers, the royal authority was quickly annihilated; while Mina, erecting the popular standard in Navarre, proclaimed the constitution of the year 1812. The flame now spread through other provinces; and Ferdinand was so intimidated by the progress of dissatisfaction, that he promised to convolve the Cortes, and bound himself by an oath, March the 10th, 1820, to the observance of the constitution. The public joy, however, arising from this source, was allayed by the brutal treachery of the troops at Cadiz. General Freyre had assured the inhabitants, that the constitution should be proclaimed in form; but when a large concourse of people appeared in the principal square to witness the ceremony, the military made a sudden attack upon the spectators, and put to death more than four hundred of them, before it was known that the king had acceded to the popular claims. It is not understood that general Freyre either authorised or countenanced this atrocity. Some of the wretches who perpetrated it, after a long delay, were punished; but the outrage was never investigated in a regular or satisfactory manner.

Ferdinand, who had long domineered over the nobility and the people, was now a slave to the leaders of the revolution. His cabinet was composed of strenuous constitutionalists, who, justly doubting his sincerity, resolved to hold him in trammels, until the liberties of the country should be permanently established. On the 9th of July, after an interval marked with occasional commotions, the Cortes assembled, and set themselves in good earnest to promote the regeneration of the kingdom. The exclusive privileges of the nobles were suppressed or diminished; the administration of justice was purified; abuses in the various departments of state were corrected; the lands of the church were partly appropriated to the public service; arrangements were made for the reduction of the national debt, which amounted to one hundred and sixty millions, sterling; and they paid due attention also to the measures necessary to ensure the revival of commerce and the encouragement of general industry. When the session terminated, in the autumn, it was not deemed prudent to suspend the authority of so useful a body of men; three-fourths of them were ordered to form a permanent committee, for the purpose of controlling the executive power. The king occasionally evinced tokens of jealousy and displeasure, and secret adviser did not fail to recommend it to him to shake off the yoke; but no opportunity of a counter-revolution presented itself to his anxious wishes. It might have been expected that the Cortes would make a vigorous effort to reclaim the Trans-Atlantic colonies to submission; since, however attached to liberty they might pretend to be, they might be of opinion that the glory of Old Spain was involved in the retention of the New World; but the weighty affairs of internal policy engrossed their whole attention. In the mean time, the revolt of those provinces became more general both in North and South America. The royalists of Mexico found the greatest difficulty in preserving their power; and the capital of Peru was nearly reduced to extremity by a continued blockade: their declaration of independence, however, did not take place until the following year.

In our own country, an unprecedented series of mortality, at this period, befell the reigning family. I mentioned to you, in my last letter, the death of the princess Charlotte of Wales, which took place in 1817; others now rapidly followed. On the 7th of November, 1818, her majesty, queen Charlotte expired at Kew palace, in the 75th year of her age, after a lingering decline, attended with much personal suffering, which she was reported to have sustained with great fortitude and resignation. She merited the respect
of the nation by her conjugal virtues and her maternal character; by the uniform propriety of her conduct; and by the strict decorum which she maintained in her court. Her ruling passion, in the decline of life was believed to be the accumulation of riches; and the political influence which she acquired during the illness of the king in 1788, she maintained to the last; but it was thought to be invariably employed in favour of the aristocratical branch of the constitution.—On the 23d of January 1820, the public mind received a much severer shock by the decease of his royal highness the duke of Kent, their majesties fourth son, who expired at Sidmouth, in Devonshire, after a very short illness, arising from an inflammation of the chest. He was truly an illustrious prince, of noble mien, of manners the most accomplished, and of superior intellectual attainments—in all respects fit to grace a throne. He was consequently much esteemed, and died deservedly lamented, leaving an infant daughter, the princess Alexandrina Victoria, then only eight months old, to the care of an accomplished, but disconsolate mother.—But the regrets excited by the loss of the duke of Kent were speedily absorbed in the greater grief occasioned by the demise of his venerable father, king George III. which took place at Windsor, on the 29th of the same month—only six days afterwards. He had attained the 82nd year of his age; and had swayed the royal sceptre, nominally, for nearly fifty-nine years, having been crowned in 1761, though the last nine years of his eventful career, had been a melancholy blank in his mental existence.

As the character of George III. has been placed in very different lights by contemporary writers; and as we ourselves are too near the scene of action, probably, to form a strictly impartial judgment of his merits and defects, I shall present to you, my son, the different aspects in which it has been exhibited by two different classes of political writers, leaving it to time to decide which of them is nearest allied to truth.

According to his admirers, "his majesty possessed an excellent understanding, and was a very competent judge both of men and things. His talents for government, they assure us, were respectable, and he exercised them with the happiest effect, even in perturbed and critical times. Having traced in his mind the outlines of the duties which devolved upon him as the sovereign of a great empire, he filled up the intervening space with the skill of a political artist. In deciding upon the American war, he was actuated solely by a sense of justice; he thought himself bound to correct the refractory spirit of the colonists, and to use force when persuasion and remonstrance had failed. Into the war with revolutionary France he was impelled by an idea of imperious necessity, in as much as the career of the democratic opposers of Louis XVI. menaced with subversion the best institutions of other countries; and such was his firmness, that he was not deterred from his object, even by the long continued success of the enemy. With equal resolution he checked the effervescence of zeal among the votaries of reform in Great Britain, and preserved the state from that mischief which would have been produced by the schemes of profigate and violent Jacobins. He also displayed his spirit to advantage, when the Whigs at different times endeavoured to subject him to their sway. On the other hand, when conciliation was expedient, and when the voice of the senate corresponded with that of the people, he could yield with a good grace and with dignified complacency. His private character was so exemplary, that it may be quoted as a model of virtue. He was attentive to religious observances, both public and private: correct in his own morals, and studious of the morality of others; mild and unassuming in his demeanour, courteous, gracious, and affable; humane, beneficent, and liberal, while he was temperate and economical in his personal habits. In short, his conduct, both as a king and as a man, deserves the highest praise, and entitles his memory to our esteem and veneration."

Such is the favourable side of the picture, as viewed through the medium of political partiality: the following is a somewhat different estimate of royal merit.
"This monarch was not highly favoured by nature; for his understanding was narrow, and his capacity did not soar above mediocrity. If he had moved in the ranks of private life and of ordinary society, he would not have been considered as any other than a man of very limited powers. His acquirements from education were also scanty and imperfect. Deprived of his father when a youth, he was committed to the care of his mother, in whose opinion book-learning was of little consequence; and it does not appear that his studies were well directed, or pointed to pursuits worthy of a prince. He was not properly tutored in either history or politics; nor was he guided to an intelligent survey of the affairs of the world or the characters of mankind. He could manufacture a button, or draw the model of a house, but could not write a tolerable letter. He could comprehend a plain statement, but could not unravel the web of sophistry or manage a complicated argument, or enter into the rationale of the English constitution. In his youth he fell into the hands of bigotted Tories, who having no expansion of intellect themselves, only inspired him with high notions of royal supremacy. Thus instructed, he had no leaning to those principles which placed his family upon the throne. He had imbibed as unfavourable an opinion of the advocates of freedom as Charles II. entertained of all mankind;—he fancied that they were base and unprincipled, and deemed his power unsafe in the hands of such statesmen. He did not possess that comprehensiveness of mind which could fathom the depths of policy, or qualify him to govern like an enlightened prince; yet, by the aid of common sense, unperverted, he might have governed much better than he did. The American war is a foul blot upon his fame; not only for its original injustice, but for the mischievous consequences to which it led, as the parent of the French revolution. Many will think, nor is it easy to disprove the inference, that no prince who had a due sense of religion or equity, could have rushed into such a war, or have prosecuted it with such unfeeling obstinacy. To ravage a country with fire and sword, and send savages, like blood-hounds, to hunt down his colonial subjects, because they were desirous of being governed by the constitutional maxims of the mother-country, were not the acts of a pious, just, or benevolent prince. Nor can the war with France, which he carried on with equal zeal and pertinacity, be defended upon equitable principles. He had no right to violate the independence of another state, or to dictate terms of accommodation at the point of the bayonet. Nor can the outrageous attack upon the Danes, in resentment of the armed neutrality, or the bombardment of their capital for wishing to retain their fleet, be fairly or honourably indicated. Other acts of arbitrary violence, the effects of which no courtly sophistry can elude, rise up in appalling array against the memory of the late monarch, though he was styled “the best of kings.”

These delineations of the character of the late sovereign of this country are certainly at variance; but, utrum horum maius accipe—to which of them the praise of greater fidelity belongs, it is not for us to decide. The venerable age, the protracted sufferings, the private and personal virtues of George III. with his still recent demise, render it both a difficult and an invidious task to attempt to sketch the political features of his reign with historic fidelity. It has been said of him on high authority, and, as we believe, with equal truth, that “he would never do wrong except when he mistook ‘wrong for right.’” The notions of government, originally infused into his mind by lord Bute, probably differed little from those which Charles I. learned from archbishop Laud, however modified in practice by the necessity of circumstances.

As the prince regent had now conducted the machine of government for nearly ten years, his assumption of the regal character and office was made less account of than would otherwise have been the case. But scarcely had he been proclaimed king, when he was attacked with an inflammation of the lungs, the very disorder which had recently sent his brother, the duke of Kent, to the grave; and its violence occasioned the greatest alarm among all
his friends. However, by the skill and attention of his physicians, he recovered his health, and was enabled to perform the functions of his high station.

It was now intended, according to established custom, to dissolve the parliament, but at the moment that this was about to be carried into effect, a "flagrant and sanguinary conspiracy" was detected and denounced. A person of the name of Thistlewood, who had once moved in a respectable sphere of life and known better days, had been tried for high treason along with the apothecary Watson, and with him acquitted. His escape however, in that instance, did not reconcile him to the government, and he brooded over fresh schemes of turbulence and sedition. He now became associated with some disaffected persons of profligate habits; and, when it was proposed at their private meetings, which were held in a kind of hay-loft, in Cato street, Marylebone, that all the members of the cabinet should be put to death, as determined enemies and oppressors of their country, the horrid scheme was adopted as an act of public virtue. A spy, however, who had watched their motions under a pretence of forwarding their views, disclosed their machinations to the ministry; and with some difficulty several of them were apprehended, after Thistlewood had killed one of the police officers. They were tried by a special commission, and five of their number being declared guilty of high treason, were executed at the Old Bailey.

When the new parliament assembled, the business of the two houses proceeded for some time currently, attended with but few indications of party animosity. But an incident at length arose which disturbed the tranquillity of the court and threw the whole empire into an extraordinary ferment. This was the arrival of the queen—the discarded wife of George IV. who had been long absent from the scene of her ill treatment. While residing in Italy, she had received the melancholy news of her daughter's lamented death; and now intelligence had reached her of the demise of her royal uncle, to whose kindness and patronage she had formerly owed much. It was the wish of the new king that she should indefinitely prolong her absence from England; but her high spirit emboldened her to defy his menaces and his resentment, both of which she had experienced. In consequence of reports unfavourable to her character, two gentlemen of the law had been sent to the continent in 1818 to collect evidence on the subject, with a view to a divorce; but their discoveries were not then communicated to the public. In the mean time she was treated with insolence or contempt, by the British ambassadors at the different courts of Europe, and by such travellers as wished to ingratiate themselves with the British court: she consequently abandoned all idea of returning to England, until she became de jure, queen of the United Kingdom. While at Rome she addressed a letter to the earl of Liverpool, complaining of the omission of her name in the liturgy, as "an act of cruel tyranny;" but to that letter no answer was returned. After a long interval, however, she shaped her course towards England, and arriving at St. Omer's she was there met by Mr. Brougham, her legal adviser; and by lord Hutchinson also who had been commissioned by her husband to wait upon her and offer her an annual allowance of fifty thousand pounds, on provision that she should neither assume the title of queen, nor reside in any part of Great Britain. The proposal roused her indignation; she declared it was impossible for her to listen to it for a moment; and apprehending that means might be resorted to in order to prevent her landing in England, she instantly set off for Calais whither she proceeded with all possible speed, and crossed the channel in the first vessel that she found ready for sailing, accompanied by her confidential friends, lady Anne Hamilton and alderman Wood. On landing at Dover she was received with every mark of respect which she could desire; and her progress to London had an air of triumph. The consternation of the court at finding her already in the midst of them was extreme; and the king instantly determined to convert her joy into sorrow. He sent down a message to both houses of parliament, accompanied by a multitude of papers which were laid upon the table of the honourable house by lord Castlereagh, tending to fix upon her the imputation of adul-
terous guilt. Alarming as her situation now became, she did not remain silent, but addressed a letter to the commons, protesting against the formation of a secret tribunal, and reproaching that series of ill-treatment which could only be justified by trial and conviction. Mr. Brougham, in the strongest terms, opposed the intended inquiry, as the most impolitic that could be devised, and hoped that it would be superseded by a private and amicable adjustment. Mr. Canning acknowledged that he had advised the illustrious lady, six years before, to fix her residence on the continent, being aware of the existence of determined alienation on the part of her husband, and apprehensive, as he was, that if she should remain in England “faction would mark her for its own.” He was her avowed friend; had been her frequent and favoured guest; and from an intimate acquaintance with her manners, had pronounced her “the life, grace, and ornament of every society she chose to ennoble with her presence.” He did not object to the enquiry, as it appeared to him to be forced upon the ministers; but he declared that he never would act as an accuser or prosecutor of her majesty.

To pursue in detail the narrative of this unhappy state of matters between the royal pair, and the proceedings in parliament to which it gave rise, would carry me far beyond the limits to which we can now go. Let it suffice to remark that after numerous projects and propositions had been discussed and disposed of, a bill of “pains and penalties” was introduced into the house of peers, having for its object to annul the prerogatives and privileges of Caroline Amelia Elisabeth, and to procure a dissolution of the marriage between his majesty and that princess, on account of an alleged adulterous connection between her and Bartolomeo Bergami, an Italian, of low extraction, on whom she had bestowed extraordinary marks of favour and distinction. The court at first entertained the idea of proceeding capitally against the unfortunate princess; but her kind friends (for even the ministers had formerly been her friends) finding that this would be an illegal process, the alleged acts of criminality having been committed on the continent, with one who was not a subject of this realm, condescended to relinquish their primary intention, and to be content with the degradation of the object of their master’s animosity. No measure upon record in the annals of the country, met with more strenuous opposition from the public than this, arbitrary and impolitic bill. It was declared to be the fruit of a vile conspiracy for the ruin of an amiable princess, who had never enjoyed her husband’s favour. Her guilt, it was said, was at least problematical; and even were it certain and undoubted, there were mitigating circumstances which pleaded strongly in her favour, arising from the tyrannical harshness which had driven her from her home, without any alleged reason; for the statement of a dislike conceived by one party is no reason for such conduct either in law or in equity.

In the course of the investigation, all the principal servants of her household were attracted by liberal offers to depose freely against her; but the utmost their united testimony amounted to was, that of eliciting suspicious circumstances; while the points of imputation were considerably invalidated by the ordeal of cross examination to which her learned and able counsel subjected the witnesses, and by the adduction of more disinterested evidence. After a tedious judicial process, a motion for the second reading of the bill produced a very animated debate. The lords Grey, Erskine, and Lansdown denied that the proofs of guilt were such as could justify a penal bill, while the lord chancellor Eldon and lord Liverpool affected to consider the case as triumphantly proved. When the division upon the bill took place, the numbers were found to be one hundred and twenty-three in favour of it, against it ninety-five. On the commitment of the bill, the clause which provided for a divorce was strongly opposed by the archbishops of York and Tuam, as well as other prelates, who considered it in the light of a mere political expedient, rather than an act of impartial justice; and maintained that it was repugnant both to divine and human laws. The clause was consequently abandoned by ministers—and on a subsequent division, the majority on the bill became reduced to nine, whereupon the earl of Liverpool, referring to the warmth of feeling, and the agitated state of the country, on the 10th of November, declared that he
would not persist in the measure, and consequently moved that the third
reading of the bill be postponed to that day six months.

The abandonment of this obnoxious bill was regarded as a triumph by her
majesty, and the numerous supporters of her cause. An illumination took
place in the metropolis, for three nights, during which the populace behaved
with greater forbearance than could reasonably have been expected. Ministers,
from a sense of common decency now proposed to parliament that the
queen should be allowed the same income which they had promised her before
she returned to England; but the honour of being mentioned in the liturgy
was still denied her—thus affixing, by implication, a stigma upon her charac-
ter, which, being entailed by the hand of power, made a visible impression
upon her majesty’s mind.

Before I close this letter, it will be proper to glance at the aspect of affairs
on the continent during the interval that the interesting events now men-
tioned were taking place in our own country. Of Spain I have already
spoken in the beginning of my letter, where I have detailed the proceedings
of the Cortes, and the conduct of king Ferdinand in swearing to the new
constitution. The example of Spain was soon followed by the people of Por-
tugal; who disgusted at the continuance of their grievances resolved to at-
tempt a general reform. The first symptoma of discontent manifested them-
selves at Oporto, on the 24th of August, 1820. Don Bernardo de Supulveda,
a young nobleman who commanded a regiment, exhorted his troops to serve
their king and country by the establishment of a constitutional government;
and the patriotic appeal was answered by loud acclamations. A provisional
junta was appointed by general consent, not only for the administration of
that city, but of the whole kingdom. This was unquestionably a bold step,
and count Amarante, who had the chief command of the troops in Tras-os-
Montes pointedly condemned it, but his denunciations were disregarded, as
were those also of the council of state at Lisbon, where their menaces were
faced by derision and contempt. Sepulveda marched against the count,
and drove him into Gallicia; and the members of the new junta began their
march towards the capital, with an intention of expediting the convocation
of the Cortes; but, before their arrival, a resolution to that effect had been
adopted by the terrified council, to the inexpressible joy of the people. Field
marshal Beresford, soon after this, returned from Rio de Janeiro, and being
prevented from landing in Portugal, he prudently left that country to its
fate, while the British officers, who had served under him in the Portuguese
army, were dismissed without molestation. Dissensions arose between the
republican party and the friends of moderate reform; but the latter gained
the ascendency, and the public tranquillity was not greatly interrupted or
disturbed. In the following year, the king returned from Brazil; and, mak-
ing a virtue of necessity, he acquiesced with a good grace in the constitu-
tional regulations of those who had curtailed his authority.

The court of St. Cloud, influenced by the well-known sentiments of “the
holy alliance,” viewed with disgust these revolutionary proceedings in
Spain and Portugal, but did not interfere with the concerns of those nations
with a tone of authority. The affairs of France herself, indeed, were found
quite sufficient to occupy their undivided attention. The king and royal
family received a great shock by the death of the duke of Berri, who was
suddenly assassinated by a political fanatic, from no other motive than a
dread of his being the father of a prince who might continue the race of the
Bourbons! This flagitious act, which did not appear to have been the effect
of combination or concert, inflamed the zeal of the ultra-royalists, who ac-
cused M. de Cassez of having promoted the murder by encouraging democratic
principles. The charge was both groundless and absurd; but it occasioned
the resignation of that minister, who was succeeded in the direction of the
cabinet by the duke de Richelieu.

In the Netherlands and Germany, tranquillity generally prevailed, though
in the former country, the king found it expedient to check the freedom of the
press and of political discussion, inspired probably with the jealousy of his
allies. Among the German states, some considerable progress was made to-
wards the establishment of representative governments. The grand duke of Hesse consented to the formation of two legislative assemblies, and as his first scheme was too aristocratic to please his subjects, he modified it in such a manner as to secure their acquiescence. The king of Saxony, even while his subjects did not seem eagerly bent upon reform, made such concessions as rendered his government still more popular. But none of the improvements which at this period took place among the German states were more remarkable than the new constitutions which were granted by the kings of Wurttemburg and Bavaria. In the former, the states of the realm were transformed into a regular parliament, to the great joy of the citizens of Stuttgard, who hailed the king with loud acclamations as the brave defender of his country, and the beneficent father of his people. In the latter, the system of despotism was repealed, and the king who assembled the new legislature with apparent satisfaction, expressed his hope that the new constitution would prove a support to his throne and a blessing to his people.

The conduct of the king of Prussia, however, formed an affecting contrast to the improved state of affairs that was introduced in other countries. His majesty studiously repressed the growing spirit of liberty, more especially after the assassination of Augustus von Kotzebue, the celebrated dramatist, by a student of Jena, who, regarding him as the friend of despotism, considered that, by taking away his life, he should be doing his country a service. His Prussian majesty ordered the arrest of many obnoxious individuals; subjected all publications to a rigid censorship; and, as the majority of the students at the universities were supposed to be influenced by uncourtly sentiments, he commissioned servile agents to superintend and correct the lectures of the professors, and to introduce that discipline which would insure political forbearance and moderation.

While the great potentates, leagued in "the holy alliance" were brooding over their schemes of artful policy, their attention was called to the affairs of Italy by the effect of that spirit which the intrigues of the Carbonari had aroused. The king of Naples had declared, that he would grant to his subjects such a constitution as should establish their rights and their security: but the sinister influence of Austria was so powerfully exercised over him, that he neglected the performance of his promise, and even violated that engagement by which he had guaranteed the constitutional code framed for the Sicilians by the wisdom of their British allies. General Papo and many other friends of their country, incensed at this breach of faith, resolved to support the just demands of an insulted nation; and when a great part of the army had been drawn into the combination, the Spanish constitution was proclaimed in every province of the realm. The king assumed an air of intrepidity, and menaced the friends of liberty with an attack from those regiments which remained loyal and faithful to the throne; but he soon revoked his hostile orders, changed his ministry, and made plausible and patriotic promises. Pretending indisposition, he authorized his son to act in his name; and, on the 7th of July, a proclamation announced to the gratified people the royal intention of following the example of his Catholic majesty.

This change of system at Naples alarmed the emperor of Austria who dreaded the propagation of those revolutionary principles which threatened to undermine the stability of his power in Italy: but, before he determined upon actual hostilities, he was desirous of consulting the other members of the "holy alliance;" he therefore obtained an interview with the emperor of Russia, and the prince-royal of Prussia at Troppau. These confederates, inflamed with the arrogance of power, summoned the king of Naples to meet them at Laybach, as if he had been one of their vassals or subjects; and the latter having announced this invitation to the revolutionary parliament, with a promise that he would exert all his influence to procure from the great powers a confirmation of the new order of things, he undertook, in the midst of winter, the prescribed journey. The result was easily foreseen. Ferdinand submitted to the dictates of the allied princes, and consented to permit an invasion of his kingdom by the Austrian troops. On the 25th of March, the invading army took possession of the capital, dissolved the par-
liament, and restored the old government. The king, more degraded by his late abject meanness than he would have been if he had governed a free people, returned to Naples, and began to execute the orders of the emperor of Austria, who had no lawful authority over him; he did not even testify any reluctance when he was desired to institute legal proceedings against many of the Carbonari, who had been active in the late revolutionary movements, and who were now punished in various modes, to gratify the vindictive spirit of a haughty conqueror. A new parliament was convoked; but it was so constituted as to be under the control of one who was a mere vassal to an arbitrary foreign potentate (1).

LETTER XXIII.

History of Europe continued.—Coronation of George IV.—Death of queen Caroline.—The king visits Dublin, Hanover, and Scotland.—Distress in Ireland, and the efforts in England for their relief.—Death of lord Castleragh, and reflections on his administration.—Is succeeded by Mr. Canning, —liberal tone of his politics,—his short but brilliant career in office,—his premature decease.—Review of the affairs of Greece and Turkey.—Struggles of the Greeks for independence.—Ravages of the Morea by the Turkish armies.—Treaty of London, 1826.—Battle of Navarino, and destruction of the Turkish fleet, October 1827.

When the question regarding the divorce of queen Caroline had been put to rest, by the abandonment of the bill of pains and penalties, the public agitation throughout the British empire gradually subsided. The denial, to the queen, of those public prayers which had been imperiously demanded from his subjects, during the king's short illness, for the preservation of his sacred person and valuable life, excited occasional murmurs; but as the parliament sanctioned the invidious refusal, the contest, on the part of her friends, seemed to be hopeless, and was consequently relinquished.

In the session of parliament, 1821, his majesty sent down a message to the commons requesting that a regular provision should be made for the queen; in compliance with which, it was proposed that the sum of fifty thousand pounds should be settled upon her as an annuity; which was agreed to by the house. Her majesty at first declared that she would not accept any allowance so long as her name was omitted in the liturgy; but upon more mature reflection her high-spirited reluctance yielded to the pressure of necessity. A proposition was indeed made by one member of the house that only thirty thousand pounds should be granted to her; but the illiberal motion was instantly rejected.

Of the other proceedings in parliament during this session, few demand any particular notice. Petitions for a parliamentary reform—for relief to the agricultural interest—for a diminution of the public burthens, and other objects, were treated with disregard, if not contempt. In adjusting the financial accounts of the year, it was affirmed by the chancellor of the exchequer, that the expenditure had been so far reduced, as to allow an annual saving, nearly amounting to one million eight hundred thousand pounds; yet this professed instance of economy was not productive of any benefit which the public could really feel. The question concerning Catholic emancipation was renewed at this time, and a bill of relief passed through the commons by a majority of nineteen; but the peers refused to sanction the measure. The prorogation of parliament was followed by the coronation of his majesty George IV. which took place in Westminster Abbey on the 19th of

July, 1821. On this occasion an extraordinary piece of pomp and pageantry was exhibited, to the great amusement of the citizens but the detail would carry me into a proximity incompatible with my prescribed limits. The queen had previously demanded a participation in the solemnity; but her claim was rejected by the privy council, and when she attempted to gain admission into the abbey to be a spectator of the proceedings, she was repulsed by the police who were stationed to preserve due decorum. This insult, however, did not discourage her from appearing occasionally in public. She was amusing herself one evening with a theatrical entertainment, when indisposition obliged her to retire. An internal disease had assailed her frame which resisted all the powers of medicine; and, after a few days illness, proved fatal to the unfortunate princess. On the removal of her remains to the coast, a tumultuous proceeding arose from the wish of the populace that the procession from Kensington might be directed through the metropolis, in which her friends were numerous. They eventually, but with much difficulty, succeeded in their object, though some lives were sacrificed in the fray. Her funeral was solemnised at Brunswick, with little pomp, but with a regret that was apparently sincere.

The recent proceedings relating to the queen, which, during the months they were pending, kept the country in a flame, certainly, had no tendency to increase the popularity of the monarch; and her death was of course a matter of little regret to the court. But that event having taken place, some measures were evidently found expedient for doing away the unfavourable impression which the public mind had imbibed; and, in the month of August, the king paid a visit to Dublin, where he was received with every token of respect and deference due from a loyal people to their rightful sovereign. Having spent some time in Ireland, he then proceeded to Hanover, into which he made his public entry on the 1st of October, and was received with great eclat. In the autumn of the following year he paid a visit to the metropolis of Scotland; but wherever he went his presence diffused universal festivity, and his ingratiating manners rendered him the object of general admiration and applause.

When parliament met in 1822, the king congratulated the two houses on the improvement that had taken place in the commerce and manufactures, and consequently the revenue of the united kingdom—yet, at the same time, deeply regretting the depressed state of the agricultural interest—but he was shocked at the revival of a spirit of outrage in various parts of Ireland, notwithstanding the supposed conciliatory effect of his late visit to that country. The ministers denied that excessive taxation had any share in producing the distress of the farmers, and asserted that a similar pressure upon agriculture existed in almost every other country in Europe. For the settlement of the disordered affairs of Ireland, the rigour of coercion was preferred to the gentler methods of conciliation. The habeas corpus act was suspended, and the act against insurrections revived; but no attempts were made to grant the Irish the full advantages of a good government. Some very salutary advice was given to the court by Mr. Charles Grant in an able speech on the affairs of Ireland; but though it seemed to make some impression even upon illiberal and prejudiced minds, its effect was transient and nugatory. In consequence of an unfavourable state of the seasons, the crops of potatoes and other vegetables greatly failed, and a famine harassed the general population, in the southern parts of the country; to relieve which government evinced symptoms of benevolence by advancing money and finding employment for the poor. A call was also made upon the people of Great Britain, to contribute to the relief of their suffering brethren, and, as might be expected, the call was answered with a promptness and alacrity, which at once produced so liberal a subscription as filled the Irish with joy and gratitude, while it reflected great honour upon the benevolence of the English character.

The parliament had not been long prorogued, when the minister who had so long and so miserably mis-governed this great empire, removed himself from the world in a fit of derangement. For several years lord Castlereagh
had acted as manager of the house of commons, and had found that assembly generally very obsequious to his dictates. To say that he had no talent, would be to do him injustice; he was a ready speaker and a tolerably skilful debater. But he wanted a strong and comprehensive mind, such as could grasp the destinies of the nation and wield its energies with the hand of a master. He was far from being an expert and able orator, nor could he argue with force or perspicuity. In short, he was a very unfit person to become the successor of Chatham, Fox, or Pitt; and his public conduct can only be viewed as one continued crime against the constitution and liberties of his country. His decease is consequently dated as the commencement of a new epoch in the British government. As a member of the cabinet he had so entirely renounced those liberal sentiments which he once held, and which are still fondly cherished by the great body of the Whigs, that he was ready to support and vindicate every act of ministerial tyranny and rapacity; and every encroachment on the rights of the people. His death made room for Mr. George Canning, who, though second in office, (for lord Liverpool continued premier) nevertheless, became first in public opinion and in real efficiency. No sooner had he stepped into the shoes of lord Londonderry, than he set himself in good earnest, to heal the intestine wounds of his country, and to pour balm where aristocratical mismanagement had been invidiously lacerating. He availed himself of the advantages resulting from late experience, and the advancement of political knowledge, which the recent convulsion of empires afforded him, together with the operations of the great innovator, time. He knew that to stem the tide of public opinion, and keep the nation flourishing, was as impracticable as to drain the ocean; that he could not retard, arrest improvement, and chain down the intellect of the age; for he could see the inevitable reaction that would ensue, while he could not measure its limits. It soon became evident that under the hands of Mr. Canning, there was a change in the domestic and foreign policy of the country. On questions of domestic policy he was no longer trammelled by antiquated precedents, or depressed by the frown which forbade the slightest approach to innovation. And, with respect to his foreign policy, its most striking feature was a studious dissent from the “holy alliance,” a fearless frankness in declaring the truth, to both the governments and nations of the continent, and pointing out to them their true policy. His counsels infused new energies into the nation, and one might almost fancy that in him the spirit of lord Chatham had once more taken up its abode in the senate. Surrounded with difficulties, occasioned by a long course of misrule, he appeared to rise superior to them all. The agricultural distress, and the incessant applications for a reduction in the national expenditure, kept him in perpetual action, on his entrance into office; he was constantly answering questions, soothing irritation, or conciliating enmity; while, on his temper and talents, as was observed by one of his colleagues, devolved the task of guiding and repelling the elements of strife from the country, and, if possible, from Europe. But brief and brilliant was the career of this eminently gifted statesman—and in him was truly verified the pathetic exclamation of Burke, “What shadows we are; and what shadows we pursue!” He ascended to the pinnacle of all earthly ambition only to die! (August the 8th, 1827.) Let us return to the state of foreign affairs.

The shocking tyranny which the Turkish government exercised for ages over the Greeks, had long been borne with remarkable patience; but none of the powers of Europe had lately found themselves at liberty to do more for them than look on with an eye of pity and compassion. Thus circumstanced the Greeks continued passive under the galling yoke of Turkish despoticism, until the congress of Vienna had settled the affairs of Europe; and then finding that no arrangements had been made to secure for them a release from slavery, some of their most patriotic leaders entered into concert with the view of promoting the attainment of independence, though they for a time disguised their real object under the pretext of diffusing the means of education among the people. In 1817 they began to disclose their views; but an attempt at insurrection proving abortive, the plan was for the
time abandoned. A rupture, however, taking place between the grand Signior, and Ali Pacha, who had long acted as sovereign of Albania, and, though a cruel tyrant, was, from motives of policy, a friend to the Greeks, appeared at length to afford an opportunity of revolt; and the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, in which the Russians exercised a domineering influence, were selected as the first scenes of action. Alexander Ypsilanti, son of a former hospodar, endeavoured, in 1821, to rouse the Moldavians to arms; and having levied a small force, declared himself, in an energetic manifesto, a determined opponent of Turkish tyranny. When he had scarcely augmented the number of his followers to about nine thousand men, he was attacked by a Turkish army which threatened him with ruin. He faced the storm with spirit, and was bravely supported by a corps of young men, called the Sacred Band; but, the rest of his force being thrown into a panic by the treachery of a body of cavalry, he retired from the field, was arrested by Austrian emissaries, and imprisoned.

This insurrection inflamed the rage of Mahmoud, who, pretending that all the Greeks were alike implicated in the revolt, ordered his provincial governors to disarm the Christian population, and check the progress of treason by the rigours of punishment. Horrible massacres consequently ensued; the patriarch of Constantinople and other prelates were hung up at the church doors: and thousands of unoffending families were wantonly murdered in various parts of the empire. But these outrages did not quash the spirit of revolt. The insurgents, taking Tripolizzi by storm after a long siege, gratified their resentment by a cruel massacre, and extended their sway over the greater part of the Morea. They also brought some fleets into action; and they obtained considerable advantages over the largest vessels in the Turkish service. Demetrius Ypsilanti, who now succeeded his brother's authority, was very desirous of establishing a general government of Greece, without which, he was well aware, the operations of the friends of freedom would be feeble, irregular, and desultory. He proposed the appointment of national deputies, who, meeting at Epidaurus, early in the year 1822, framed a constitutional code, providing for the election of a legislative body, with the nomination of a senate and an executive council. Mavrocordato a man of talent, though not a profound politician, was chosen president of the council; and he took an early opportunity of seizing Corinth, which then became the seat of government.

As the ruin of Ali Pacha enabled the Turks to employ a greater force against the Greeks, the prospects of the friends of freedom became more discouraging, and the acts of atrocious cruelty committed in the island of Scio tended to alarm them with the dread of extermination. A fleet anchored in the bay, a descent was made, and almost all who were found in the chief town were brutally murdered. The scene was terrific; in all parts of the island, pillage, murder, and conflagration, raged for several days; and it was computed that twenty five thousand individuals of both sexes were put to death, and thirty thousand women and children were carried off as slaves. It is also said that many merchants belonging to the island of Scio, who were resident at Constantinople, without the least evidence of delinquency, were impealed by the particular orders of the sultan. In the progress of the war, both parties were occasionally successful; but towards the close of the second campaign, the affairs of the Greeks assumed a more encouraging aspect. They lost Corinth by negligence; but under the conduct of Colocotroni, they harassed the grand army of the Turks with destructive effect between that city and Argos, and captured the important station of Napoli di Romania. In the arduous struggle in which they were now engaged they appealed to the congress of Verona for assistance, but their application was treated with contempt. Nevertheless they were resolved not to succumb; though unassisted they found that more vigorous exertions were necessary to save them from ruin; and, with a view to more mature deliberation on their state and circumstances, they convoked a general council at Astros. On this occasion, three hundred deputies met in a grove, in 1823, and having rendered their constitution more conducive to national unity and strength,
they issued a declaration that they would never renounce their claim to in-
dependence. The third campaign was less important in its operations and
results than either party expected. After some conflicts of no great moment,
Marco Boscaris, with a force amounting to little more than two thousand
five hundred men, attacked the enemy whose army exceeded eleven thousand,
and defeated them, though he nobly fell in the contest, to the great regret
of his countrymen, who admired his heroic spirit and other estimable quali-
ties. Corinth was afterwards recovered; Missolonghi, a town rising into
importance, was secured from an attack; and the island of Candia was ably
defended.

The cause of this long oppressed people at length began to attract the at-
tention of all Europe; and the inhabitants of England more particularly.
The dissensions which unhappily prevailed among them, occasioned in great
measure by the ambition, selfishness, and jealousy of some of their leaders
greatly impeded the success of their arms. Lord Byron, the celebrated
English poet, then residing in Italy, and colonel Leicester Stanhope, who
zealously espoused their cause at this critical time, flew to their assistance, and
laboured to reconcile their contending chiefs. The enterprising peer granted
the Greek committee a loan of about ten thousand pounds, besides taking
five hundred men into his pay, and was invested with the command of three
thousand. But, with all the influence of his name and talents, he could
effect but little in the way of securing their obedience, or promoting the suc-
cess of the war. By exposing himself to a climate to which he was not ac-
customed, he brought on a rheumatic fever, of which he died, at Missolonghi,
on the 19th of April 1824.

The fourth campaign was not remarkable for any operations of extraordi-
inary importance; but if it did not display the vigour of the Turks, it afforded
ample proof of their execrable barbarity. The principal town of the island
of Isparta being taken, rather by treachery than force, the besiegers rushed
into the place with furious eagerness, and put to instant death the greater
part of the inhabitants, not sparing even the women and children. These
outrages provoked the Greeks to inflict on the enemy a severe retaliation.
A fleet sailed from Hydra to Isparta, where the Turks had left about fifteen
hundred men, of whom not more than three hundred were allowed to escape.
All the Greeks who were found were then carried off by their countrymen to
various places of refuge, and desolation has since marked the island. In
some naval engagements which took place at this time, the Greeks were so
far successful that the capitan-pacha was glad to make his retreat to the
Dardanelles, and Ibrahim, who commanded a fleet sent from Egypt, was con-
tent to act merely on the defensive. On the continent of Greece, little was
done on either side. The pacha Omer failed in an attempt on Athens, and
the Greeks in vain endeavoured to gain possession of Modon and Patras,
two sea-ports in the Morea. This was the chief seat of the war in 1823. The
pacha Ibrahim, with fourteen thousand men advanced against the Greeks
flushed with the hope of putting down the insurgents. He attacked both
the old and the new Navarino, and succeeded in both enterprises. He then
prosecuted a course of devastation, threatening that he would desolate the
whole peninsula; yet, at the end of the year, the Greeks retained the ascen-
dancy in that province.

But a state of things, such as that now adverted to, was not likely long to
continue disregarded by the powers of Europe, in the present age of civilisa-
tion and refinement. Accordingly, it became the subject of diplomatic cor-
correspondence between some of the leading powers, particularly Great Britain,
France, and Russia, who offered their services to mediate between the bellig-
gerent parties, though, for some time, without effect. The cause of the
Greeks was taken up in England, by several public-spirited individuals, and
a lean was negotiated for the purpose of assisting them with the means of
defence. But, finding the Turkish government deaf to all the language of
expostulation, of remonstrances, and the offers of mediation, a treaty was
eventually entered into, and signed, under the title of "the Treaty of
London, of 1826," in which the three high contracting parties, namely,
Great Britain, France, and Russia, engaged to furnish, each its contingent of ships and vessels of war, to be sent simultaneously into the Archipelago, for the purpose of staying the further progress of hostilities, and of mediating between the belligerent parties. Down to the middle of the year 1827, the Turkish government persisted in refusing the mediation of the allies; the result of which was, that a fleet of ten sail of the line, with a corresponding number of frigates and fire ships, proceeded to the Mediterranean, with the view of enforcing a compliance with the terms of the treaty.

In the mean time the Egyptian fleet, which had been for some time cruising in the Dardanelles, weighed anchor on the night of the 30th of September, 1827, from the port of Navarino, in order to make the attempt to get to Patras, to second the movements of Ibrahim Pacha, in his sanguinary excursions against the Greeks, and ravaging the Morea. Admiral sir Edward Codrington, who was vested with the command of the allied squadron, received notice of this, while anchoring at Zante, from whence he was about to proceed on the 2nd of October, when the Egyptian fleet unexpectedly came to anchor off the coast of Zante; to the great alarm of the inhabitants, who hastened to the beach to prevent any attempt at landing. At this time the European squadron encircled the Egyptian fleet, by forming a semicircle. A parley took place, and the Egyptians departed, for Navarino, whither sir Edward Codrington had directed them to shape their course. After remaining himself a few days at Zante, he sailed for Navarino, where he was to be joined on the 13th by admiral the chevalier de Rigny, having under his command the French ships; and on the 13th by the Russian squadron, under the command of admiral count Heyden. The combined fleet arrived in the port of Navarino, on the 21st of October, where they found the Turkish ships moored in the form of a crescent, with springs on their cables, the larger ones presenting their broad-sides towards the centre, the smaller ones in succession within them, filling up the intervals. The respective force of the two hostile fleets was as follows:—of the allies, twenty-six sail, including ships of the line, frigates, corvettes, and schooners:—the Turkish armament comprised seventy sail of various sizes.

Admiral Codrington having received express orders from his government to use every exertion in his power to prevent the effusion of blood, on mooring his fleet along side that of the enemy, gave strict orders that not a gun should be fired unless hostilities first commenced on the part of the Turks; and those orders were strictly observed. To carry into effect the articles of the treaty, the British admiral now dispatched one of his pilots to the commandant of the enemy’s squadron to express to him his earnest desire to avoid the effusion of blood; but when his boat came along side the Turkish admiral’s ship, he was fired upon and wantonly put to death. Soon afterwards the same ship fired into the Asia, one of the English ships of the line, which promptly returned the salutation, and in a little time the action became general. The bloody and destructive battle raged for four hours, and the scene of wreck and devastation which presented itself at its termination was such as has rarely been witnessed. Of the Turkish fleet, which at the commencement of the action consisted of seventy sail, no less than sixty-two were burnt, sunk, or driven on shore complete wrecks; and, from a statement of the Turkish admiral, it appears that on board of two line of battle ships, each with a crew of eight hundred and fifty men, there were killed, in one ship six hundred and fifty, and in the other four hundred. The total loss on the part of the British consisted of seventy-five killed, and one hundred and ninety-seven wounded. On the part of the French forty-three were killed and one hundred and forty-four wounded—the return of the Russian loss was not made, when sir Edward Codrington sent off his dispatches.

The entrance of the allied squadrons into the port of Navarino was resolved on, in concert by the three admirals, in consequence of an official representation from captain Hamilton, of the exterminating system which Ibrahim Pacha had been pursuing in the Morea, after returning from his unsuccessful attempt to reach Patras, indulging in the slaughter of the inhabitants.
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without distinction of age or sex, and in the commission of irreparable and wanton devastation, by destroying the olive trees and vineyards and other productions of the soil. To assume an imposing attitude, in a situation convenient for immediate action, and the better to carry into effect the treaty of London; and by such a demonstration to enforce the seriousness of the instances made to Ibrahim to discontinue his ravages, determined the allies to take up their position within the port of Navarino; and a protocol of their conference on the subject which led to this resolution was drawn up, and signed by the three admirals, on the 18th of October.

After the action had subsided, a note was addressed to the Turkish and Egyptian commanders, declaring that as the squadrons of the allied powers did not enter Navarino with a hostile intention, but only to renew to the commanders of the Turkish fleet propositions which were advantageous to the grand seignor himself, it was not their intention to destroy what ships of the Ottoman navy remained; but that if one single musket or cannon shot should be again fired on a ship or boat belonging to the allied powers, they would immediately destroy all the remaining vessels, as well as the forts of Navarino, and would consider such new act of hostility as a formal declaration of the Porte against the three allied powers. The Turkish chiefs, as a token of their desire to resume the terms of good understanding which their conduct had interrupted, were required to have the white flag hoisted on all the forts before the end of the day, and to give a categorical answer before sun-set, and that without evasion. On this memorable occasion, the most perfect cordiality prevailed among the allies. The French and Russian squadrons actively co-operated; and after the action, mutual official compliments passed between the respective admirals, and acknowledgments of reciprocal assistance between the officers of the different nations.

In taking leave of this memorable engagement, I shall merely say, that, taking into account all the circumstances of the case, the victory at Navarino, was inferior to no other in the annals of the British navy, in respect of seamanship and gallantry, and will yield to none, except those of the Nile and Copenhagen. In these latter places the enemy’s ships were at anchor, as at Navarino, but so anchored, particularly at the Nile, that the British commanders could take their choice of the side for attack; and hence Nelson immortalized himself by getting the in-shore position. At the battle of Navarino, however, the case was quite different. A regular oval harbour of five miles by one mile and one mile and three quarters, did not allow the British commander to attempt to get the in-shore of the enemy. The batteries on shore, too, which there is reason to believe were effective, rendered such a proceeding utterly impracticable. The whole of the Turkish and Turco-Egyptian fleets were to be attacked in the formidable order of battle, viz. the crescent; with the batteries of the forts and of the island at the entrance of the harbour; that of the fort on the left, from which Ibrahim battered the town previous to its surrender to him; the island at the bottom of the harbour, and the forts of the town, all doubtless well served—taking all these circumstances into account, the results will show that the talents and courage displayed in this instance are fully equal to the brightest periods of the naval history of Great Britain.(1)

(1) Annual Register.—Parliamentary Debates.—Life and Trial of Queen Caroline.—Blaquire’s account of the Greek Revolution.—De L’Intervention armée pour la Pacification de la Grece, par M. de Pradt.—London Gazette Extraordinary, November the 10th 1827.
Having now, my dear Philip, brought the narrative of the affairs of our own country nearly to the times that are passing over us, it is necessary I should draw this series of letters to a close. There are, however, a few remaining incidents which have taken place, both here and on the continent, during the last three or four years, which I have yet to relate, and to this object I devote the pages of this my concluding epistle. I found that it was not in my power to incorporate them in chronological order with the events relating more especially to our own country, as detailed in my last letter, without distracting your attention, a point which I have endeavoured to the utmost of my power to guard against in this history.

In the early part of the year 1824, the British government, were not a little surprised at receiving intelligence that war had broke out at one of their colonies in Western Africa. The Fantees, who occupied the country near Cape-Coast Castle, were involved in hostilities through the ambitious and restless spirit of the Ashantee, a people possessing an extensive range of country immediately behind the gold coast. Unable to withstand this powerful nation, the Fantees had for some time past become vassals and tributaries to them; a treaty was concluded on that basis; and they acknowledged themselves the tenants of the victorious king. The governor of the colony, however, was not inclined to adhere to this treaty, and sir Charles McCarthy, who was sent out from England to take the command upon the gold-coast, promised to support the Fantees in a revolt from their new masters. The consequence was a war, in which the Ashantee manifested both courage and cruelty. The colonial force gained the advantage in some slight conflicts; but the Ashantee having mustered an army of ten thousand men came down upon the garrison of Fettee, which did not consist of one thousand, under the command of sir Charles, when they completely surrounded his battalions, most of whom they put to the sword, and among the rest the commander himself. Major Chisholm revenged in some measure this outrage, by inflicting a severe chastisement on the Ashantee; but he was precluded, by the retreat of his African auxiliaries from converting the repulse into a defeat. In a subsequent contest, the Ashantee with a force of fifteen thousand men, were met by colonel Sutherland with about four hundred regulars and militia, to whom he was enabled to add four thousand six hundred and fifty unorganized volunteers, all of whom fought with such zeal and alacrity, that the engagement was so discouraging to the enemy, that a great desertion ensued, and the Ashantee were glad to discontinue their hostile operations.

Reverting to the European continent, we shall now take a cursory survey of the actual state of some of the leading powers, from the time at which we last quitted the subject to the present period. In France the population in general, both in the metropolis and principal towns, were far from reconciled to the new order of things under the Bourbons. The murmurs of the nation were loud against the court whom they thought culpably inattentive to the affairs of Europe. Their vanity was not a little mortified at the apparent decline of that influence which formerly rendered France a first-rate power, but which was now neutralized by the domineering spirit of the high contracting parties to the "holy alliance,"—Russia, Austria, and Prussia.
The liberal party and the ultra-royalists were agreed in this; and intimations of disgust marked an address which was voted by the chamber of deputies. On one point, indeed, they differed <i>into calo</i>, namely, on the regard which the king bestowed on the new constitution. The liberal party complained that he did not fully adhere to its various stipulations; while the other would have been better pleased had he attended less to its injunctions. This dissatisfied state of affairs induced the king to make new ministerial arrangements in which the royalists predominated. Viscount Montmorenci became minister for the foreign department, and he resolved to retrieve the honour of France by an officious interference in the affairs of Spain. Discontent showed itself by occasional insurrections, which broke out in various places, the most important of which were those at Saumur, Rochelle, and Toulon, but they were quelled with the loss of a few lives.

In the peninsula, matters were in a much more distracted state than in France. The Spanish Cortes who were in possession of the reins of government, did all they could to keep the imbecile Ferdinand in check; and his attempts to shake off the trammels to which he was subject, conduced with the efforts of his adherents to create disorder and confusion. Biego presided in a session of the ordinary Cortes, and that assembly pursued such a course as by no means suited the views or feelings of his majesty. At the close of the session a military riot ensued, which after some loss of lives, terminated in favour of the constitutional party. Ello, an active royalist, was tried and put to death; but this act of rigour did not deter the king’s friends from pursuing their unconstitutional measures. In Navarre they were routed in several contests; in Catalonia they suffered greatly from the adroitness of general Mina; and in Arragon they were unsuccessful; yet they were not wholly subdued.

In Portugal, the revolution proceeded with singular success. The Cortes completed the new constitution, though with much apparent labour; and on its promulgation it was found to bear a great resemblance to the new code of Spain. But these proceedings in Spain and Portugal could not be viewed by the three despotic powers who originated the holy alliance without poignant regret; and the emperor of Russia, in particular, beholding them with disgust and indignation, convened a congress at Verona, in which it was resolved that their ministers at the court of Madrid should remonstrate with the rulers of that country, on their late proceedings, and insist on such arrangements as might preclude the necessity of the interference of other powers. They also tutored king Ferdinand to address the Cortes in a high tone, and to insist upon the relinquishment of those revolutionary measures which menaced France with serious danger! The British minister at Madrid protested against the right of foreign states to control an independant nation, or of dictating the system which it ought to adopt. The crowned despots, however, persisted in their unjustifiable course, and found no difficulty in prevailing on Louis XVIII. to become the instrument of carrying their determinations into effect.

In 1823, under the flimsy pretext of forming a <i>cordon sanitaire</i>, an army of seventy thousand men was put in a state of requisition by the French government, and marched to the foot of the Pyrenees. The duke of Angoulême was selected by his royal uncle to take the command of this body of troops; but, before they began to march, it was thought necessary to apply to the legislature for its sanction. The king opened the session with a speech, in which he told them that unless Ferdinand were allowed to possess the discretionary power of giving to the Spanish people, institutions which they could hold only from him, war was inevitable—which was just telling them, in other words, that no public reform ought to take place in any country, and no system of tyranny to be annihilated without the free consent of a despot! A proposition so monstrously extravagant and absurd that it requires only to be fairly stated to expose its fallacy and excite contempt. In this light it was viewed by some of the liberal party of both chambers; and Manuel, an eminent professor of jurisprudence, in delivering his sentiments, made no hesitation in denouncing Ferdinand as an atrocious tyrant, for which he was expelled the assembly of deputies, sixty of whom
Nevertheless, protested against this unjustifiable proceeding. A riot was excited in Paris in favour of Manuel, but it had no very serious result. The British court remonstrated against the invasion of Spain, but the majority in both chambers supported the monarch and sanctioned his measure.

Notwithstanding the disgust which the Spanish people in general entertained for the conduct of Ferdinand, there was no very general rising to oppose the invasion of their country by the armies of France. The duke of Angouleme marched forward with all the confidence of success; and the few parties that made any effort to dispute his progress were readily put to flight. Advancing to the Ebro, the main body of the invaders passed it with little difficulty, while a strong division kept Mina in check, and the duke proceeded to Madrid with little molestation. He immediately called upon the supreme councils of Castile and the Indies to nominate five persons to act as regents of the kingdom, who readily assumed the exercise of power. In the mean time the Cortes exhibited a firm and resolute spirit. Having coolly replied to the menacing notes of the members of the holy alliance, and dismissed the ambassadors of those potentates, they declared their intention of resisting aggression with all the power which they could call into action. When informed of the seizure of Madrid, they moved the place of their sittings from Seville to Cadiz. Ferdinand at first expressed an unwillingness to accompany the deputies in their flight; but, flushed with an expectation of a speedy rescue, he acquiesced in the measure.

The French army, though in possession of the capital, had not subdued the kingdom; but the supineness of the constitutionalists was such as to occasion them little disturbance. The operations of the latter were paralyzed by the defection of Morillo and other distinguished officers who fell martyrs to French intrigue, and were seduced from the patriotic cause. Corunna and other towns were so feebly defended that they were easily reduced; Ballasteros was so harassed that he was glad to submit; Riego was pursued and taken; and Mina was driven into exile. The French now formed the siege of Cadiz; stormed an outwork called the Torrero; successfully assaulted San Pedro, and bombarded the city until confusion and terror prevailed within its precincts. The Cortes now restored the king to his liberty; and the latter having obtained an interview with the duke of Angouleme, gave orders for the surrender of the city and its dependencies to the French. Before he regained his liberty, he pledged himself to consign to oblivion the whole conduct of the constitutionalists, and pardon every offence of which the courtiers might accuse them, but he basely violated his promise; and, not content with annulling all their acts and proceedings, he threw many of them into prison, and put the brave Riego to death. He tamely permitted the French to garrison all his principal fortresses, and, virtually, became a vassal of the holy alliance.

Alarmed at the rumour of what was going forward in the sister kingdom, the patriots of Portugal, applied to the English government for assistance, in case of need, and they received a favourable answer. But the danger of a counter-revolution in that country arose more from internal machinations than from external hostility. The count d’Amarante, disgusted at the new system, roused to arms the inhabitants of the northern provinces; but his early operations were attended by so little success that he was himself compelled to seek an asylum in Spain. His retreat, however, did not wholly put down the insurgents; for one of the regiments of the line revolted, and Don Miguel, the king’s second son, joined the disaffected, who were presently countenanced by the greater part of the army. His majesty declared that, as a father, he would abandon the prince, and, as a king, he would punish him—but all this was mere pretence; for when the municipality of Lisbon requested to know his royal will and pleasure respecting public affairs, he replied that he was ready to change the existing government. In consequence, he appointed new ministers—the Cortes on this indignantly retired: and the people acquiesced in the counter-revolution. Thus restored to the plenitude of power, the king anxiously directed his attention to the affairs of Brazil, which colony had, by this time, thrown off its dependence on the
mother-country. The new sovereign, the prince royal, whom they had chosen, and who had assumed the title of constitutional protector of Brazil, offered to the Portuguese the alternative of friendship upon terms of complete equality, or a sanguinary contest. The king, his father, however, earnestly wished to reclaim the colony. Negotiations, consequently, took place, between the father and the son; and the power of the latter remained in an unsettled state. He was harassed by the divisions which arose in his cabinet; the transactions of a congress which he had convoked gave him disgust, and he dissolved the assembly; and symptoms of a civil war, though transient, appeared in various parts of the empire.

The state of Italy was more tranquil at this time than that of either Spain or Portugal. In Naples and Piedmont, indeed, the system of prosecution was continued against the friends of constitutional freedom. In the territories of the church, a change of government arose, in consequence of the demise of pope Pius VII. which took place on the 20th of August, 1823. He was succeeded by the cardinal della Gonga, who assumed the title of Leo XII. and who commenced his pontificate in the style of a high-church bigot. His subsequent career has proved that he is an advocate for every practice that is old, whether right or wrong, and that he is a thorough paced slave to prejudice, and a determined foe to reform.

The king of Prussia had now been amusing his subjects for several years with promises of a regular representative government; and to fulfil his engagements, he issued a decree that assemblies should be convoked, not only for the purpose of discussing the concerns of each province, but for the investigation of the affairs of the whole nation collectively: they were to consist of representatives of the nobility, deputies for the boroughs, and yeomanry. But their discussions were little better than an unmeaning form; for, so long as his Prussian majesty retained all power in his own hands, their deliberations ended in the mere tendering of advice, which he was at perfect liberty to accept or reject—rather than in allowing the just claims of his subjects. The emperor of Austria, not only continued to neglect the performance of his promise respecting popular freedom, but under the pretence of some late resolutions in the German diet, he, in various instances checked the liberal spirit which actuated the kings of Wurtzburg and Bavaria, and concurred with the emperor of Russia and king of France in recommending restrictions on the liberty of the press in Switzerland, and the suppression of reading societies, in the haughty tone which enforced compliance. The king of the Netherlands, however, manifested a greater regard to the interests of his subjects, by the adoption of prudent measures of internal improvement, and the regulation of commerce. He disapproved of the interference of France in the affairs of Spain; and was disgusted with the prohibitory system pursued by the French government with regard to commerce, the illiberality of which he retaliated by imitating their own example.

In France, during the year 1824, the most important of the matters which occupied the chambers and the public was a plan introduced by M. de Villele for reducing the interest of the national debt, which, though it passed the chamber of deputies was rejected by the peers. Another important topic, though properly between the ministry and the public, that created a considerable ferment at the time, regarded the freedom of the press, which was powerfully advocated by the viscount de Chateaubriand, in a spirited pamphlet—and the law officers of the crown were defeated in their attempts to prosecute the editors of several journals of the liberal cast. In these contests, however, the king himself took little interest; his health had been for some time in a declining state, and he fell a victim to the gout, erysipelas, and other disorders. The complication of maladies which afflicted the monarch, had for some time, been gradually exhausting the powers of nature, and for several months previous to his dissolution, his existence had been little else than a protracted agony, which he sustained with manly fortitude. The first public declaration of his danger was contained in a document signed by four physicians and the count de Damas, first gentleman of the chamber, dated at the Tuileries, September the 13th, at six in the morning. “The
"old and permanent infirmities of the king," said this bulletin, "having
sensibly increased for some days past, his health has appeared exceedingly
impaired, and has been the subject of more frequent consultations. The
constitution of his majesty, and the attention which is paid him, have
maintained for some days the hope of seeing his health restored to its usual
state; but it cannot now be assembled that his strength has considerably
declined and that the hope that was entertained must be also weakened.
On the following day the danger became so imminent, that the king had the
rites of the Catholic church administered to him; and at four o'clock of the
morning of the 15th, he expired.

Louis XVI was succeeded in the throne by his brother, the comte
d'Artos, under the title of Charles X, who accompanied by the dauphin, the
dauphiness, and the duchess of Berri, immediately on receiving intelligence
of the king's death set out for St. Cloud; and there on the following day
received numerous addresses. The members of the chambers of peers and
of the deputies were presented to him, and in reply to their testimonies of
condolence he made a suitable return. Four days after the funeral of his
brother, the late king, the new monarch, Charles X. entered Paris in state.
The prefect of the city presented him with the keys of the city of Paris; on
which the monarch replied—"I leave the keys in your care, because I know
that I cannot commit them to more faithful hands. Keep them, then,
gentlemen, keep them. It is with sentiments of deep sorrow, and sincere
joy, that I enter within these walls, in the midst of my good people—of
joy, because I know well that I wish to occupy myself in consecrating my
life, to my last hour, in securing and consolidating their happiness." And
the first act of the reign of Charles X. was certainly of a popular description.
On the 29th of September he published a decree in which he declared that
he did not judge it necessary to maintain any longer, the measure which was
adopted under different circumstances against the abuses of the liberty of
the journals, and thus the censorship once more ceased in France.

As to the late king, it may suffice to say, that Louis was born on the 17th
of November, 1755, and had been a widower since the year 1810, when he
lost his wife, who was a princess of the house of Saxony. He possessed most
of the qualities, which in private life, constitute an accomplished gentleman—
an amiable temper—considerable powers of conversation—much acquired
knowledge—and a keen relish of social enjoyments. In public life, he may
be said to have somewhat justified the character which Napoleon passed
upon the whole race of princes of the house of Bourbon, namely, that of
"imbeciles"—for he can scarcely be said to have possessed the energy and
talents which are required in situations of great and imminent danger; nev-
evertheless, where prudence and management could avail, he was qualified
to play his part with no mean dexterity. His situation on the throne of France
was certainly not a bed of roses," for he was encompassed with perplexing
circumstances; and it must be allowed that he steered through the difficulties
with no small skill. The day before his decease, he said to the present king
who stood beside his bed: "Judgment will soon be passed upon my reign;
"but whatever may be the prevailing opinion, I assure you, my brother,
"that every thing I have done has been the result of long deliberation. I
"have not been the sport, the slave of
events; every thing has been conducted and argued by me."

Protected by the French armies, the king of Spain prosecuted a career of
migovernment which could not but disgust every friend to freedom and the
rights of man. Adverting to this subject, in the British house of commons
Mr. Brougham, indignantly held him at the opening of the session of 1824, Mr. Brougham, indignantly held him
up, as an active agent for all the purposes of the holy alliance, insisting—
up, as an active agent for all the purposes of the holy alliance, insisting—
and he defied any man to deny it—that he was the object of contempt,
and, according to every man to deny it—that he was the object of contempt,
and, according to every
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summons to the torture of the helpless women, and unoffending children whom fortune may have placed in his power.” It is needless to specify the particulars of his impolitic course; let it suffice to say, that having submitted to the occupation of his fortresses by French troops, he was content to reign under the imposing authority of a foreign cabinet. His treasury was completely drained, inasmuch that he was obliged to borrow money to defray the expenses of his journey from Madrid to Aranjuez. He affected to be placable and forgiving; but, when he published an act of amnesty, it was clogged with so many exceptions that it was almost as much an edict of punishment as of pardon. If he made an ostensible change in his cabinet, and appointed men of moderate principles and upright intentions, he counteracted their measures by adopting the sinister advice of bigoted ecclesiastics, or of blind and obstinate royalists. He still wished to reclaim his colonial subjects in America; but they derided his offer, proclaimed their independence, and promulgated a constitution evidently borrowed from that of the United States; and every prospect of his ever again recovering them vanished into thin air.

The close of the year, November 19th, 1824, was signaled by a hurricane that was almost unprecedented. It appeared to have originated on the coasts of England and Holland, from whence it swept along the North Sea which was every where furiously agitated. There were dreadful shipwrecks on the coast of Jutland. It traversed Sweden, prostrating whole forests in its course. Gottenburg and Stockholm suffered much. The hurricane forced the waters of the Baltic into the gulf of Finland. At St. Petersburg there was an inundation of the Neva, such as was never before remembered. In some parts of the city, the waters rose to such a height and with so great rapidity, that the inhabitants had no time to save themselves, but men, women, and children indiscriminately perished. The storm was so violent as to roll up the sheet iron which covered the roofs of many houses; broke in doors and windows every where, and combining its force with that of the current, swept away some of the slightest habitations. The magazines of wine, sugar, and other merchandise, being principally in cellars underground, and in the lower parts of the city, damage to the amount of several millions was sustained by the merchants. On the following day the streets were crowded with the bodies of animals that had been drowned—with fire-wood the stores of which had been broken up, and drifted away in all directions—with ships that had burst from their moorings. Whole villages in the neighbourhood of St. Petersburg were swept away! No food could be had in any quarter for several days after the deluge had subsided: no payments were made; no money demanded; the ordinary transactions and affairs of men were altogether forgotten amidst the scene of desolation and misery. The inundation appears to have subsided almost as suddenly as it came on,—in one day it began and ended. Cronstadt was completely under water, and many vessels were lost. The imperial navy suffered greatly. A ship of the line of one hundred guns, was found standing in the great square when the waters subsided, and two steam boats stood in the middle of the town not far from the theatre. A large ship was dashed against a house with such force that it knocked it down. By order of the governor, four hundred soldiers were employed in burying those who lost their lives on this melancholy occasion.

But to trace its ravages nearer home: at Portsmouth ships foundered in every direction. All the houses fronting the sea at Seaford, had their foundations washed away, and many cottages were washed away. At Dover the tempest was more severe than any that had been experienced for many years.—Off Margate, a brig went down, and all on board perished. The Blandon, an outward-bound West Indiaman, lying in the Downs, went down.—Off Weymouth, a large ship, the Colville, was wrecked, and all on board perished. The breakwater, and nearly the whole of the esplanade were washed away.—At Plymouth, some of the shipping in the Sound, parted, cut their cables, and becoming unmanageable, drove foul of other vessels, carrying away their masts, bowsprits, &c., and altogether drifting upon the rocks.—Along the Devonshire coast, nothing but wrecks were to be seen; and within the small compass of three hundred yards, were to be seen the wrecks of no less than
sixteen fine merchantmen. Similar calamities, such as the unroofing of houses and the falling of chimneys occurred in various other parts of the kingdom. This hurricane, the most extraordinary phenomenon of its kind upon record, traversed in a double curve of about four hundred leagues, in a very few minutes, the north of Europe.

During the year 1825, the northern powers; Sweden, Denmark, and Germany, remained in their usual state, without undergoing any alteration of circumstances worthy of being recorded. An order of the king of Prussia, directed to the authorities of his Rhenish provinces, prohibited the priests of the Catholic church from exacting, previous to the celebration of marriage between parents of different sects, a promise that the offspring should be brought up in the Roman-catholic system. Some of the members of the holy alliance, who had nearly renounced all intercourse with Wurtzburg, as not being sufficiently friendly to their principles, now renewed their diplomatic relations with that power. Both Russia and Austria again sent ambassadors to Stutgard, and professed to have forgiven the constitutional tendency of the feelings and maxims of the king. Maximilian Joseph, the king of Bavaria, was attacked by apoplexy, and died at Munich on the 13th of October, 1825. He was succeeded by the prince royal, Charles Louis Augustus, who was thirty-nine years of age. The late king was exceedingly popular among his subjects, and he merited their esteem. He was exempt from bigotry and prejudice; a friend to improvement, but not hasty or incautious; shrewd, sagacious and good-tempered; not over fond of power, and mild and temperate in the exercise of it; simple and unassuming in his manners, and very economical in his expenditure.

In the month of February of this year, the emperor Alexander of Russia issued a proclamation, convoking the estates of the kingdom of Poland, for the third general diet, to open on the 13th of May, and to close on the 13th of June. The diet met at Warsaw, according to appointment, and the emperor opened their sittings with a speech, directing their attention to such measures as he considered to be most imperative and conducive to their interests. During the greater part of the year, Alexander spent his time chiefly in traversing the various provinces of his dominions. Towards the end of autumn he visited the Crimea. His health had been for some time on the decline; but in consequence of his activity in moving from place to place, and partly also by reason of the little communication of the district, in which he then was, with the rest of Europe, the state of his health was little known, and the reports concerning it did not attract much notice in Europe. On the 10th of November, he quitted the port of Sebastopol, after having minutely inspected it, and every thing connected with the fleet in the Black Sea. On his way to Bachtchisera, he found himself slightly affected with a pain in his head, which he attributed to his having taken cold. On his return, however, he made one of a party on horseback to travel along the shore of the sea of Azof. He halted at Taganrog, a town situate on the cliff of a very lofty promontory, commanding an extensive prospect of the sea, and of all the European coast, to the mouths of the Don. On his arrival there, he felt himself too much indisposed to proceed, and he wrote to the empress mother announcing his illness, yet, at the same time, intimating that he did not apprehend anything serious, and that he should take all possible care of himself. His wife, the empress Elizabeth, was along with him. He had feversial symptoms about him, and was affected in the leg by a species of erysipelas. This latter disorder, disappeared very suddenly, and the fever instantaneously assumed an alarming appearance. The emperor then exclaimed, "I shall share the fate of my sister, who died of an erysipelas driven in." His medical attendants, however, were of opinion, that this symptom was but subordinate, and that the disease of the emperor was a gastric bilious fever, common to those countries. On the 18th he appeared delirious on the 27th, and a little better, but soon relapsed. He became delirious on the 28th and 29th, the change was only momentary, and death rapidly approached. He expired on the 1st of December, 1825. A few hours before his death, he ordered the blinds of his window to be thrown open; and while
he surveyed the cloudless sky of the Crises, he exclaimed, "What a lovely "day." The empress Elizabeth had been with her husband during the whole of his illness, and seldom quitted his pillow. When he had breathed his last, she washed the countenance and the hands of him whom she had loved so well: she closed his eyes, crossed his hands on his bosom: and then fainted.

Thus died in the 46th year of his age, a sovereign who must ever rank, both for public and private virtues, among the best of princes. Endowed with many accomplishments which would have distinguished an individual in common life, and blessed with great equanimity of temper, he was beloved in social intercourse. To his mother he was a most dutiful and affectionate son; and though the lax morality of the Russian court seduced him into some connections not quite consistent with his conjugal duties, the empress Elizabeth possessed much of his confidence, and was always treated with kindness and respect. In his attention to business he was indefatigable; he was honestly and assiduously zealous for the improvement of his subjects; and though frequently placed in the most trying situations, he always conducted himself with prudence, firmness, and moderation. He was entrusted with power more vast in its extent, and more uncontrolled in its nature, than has fallen to the lot of any other man in modern times; and yet there never was any monarch by whom power was less abused. His truckling conduct towards Napoleon, at one period of his reign, and his zeal in behalf of the "holy alliance," will no doubt, be pleaded in abatement of the perfection of the picture now drawn of him; but even against these we must set the peculiar circumstances in which he was placed, and the condition of the subjects of a great proportion of his mighty empire, whose rude and uncultivated state renders them ill qualified for the enjoyment of rational liberty.

The intelligence of the decease of Alexander produced a general inquietude throughout Europe; for it was an event which put in hazard the internal tranquillity of his vast empire, and might possibly change the course of his foreign policy. This painful apprehension was at first increased by some absurd rumours, which attributed his death to violent means; and by the opinions which were entertained concerning the character of his expected successor, his brother Constantine. In Russia itself, the death of an emperor, at once so beloved and so revered, was followed by great anxiety.

It was not until the 7th of December, that reports of Alexander's indisposition began to be spread abroad in St. Petersburg. On the 9th, notice was given that prayers for his recovery would be offered up in all the churches. In the church of Alexander Novsky, the principal nobility, ministers, generals, officers of the guards, and a great crowd of people assembled. Suddenly, before divine service was ended, major-general Niedhart, chief of the staff of the guards, entered the church, and going up to general Wanow, commander of the guards, communicated to him the sad event. It was immediately made known to all present, and the church was filled with lamentation.

This intelligence had been sent from the palace, where, at the moment when prayers were in the act of being offered up in the church in presence of the imperial family, an express had arrived from Taganrog. The governor-general had communicated the fatal news to the grand duke Nicholas. The latter having announced it to the empress mother, called together the guard of the palace, and took before them the oath of allegiance to the emperor Constantine I. The guard immediately followed his example and took the same oath; all the commanders of corps, together with the general staff, likewise took the oath and signed it, and then proceeded to receive the oath of the troops of the garrison. During the whole of this proceeding, the grand duke Constantine was at Warsaw.

It was generally understood that Constantine, at, or shortly after the time of his marriage with a Polish lady, of no very elevated rank, had renounced his right of succession to the imperial dignity. The senate now announced to Nicholas, that the late emperor had deposited with them, in October 1823, a sealed packet, which they were directed, by the superscription, to open in case of his death, before they proceeded to any other act. This command they had obeyed; and they had found that the packet contained a letter of
Constantine, dated the 14th of January 1822, renouncing the succession to the throne, with a manifesto of Alexander, dated the 16th of August, 1822, ratifying Constantine's act of renunciation, and declaring Nicholas heir to the crown. It further appeared, that documents of the same tenour had been deposited with the directing senate, with the holy synod, and in the cathedral church of the Ascension at Moscow. Nicholas, however, refused to act upon these instruments: and the directing senate, after having taken in general assembly the oath of fidelity to Constantine, issued orders that the event should be made known every where by printed ukases; that there should be sent to all the authorities, military and civil, the form of the oath which they were to take as faithful subjects of his imperial majesty, with the exception of the peasants of the crown, and of the seignorial domains, and the serfs; and that they should send to the senate the procès verbal of this taking of the oath, with the signatures of the individuals appended, by whom it had been taken.

In the mean time the news of Alexander's decease had reached Warsaw on the 7th of December, two days before the event was made known in St. Petersburg. Constantine, however, continued to live as a private individual; and, far from assuming any of the titles or emblems of royalty dispatched, on the following day, his brother, the grand duke Michael, to the capital with two letters, addressed, the one to the empress mother, the other to Nicholas; in both of which he adhered to his abdication, and refused to mount the throne. After receiving formal intelligence that the oath of fidelity had been taken to him, he still persisted solemnly in his purpose; and refused to accept the official documents which were transmitted to him as emperor. Nicholas then consented to accept the imperial dignity; and by a manifesto, dated the 24th of December, announced his own accession, and communicated to the empire the instruments under which his right to the throne arose. These were, the letter from Constantine to the late emperor, expressive of his desire to abdicate the right of succession, stating that he "does not lay claim to the spirit, the abilities, or the strength, which would be required to exercise the high dignity," attaching eventually to his right of primogeniture, and declaring himself satisfied with private life—Alexander's answer, accepting the renunciation—a manifesto by Alexander, in conformity to the preceding arrangement, settling the crown on Nicholas—and the letters, dated the 26th of November, O. S. from Constantine to Nicholas and the empress mother, referring to his former abdication, and confirming it. At the same time, the new emperor transmitted to Constantine a rescript announcing his accession; to which that prince immediately returned an answer, displaying the affection of a brother and the duty of a subject.

Though the manifesto was dated on the 24th of December, it was not till the 25th, that Nicholas read, in the senate, the formal renunciation of the crown by his brother, and declared that he accepted the throne. He was immediately proclaimed emperor of Russia. On the 26th, the manifesto of Nicholas I. was published; and on the morning of that day, all the regiments of the guards were to take the oath of allegiance to the new sovereign. At noon, the general of the guards proceeded to the palace to announce that the oath had been taken by the regiment of horse guards, as well as by several other regiments then at St. Petersburg. No accounts had been received from other regiments, but this circumstance was attributed to their barracks being at a greater distance; until it was announced that four officers of artillery had shown some opposition; that they had been put under arrest; and that the remainder of the artillery had taken the oath unanimously. Immediately afterwards news was brought that three or four hundred men of the regiment of Moscow had quitted their barracks with colours flying, and had proclaimed Constantine I. These men proceeded to the square of Isaac, where they were soon joined by great numbers of the people, and by many soldiers of the body grenadier regiment, and of the marines of the guard. No other corps took part in the sedition, and the number of the factions did not exceed two thousand.

When general Miloradovitsch was informed of these disorders, he hastened to the square to address the insurgents; but at that moment a man in